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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF
AMERICA

EDITED BY
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SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

VOL. XX
NEW SERIES, VOL. XIII

324107
4. 2. 36.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE ASSOCIATION
PRINTED BY J. H. FURST COMPANY
BALTIMORE
1905



AMERICA

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NEW SERIES, VOL. XIII, 1.

I.—OBJECT-PRONOUNS IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES :
A STUDY IN OLD SPANISH WORD-ORDER.

INTRODUCTION.

I. DEFINITION OF TITLE.

The title of this work, *Object-Pronouns in Dependent Clauses: A Study in Old Spanish Word-Order*, is perhaps too inclusive. The investigation concerns itself only with the phenomenon which I shall call *interpolation*. Throughout this study, *interpolation* will be used to mean the interpolation, between an unstressed object-pronoun and its following governing verb, of another word or other words, not unstressed object-pronouns in similar construction. In Old Spanish this phenomenon is almost without exception confined to dependent clauses, *i. e.*, clauses that begin with a subordinating conjunction, a relative pronoun, or a relative adverb with conjunctive force.

II. PREVIOUS NOTICES OF INTERPOLATION.

Interpolation is merely mentioned by Diez, but with no attempt to determine the conditions of its occurrence.¹ I find the next reference in Reinhardstoettner's *Grammatik der portugiesischen Sprache* (1878), s. 391.² Paul Foerster, in his *Spanische Sprachlehre* (1880) merely distinguishes interpolation as of two sorts, the first with then egative particle, the second with other words.³ R. Thurneysen (*Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, XVI (1892), ss. 289–307, *Zur Stellung des Verbums im Altfranzösischen*) discusses the position of unstressed words and seeks to prove that the latter tend to become enclitic to the first stressed word of the sentence or clause. Incidentally he mentions interpolation in Old Spanish and Portuguese and raises the question whether the cases of it are archaisms or innovations.⁴ Emil Gessner (*Zeitschr.*, XVII (1893), ss. 1–54, *Das spanische Personalpronomen*) briefly notices the phenomenon without, however, defining the syntactical conditions of its occurrence. His notice is chiefly valuable for its chronological data with regard to the disappearance of interpolation in Spanish.⁵ S. Gräfenberg (*Rom. Forsch.*, VII (1893), s. 547) in the grammatical notes

¹ Trennung vom Verbum kommt nur in Asp. und überhaupt im Pg. vor. *Grammatik*, III⁴, s. 467.

² Vor allem war die Stellung der Pronomina eine bei weitem freiere. Trennung des verbundenen Personalpronomens von seinem Verbum ist nicht selten z. B. Todo o mal que te eu fazia.

³ *Lib. cit.*, s. 294, § 403: Stellung des Pronomen conjunctum: 1) Unmittelbar vor dem Verbum; die Negation vor dem Pronomen, altsp. aber auch zwischen Pron. und Verbum. 2) Im Altsp. auch getrennt: se lo tu mandasses. . . .

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, s. 302: Ueber Ausnahmen im Asp. u. Pg. s. Diez. Sind es alte Erbstücke oder Neuerungen?

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, s. 34: Das Gesetz, dass die tonlosen Pronominalobjekte in unmittelbarer Verbindung mit dem Verb. stehen müssen, gilt auch für die span. Sprache in ihrer gegenwärtigen Gestalt. Früher war sie daran

to his edition of Don Juan Manuel's *Libro del Cavallero et del Escudero* mentions the postposition of the particle *non* to the object-pronoun but does not notice any other variety of interpolation.¹

Meyer-Lübke (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Ph.*, XXI (1897), ss. 313–334, *Zur Stellung der tonlosen Objektspronomina im Romanischen*) maintains with Thurneysen that unstressed object-pronouns were originally always enclitic and considers interpolation in Old Spanish and Portuguese to be a survival of Latin usage. He also attempts to define the syntactical categories in which interpolation usually occurs.² In the

nicht gebunden, sondern schob unbedenklich die verschiedensten Satztheile (Subjekt, Objekt, Vokativ, Negation, Adverbialbesimmung [*sic*], präpositionelle Kasus) zwischen Pron. und Zeitwort, wenn letzteres nachfolgte.

Diese altspan. keineswegs ungewöhnliche, in einzelnen Denkmalen fast mit Vorliebe gewählte Vorstellung erhält sich bis tief in das 15. Jahrh. hinein; mit dem 16. aber verschwindet sie. Wenigstens habe ich sie in den von mir benutzten Quellen aus dieser Zeit nicht mehr beobachtet; die *Celestina* hat keinen Fall der Trennung mehr; sehr stark vertreten jedoch ist sie noch im *Amadis*, der auch in diesem Punkte wieder seine oben erwähnte Eigentümlichkeit bekundet.

¹ Die Negation *non* steht im Nsp. vor dem persönlichen Fürwort, im Asp. oft hinter ihm.

² *Loc. cit.*, ss. 314–5: Beachtenswert ist, was Gessner nicht erwähnt [?], dass, wenn dem Verbum zwei Wörter vorausgehen, das Pronomen im asp. Alexander zum ersten, also nicht unmittelbar vor das Verbum treten kann. . . . Daneben findet sich aber die übliche Stellung ebenso oft. . . . Wenn also der Alexander wirklich von Berceo her stammt, so scheint in der bisher veröffentlichten Hs. auch die Wortfügung umgestaltet worden zu sein, wofür man *Fijo vos yo vos bendigo* 172a anführen könnte. Das zu untersuchen und überhaupt das Verhältniss der beiden Stellungen darzulegen wird die Aufgabe des künftigen Herausgebers des Alexanders sein.

Ss. 315 ff.: Für die alte [portugiesische] Sprache kann man kurzweg sagen: Das Objektspronomen folgt dem ersten Worte des Satzes, *e* und *mas* zählen dabei nicht als selbständige Wörter. . . . Der Satz beginnt mit einer Konj. oder einem Relativum, dann folgen Subjekt und Verbum, das Pronomen steht vor dem Subjekt. . . . Zwischen der den satzeinleitenden [*sic*] Partikel oder dem Subjekt und dem Verbum steht ein Adverbium *nō*, *tanto*, *assim*, u. dgl., das Pron. tritt vor dieses Adv. . . . Mit einer offenbaren Störung der ursprünglichen Ordnung haben wir es zu thun in Fällen wie *asi Deus*

Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen, III, s. 764, § 715, Meyer-Lübke sums up the argument of the *Zeitschrift* article but omits all reference to the syntactical categories.¹

me . . . , se Deus me, que Deus nom a . . . , pois eu vollo. . . . Die Beispiele bleiben aber trotzdem bei weitem in der Minderzahl und scheinen sich auf bestimmte Fälle zu beschränken, so haben wir fast stets *Deus* oder eine Personalbezeichnung oder ein Personalpronomen, das nun das Objektspronomen von der einleitenden Konj. weg und nach sich zieht.

Ss. 318-9: Es wäre ein interessantes Unternehmen, nachzuweisen wie viel von den alten Regeln bis heute geblieben ist, die Ausnahmen in alter Zeit zusammenzustellen und zu erklären, die allmähliche Umgestaltung zu verfolgen. . . . Auch die altportugiesische Orthographie verdient eine sorgfältige Beachtung. Wenn geschrieben wird *eute leixey ja, eu cuidava quete avia leixado, e foi peralhe chagar*, wozu man noch die oben stets nach der Vorlage gedruckten Beispiele nehme, so kann das doch nicht Zufall sein, sondern zeigt deutlich, dass für das alte Sprachgefühl die Pronomina Enklitika waren. Wenn neben unzähligen derartigen Schreibungen nun auch gelegentlich vorkommt *como olearom, que oposerom*, so wird man diesen Ausnahmen kaum Bedeutung beilegen.

Das Grundprinzip, das für die Stellung der tonlosen Objekts-pronomina im Portugiesischen massgebend ist, ist offenbar das folgende: Die Pronomina sind enklitisch, sie werden an ein schon ausgesprochenes Wort angehängt und zwar womöglich an das erste des Satzes. Lässt sich *quero te comprir* Rom. IX, 442 aus einer Abneigung gegen tonlose Wörter im Satzanfange erklären, so ist damit doch noch nicht gesagt, weshalb es nicht heisst *quero comprirte*. Und wollte man sich mit der Annahme behelfen, dass das Pronomen sich proklitisch mit dem Verbum, zu dem es Objekt sei, verbinde, daher man sage *quero te-comprir* wie *que te-leixey*, so würde dagegen nicht nur die alte Schreibweise Einsprache erheben, sondern es blieben die Mehrzahl der oben angeführten Sätze, wie *que te eu . . . , que o nõ . . . u. s. w.* völlig unerklärt. Formuliert man dagegen die Regel so, wie es eben geschehen ist, so lösen sich sofort alle Schwierigkeiten. Die Sache scheint mir so in die Augen springend zu sein und sich so unmittelbar aus dem alten Sprachgebrauche und aus dem alten Schreibgebrauche zu ergeben, dass viele Worte gar nicht mehr nötig sind. Dass auch ein Teil des span. Sprachgebietes dieselben Regeln befolgt, ergibt sich aus den s. 314 aus dem Alexander angeführten Stellen. . . .

¹ *Grammatik*, III, s. 764, § 715: Im Gegensatz zu den bisher genannten Wörtern sind die Objektspronomina, zu denen natürlich auch die Adverbien *ibi* und *inde* gerechnet werden können, ursprünglich enklitisch. Ist das Objekt eines Verbums in vorhergegangener Rede schon genannt, so ist es nicht immer nötig, es zu wiederholen, kann es ja doch unter

I have found only one reference to interpolation from a Peninsular source. This is in Rodríguez's *Apuntes Gramaticales* in the edition of the Galician *Crónica Troyana*.¹ With this conclude all the notices of interpolation that I have been able to discover.

III. OUTLINE OF INVESTIGATION.

The investigation concerns itself, as has been stated, with the history of interpolation in Spanish texts. The theory

Umständen den Sprechenden noch so lebendig vor Augen stehen, dass eine andere Beziehung des Verbuns ausgeschlossen ist. Es kann aber auch der Deutlichkeit wegen darauf zurückgewiesen werden mit einem, eben des unselbständigen Begriffs wegen tonlosen Worte, einem Worte, das seine Stellung möglichst weit vorne im Satze hat, da es die Verbindung mit dem Voraufgegangenen festhalten soll. So sagt man im Lateinischen *amo te* nicht *te amo*, *per te deos obsecro*, *quo tu me modo voles esse* u. s. w. Am besten hat sich diese lateinische Stellung im Altspanischen und im Altportugiesischen erhalten, übrigens dort in geringerem Umfange als hier, sofern nämlich z. B. bei Berceo fast keine Spuren ausser den gemeinromanischen zu finden sind, wohl aber der Cid, der Alexander, D. Juan Manuel u. a. viele Beispiele zeigen, in späterer Zeit auch noch der Amadis, wo man allerdings an den Einfluss des portugiesischen Originals denken könnte. Man sagt also aspan. *en guisa que la non pierda*. . . . Ausgeprägter noch ist also die Enklise im Altportugiesischen: *lo filho que lhes Deus dara*. . . . Neigungen, das Pronomen mit dem Verbum zu verbinden, fehlen nun allerdings auch hier nicht, vgl. *asi Deus me conselhe*. . . , namentlich bei pronominalem Subjekte: *que eu a descubro*, . . . u. a. Aber diese Fälle sind doch bedeutend in der Minderheit, und wenn das Portugiesische in seiner historischen Entwicklung allmählich einen Wandel durchgemacht hat, der in den Schwestersprachen schon vor Beginn der Litteratur fast abgeschlossen war, so ist doch bis heute die alte Stellung namentlich in negierten *que*-Sätzen oder in mit *e*, *já* beginnenden geblieben, ohne freilich Regel zu sein, vgl. *os dous irmãos não se achavam*. . . neben *uma lucta que o não deixou repousar*.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 44: Si intervienen dos ó más palabras, y entre ellas algún adverbio negativo, las primeras inician la frase, á continuación todas las partículas pronominales por orden de preferencia, colocando los negativos inmediatamente antes del verbo, v. g.: *Que os nõ podo acadar, Nen foy home quella nunca ojsse dizer*, etc.

of the subject will be discussed, as far as it seems practicable to do so, in a briefer Second Part, following the historical exposition.

Preceding the First Part and forming the last division of this Introduction, there is a *List of Texts* in which are discussed all questions of date, authorship, manuscripts, editions and dialect, these matters being excluded from the main body of the article. The works described in the *List of Texts* are arranged according to the approximate date of composition. Galician and Portuguese texts are arranged chronologically after the Spanish texts. The numbering adopted in the *List of Texts* is followed also in the *Appendix*.

The First Part of the present work aims to cover the history of interpolation in Spanish writings of the XIII, XIV, and XV centuries, studying the rise, development and decay of the phenomenon. Galician and Portuguese texts are studied only as they throw light on the subject of interpolation in Castilian. The large body of illustrative material which accompanies the First Part is relegated to an *Appendix*. The arrangement of the latter is explained in a note prefixed to Chapter I.

The discussion in the first four chapters of Part One of interpolation in the texts will attempt to show that it is a phenomenon hardly appearing in Castilian texts before the latter part of the XIII century and then probably due to western influence. It will be shown, also, that it is most prevalent in works of the courtly school of Alfonso X. and his successors and least frequent in works farthest removed from the influence of that school. The syntactical conditions of its occurrence in Castilian are differentiated from those in Galician and Portuguese, and the periods of its decline and disappearance are fixed as closely as possible.

The Second Part begins with a critical discussion of the

theory of primitive enclisis of pronoun objects in Romance as developed by Thurneysen and Meyer-Lübke. Then follows a section dealing with Portuguese word order and making it appear probable that enclisis of the pronoun to other words than the verb is a phenomenon peculiar to the western portion of the Iberian Peninsula and not a relic of universal Vulgar Latin usage. A third division attempts to prove that in Castilian there is no enclisis of the pronoun in interpolation and that the phenomenon is merely one of word order, influenced by analogies of certain frequent collocations.

LIST OF SPANISH, GALICIAN, AND PORTUGUESE
TEXTS, EXAMINED FOR INTERPOLATION,
WITH NOTICES OF CHRONOLOGY AND DIA-
LECT OF AUTHORS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

1. *Poema del Cid*. Edición anotada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: 1900. (No name of publisher.)

Diplomatic edition from the unique manuscript in possession of D. Alejandro Pidal y Mon. The manuscript is of the XIV century and was probably written in 1307.¹

The poem goes back perhaps as far as 1139, and is at least as old as the middle of the XII century.²

From internal evidence it seems probable that the original author of the *Poema del Cid* lived not far from Castejón on the Ebro, that is, in the borderland between Aragón and Old Castile, which was also the home of Berceo.³

2. *Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca*. Florencio Janer, Edr. *Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo xv* (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles de M. Rivadeneyra*, t. 57), págs. 307-318.

¹ Menéndez Pidal, *Lib. cit.*, p. iii; Baist, *Grundr. d. r. Ph.*, II Bd., 2. Abt., s. 397 u. Anmerk.

² Baist, *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 396.

³ Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, p. 51; Restori, *Le Gesta del Cid*, p. 6.

First published by D. Pedro José Pidal, in 1841, from a manuscript in the Escorial, written in character of the xv century.¹ A Spanish translation of the *Vie de Sainte-Marie l'Egyptienne* found with the *Carmina Anglo-Normannica* of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.²

Baist believes the Spanish translation to be a work of the XIII century.³ Amador de los Ríos ascribed the poem to the first half of the XII century. His arguments are refuted by Gorra.⁴

The reprint of Pidal's text in the Rivadeneyra collection, edited by Janer, is intended to be diplomatic. Janer collated the Pidal text with the codex and corrected many of the errors of the former.

The language of the poem, as transmitted, is very similar to that of Berceo. I have noticed nothing that would point to Aragonese or other dialects than that of Old Castile.

3. Libre de Apollonio. Florencio Janer, Edr. Poetas Cast. ant. al s. xv (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 57), págs. 283-305.

Edited from a manuscript preserved in the Escorial. The same manuscript contains also the *Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca*. It is considered by some (Introd., pág. xxxvi) to be of the XIV or beginning of the XV century. Baist (*Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 404) speaks of the manuscript as of the end of the XIII century.

The poem probably belongs to the first half of the XIII century, and is thus the work of a contemporary of Berceo.⁵ Traits of Aragonese dialect in the text Baist attributes to the copyist.⁶

¹ *Poetas Cast. ant. al sig. xv*, pág. xxxvi.

² The sources are treated by Mussafia, *Ueber die Quelle der altspan. Vida de S. Maria Egipciaca*. Wien, Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei, 1863.

³ *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 401, § 20.

⁴ *Ling. e Lett. spagn.*, p. 308.

⁵ Baist, *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 389; Janer, *Introd.*, pág. xxxvii.

⁶ *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 404, Anm.

I have examined for interpolation 328 stanzas, just one-half of the poem.

4. Gonzalo de Berceo :—

Vida de Sancto Domingo de Silos.

Vida de Sant Millan.

Del Sacrificio de la Missa.

Martyrio de Sant Laurencio.

Loores de Nuestra Sennora.

Milagros de Nuestra Sennora.

Vida de Sancta Oria, Virgen.

In *Poetas Cast. ant. al siglo xv* (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp. de Rivadeneyra*, t. 57), págs. 39-146.

The works of Berceo were first published by D. Tomás Antonio Sánchez in 1780. Sánchez's introduction, reprinted in the Rivadeneyra edition, gives no information with regard to the manuscripts. The codices of the monastery of San Millán, used by Sánchez, have been lost. Janer, in the Rivadeneyra reprint, could collate the Sánchez text with manuscripts only in the case of the *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* and of the *Sacrificio de la Missa*. Except in the *Silos* and *Sacrificio de la Missa*, the text is confessedly arbitrary, as regards orthography at least.¹ In none of the cases where the text of *Silos* or *Missa* shows interpolation does Janer indicate any variant between Sánchez and the manuscript and we may, perhaps, be justified in thinking that the XVIII century editor copied the cases in question with reasonable fidelity. Compare, however, the note on Sánchez's text of the *Alexandre*.

Gonzalo de Berceo was a member of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla near Nájera in the diocese of Calahorra on the upper waters of the Ebro. The period of his literary activity falls approximately within the years 1220-1246.²

¹ Cf. Janer, *Lib. cit.*, pág. 39, Nota.

² Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, I, p. 26; Baist, *Grundr.*, II, 2, s. 402, § 21.

The dialect of Berceo's poems is Castilian, but shows traits of Aragonese, as might be expected from the situation of San Millán de la Cogolla in the valley of the Ebro.¹ The determination of Berceo's dialect is rendered uncertain by the discrepancies in this regard of the Sánchez text and the manuscript of *Silos*, belonging to the Real Academia de la Historia.²

5. ¿Gonzalo de Berceo? El Libro de Alexandre. Poetas Cast. ant. al siglo xv (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp. de M. Rivadeneyra*, t. 57), Florencio Janer, Edr., págs. 147-224.

This poem was first published by Sánchez in 1780 from the manuscript in the library of the Dukes of Osuna y del Infantado. This manuscript, which appears to be in script of the XIV century,³ was collated with Sánchez's text by Janer, who notes something over two-hundred variant readings.⁴ At least two of these variants are of interest in the present investigation. In stanzas 2062 and 2063, in which *se te tu pierdes* occurs twice, Sánchez both times wrote, *se tu te pierdes*.⁵

Until the discovery by Baist in 1888 of an unknown xv century manuscript containing the poem, the *Alexandre* was generally attributed to Juan Lorenzo Segura de Astorga, whose name occurs in the last stanza of the Osuna manuscript.⁶ As early as 1875, however, Morel-Fatio, in the

¹ The dialect peculiarities of Berceo are summarily presented in Keller's *Altspanisches Lesebuch*, ss. 154-5, under the caption "*altcastilisch*."

² Janer, *Lib. cit.*, pág. 39, Nota.

³ A. Morel-Fatio (*Romania*, iv, p. 15) assigns the Osuna manuscript to the end of the XIII century.

⁴ *Lib. cit.*, pág. 147.

⁵ The sources of the *Alexandre* are studied by Morel-Fatio in *Romania*, iv, p. 7 *et suiv.*: "Recherches sur le texte et les sources du *Libro de Alexandre*."

⁶ Baist, *Romanische Forschungen*, vi, s. 292. The xv century manuscript closes with the stanza:

Sy queredes saber gen [l. quien] fiso esta vitado [l. este ditado]
 Gonçalo de Berceo es por nombre clamado,
 Natural de Madrid en Sant My[1]han quado [l. criado]
 Del abat Johan Sancho notajo [l. notario] por no[m]brado.

article cited in the note above, suggested from interior evidence that not Segura, but some one named Gonzalo,¹ was the real author of the *Alexandre*. Morel-Fatio, in the article mentioned, is inclined to date the *Alexandre* somewhat later than Berceo; the latter he assigns to the years 1220-1240, while he thinks the *Alexandre* was composed between 1240 and 1260.

The poem, as we have it, is written in a dialect sensibly different from that of the works known to be Berceo's. Sánchez held the peculiarities of dialect to be Leonese.² Morel-Fatio³ considers the Leonese traits to be entirely due to the copyist; the original author, he thinks, employed a Castilian dialect. Morel-Fatio's main argument is based on the observation of assonances. If the primitive author had spoken a dialect in which *ø* did not diphthongize, he could not have written stanzas:—

- 542 : —fijuelo, —luego, —moçuelo, —agüero.⁴
 2064 : —fazedera, —fuera, —muera, —guerrera.
 1222 : —cierto, —abierto, —huerto, —muerto.
 534 : —tienda, —fazienda, —cuenta, —fazienda.

J. Cornu (*Romania*, IX, p. 89 *et suiv.*) discusses the 3rd pers. plur. perf. in *-iron* in *Alexandre* and (p. 71) the dissyllabic treatment of words of the type *grey*, *ley*, *rey*, common to the *Alexandre*, the *Apolonio* and the works of Berceo. He concludes that the *Alexandre* was written in a dialect very close to the Castilian.⁵

As far as I can see, the internal evidence of the text

¹ Stz. 1386, v. 4 : E dixo a Gonçalo : ve dormir que assaz as velado.

² Poetas Cast., *Introd.*, pág. xxx.

³ *Romania*, IV, p. 25.

⁴ Why these four cannot stand in assonance in a non-diphthongizing dialect, Morel-Fatio does not explain. The other cases are evident.

⁵ G. Baist (*Zeitschr. f. r. Philol.*, IV, s. 587) carries the discussion of verb terminations in the *Alexandre* somewhat farther and attempts to show which forms come from the author, which from Juan Lorenzo Segura and which from later copyists.

furnishes no absolute criterion for determining the question of authorship. The traits of western dialect may well be due to Juan Lorenzo, whose native town of Astorga is on the westernmost confines of the kingdom of León, close to Galicia. It seems safe, however, to assume that the original was written in a Castilian dialect.

No evidence for or against the authorship of Berceo is, I think, to be drawn from the special investigation of the present work. While, from reasons which will be developed later, I consider the rather frequent occurrence of interpolation in a text as early as that of the *Alexandre* a strong evidence of western influence, yet I see no reason why this, as well as other traits of dialect, may not be attributed to the copyists. That copyists did sometimes substitute interpolation for the normal order, and *vice-versa*, we have evidence from variant readings in some other works, notably those of the manuscripts of the Archpriest of Hita.

In another chapter I shall attempt to show that interpolation, if not absent from, was at least much less frequent in, the original *Alexandre* in Castilian dialect.

6. Poema de Fernán González. Texto crítico, con introducción, notas y glosario por C. Carroll Marden. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; Madrid: Librería de M. Murillo. 1904.

Critical edition, based on a manuscript of the third quarter of the xv century, preserved in the Escorial.¹

The author is generally held to have been a monk of San Pedro de Arlanza, near Burgos in the heart of Old Castile. The poem is certainly posterior to Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, the *Libro de Alexandre* and the *Crónica general*.² Marden, on the basis of historical allusions in the poem itself, fixes the date at 1250 or soon after.³

¹ Marden, *Lib. cit.*, *Introd.*, pág. xvi.

² Marden (*loc. cit.*, págs. xxviii-xxix) reviews all the previous notices and furnishes bibliographical references.

³ *Ibid.*, págs. xxx-xxxi, and *Revue Hispanique*, VII, pp. 22-27.

In the citations given in the Appendix of this article I have inverted the arrangement of Marden's edition. I give the readings of the manuscript and indicate Marden's corrections as variants. Words in the manuscript, but suppressed by Marden, are italicized. Words added by Marden are enclosed in parentheses. Variant readings proposed by Marden are added in parentheses with *M*.

I have preferred to give the readings of the manuscript, because I think that some of Marden's corrections, especially in the matter of pronouns, are open to objection. I take exception to the following :—

- 1) Quien con el se encontrava non yva [se] del sano, stz. 260, v. 2.

How can the editor introduce an enclitic *se* when *non* accompanies the verb? The negative particle regularly attracts the object-pronoun to the proclitic position,¹ except in cases of interpolation, when the pronoun moves still farther forward.

- 2) Nunca en otra ley tornar [se non] quisieron, 9, 3.

A los vas[s]allos del conde dexar [*le non quisieron*], 597, 4.

In the last verse the reading of the manuscript is :—

. . . . del conde dellos se departyeron.

Marden's variant is based on a parallel passage in the *Crónica General*. In the entire poem there is not a single example of the word-order *tornar se non*, while there are at least eighteen² of the order infin.-neg.-pron. obj.-finite verb, e. g. *cobrar non lo podedes*, stz. 68, v. 4.

7. (El Cantar de los Cantares) Das Hohelied in castillanischer Sprache des XIII. Jahrhunderts nach der Handschrift des Escorial, I, i, 6, von Julius Cornu in Prag herausgegeben. Beiträge zur rom. u. engl. Philol. Festgabe für Wendelin Foerster. Ss. 121–128.

¹Gessner, *Zeitschr. f. r. Phil.*, XVII, s. 37.

²Cf. stz. 68, v. 4; 98, 2; 276, 2; 276, 3; 285, 4; 334, 1; 400, 4; 432, 3; 435, 2; 462, 2; 490, 3; 538, 3; 556, 3; 570, 4; 676, 1; 678, 2; 735, 2; 745, 1.

Edited from a manuscript containing also the Gospels in Castilian. An edition of the latter is promised by Cornu. The manuscript is described in S. Berger's article *Les Bibles Castellanes, Romania*, xxviii (1899), p. 560 and p. 391, § 2.

Owing to the infrequency of dependent clauses in the Song of Solomon, the text does not afford much material for the study of interpolation.

8. Textes castillans du XIII^e siècle. A. Morel-Fatio, Edr.
Romania, xvi (1887), pp. 364-382.

- I. Poème d'amour.
- II. Débat du vin et de l'eau, en vers.
- III. Les dix commandements avec commentaire à l'usage des confesseurs.
(De los diez mandamientos.)

The two poems are composed in an irregular octosyllabic verse, like that of the *Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca*. The three texts are found together in a manuscript of the XIII century, showing, Morel-Fatio thinks, traits of Aragonese dialect.¹ The Aragonese character is more pronounced in the prose piece than in the poems.

9. Documentos de la época de Don Alfonso el Sabio.
(*Memorial Histórico Español*, t. I, 1851.

Collection edited partly from original documents, partly from earlier collections of such documents. The orthography is much modernized. I have examined for interpolation a number of documents of the years 1253 and 1254, nearly all written by the scribe García de Fromesta.

10. La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara. De la Crónica General que mandó componer el Rey Don Alfonso X. Ramón Menéndez Pidal: *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*. Págs. 207-243.

Critical edition by Menéndez Pidal, based on the following manuscripts of the *Crónica General* of Alfonso X :

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 367 . . . sinon composées, du moins transcrites dans la partie arragonaise-navarraise du domaine castillan.

- E* Bibl. Escorial. x-i-4 Script of the middle of the XIV century.
I Bibl. Nac. de Madrid r-i-4 Fifteenth century copy of a manuscript closely related to *E*. *I* shows considerable modernizing of the language
A Bibl. Nac. de Madrid x-61-1 Portuguese version in script of the XIV century.
B Bibl. Nac. de Madrid F. 42. Castilian manuscript in XV century hand.
Y Bibl. Escorial. Y-ij-11 End(?) of XIV century. First part written in Catalan. The Spanish remainder shows Eastern characteristics.
T Library of Menéndez Pelayo. End of XIV century.
Z Bibl. Escorial. x-i-7 XV century.
G Bibl. Escorial. x-i-11 XV century.

Menéndez Pidal (pág. 387) divides these manuscripts into three groups: *EIA*, *B*, *TYGZ*. The text follows mainly *E*. In the quotations I give the variants of the other manuscripts only where they bear upon the subject of interpolation. When no variant is given, all the manuscript readings given by Menéndez Pidal have the same pronoun order as the text. I have examined for interpolation chapters I-VII of Menéndez Pidal's text.

The *Crónica General* was probably written in the first half of the reign of Alfonso X el Sabio (1252-1284), *i. e.*, in the third quarter of the XIII century.¹

11. La Gran Conquista de Ultramar que mandó escribir el rey don Alfonso el Sabio. Ilustrada con notas críticas y un glosario por D. Pascual de Gayangos (*Bibl. de Autores Españoles*, t. 44). Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra. 1877.

Thirty-five chapters of Book III and all of Book IV are edited from a manuscript of the Bibl. Nacional, in script of the beginning of the XIV century. The edition is, however, plainly not diplomatic. I have examined for interpolation the first twenty chapters of Book IV (pp. 504-515).

The work is a Spanish translation made, not for Alfonso

¹ Baist, *Grundr. d. rom. Phil.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 410.

the Wise but for Sancho IV, probably in the last years of the XIII century.¹

12. a) Don Juan Manuel, *El Libro de la Caza* zum erstenmale herausgegeben von G. Baist. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1880.
- b) Don Juan Manuel: *El Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero*. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen nach der Handschrift neu herausgegeben von S. Gräfenberg. 1893. (*Romanische Forschungen*, VII. Bd., ss. 427-550.)
- c) Juan Manuel: *El Libro de los Enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio*. Text und Anmerkungen aus dem Nachlasse von Hermann Knust herausgegeben von Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld. Leipzig: Dr. Seele und Co. 1900.

In the case of the *Libro de la Caza* and of the *Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero*, the material presented in the Appendix of this article covers the whole text; in that of the *Libro de los Enxiemplos*, only the first twenty-five *exemplos* (pp. 1-110).

The three works named above are all edited from the same manuscript (Bibl. Nacional de Madrid, S. 35). This is of the xv century and a full hundred years later than the author. Other manuscripts are known to exist only in the case of the *Libro de los Enxiemplos*. The edition of the latter gives variants from four other manuscripts:—

M MS. of the second half of the xv century in the Bibl. Nac. de Madrid.

E MS. of the xv century in the same library.

P MS. of the xv century, belonging to the Conde de Pufionrostro.

G MS. of the xvi century in the collection of D. Pascual Gayangos.

Don Juan, son of the Infante Don Manuel and nephew of Alfonso X, lived from 1282 to 1348.² The chronology

¹ Gayangos, *Op. cit.*, p. xi; Baist, *Grundr. d. rom. Phil.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 415, § 28; Gaston Paris, *Romania*, xvii, p. 513 *et suiv.*: "La Chanson d'Antioche provençale et la *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*."

² Baist, *Grundr. d. rom. Phil.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 418.

of his works has been minutely worked out by Gottfried Baist,¹ who dates the three works in question as follows:—

Libro de la Caza. A. D. 1325–6.

Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero. 1326.

Libro de los Enxiemplos. Primera Parte 1328–9.

It is probable that, in spite of the lateness of the manuscripts, the texts, as we have them, reflect pretty faithfully the syntactic usage of Don Juan. The latter, as he tells us himself,² was particularly nice in matters of language and orthography, which makes the loss of the older manuscripts the more regrettable.

13. Juan Ruiz, arcipreste de Hita : Libro de Buen Amor.

Texte du xiv^e siècle, publié pour la première fois avec les leçons des trois manuscrits connus par Jean Ducamin (*Bibliothèque Méridionale publiée sous les auspices de la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse*. 1^{re} Série. Tome VI.) Toulouse : Édouard Privat. 1901.

This is one of the very few editions of a Spanish text, presenting with any degree of completeness variant readings from several manuscripts. The editor designates and describes the manuscripts as follows:—

S MS. formerly belonging to the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé at Salamanca, now in the library of the Royal Palace at Madrid.
Script of the end of the xiv, or beginning of the xv century, in any case later than that of the two following.

G MS. formerly belonging to D. Benito Martínez Gayoso, now in the

¹ Baist, Die Zeitfolge der Schriften D. Juan Manuels : *Libro de la Caza*, ss. 128–155.

² “Et porque don Johan vio et sabe que en los libros contese[n] muchos yerros en los trasladar porque las letras semejan unas a otras, cuydando por la una letra que es [la] otra, en escrivendolo mudase toda la rrazon et por aventura confondese, et los que despues fallan aquello escripto, ponen la culpa al que fizo el libro, et porque don Johan se rrecelo desto, rruega a los que leyeren qualquier libro que fuere trasladado del que el conpuso o de los libros que el fizo, que si fallaren alguna palabra mal puesta, que non pongan la culpa a el, fasta que bean el libro mismo que don Johan fizo que es emendado en muchos logares de su letra.”—*Libro de los Enxiemplos*, pág. 1 y 2.

library of the Real Academia Española. Script of the XIV century.¹

T MS. formerly in the library of the cathedral of Toledo, now in the National Library at Madrid. Script of the same age and character as that of *G*.²

Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, near Guadalajara in New Castile, was probably born near the end of the XIII century and certainly lived until the middle of the following century.³ The date Era 1381 or A. D. 1343, given in stanza 1634, probably comes from the author himself.⁴

14. Poema de Alfonso Onceno, rey de Castilla y de León.

Florencio Janer, Edr. *Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo xv* (*Bibl. de Autores Españoles*, t. 57), págs. 477-551.

¹ *G* is dated at the end, A. D. 1389 :

fenito libro, graçias a domino nostro jesū xpisto ; este libro
fue acabado jueues XXIII dias de jullio del
año del Nasçimiento del nuestro saluador jesu xpisto
de mill e tresientos e ochenta e Nueue años. Pág. 330.

² In the quotations which I have made from this work, I have followed the text as given by the editor, *i. e.*, the text of *S* and where that is lacking, *G*. I have indicated the variant readings of the manuscripts only where they affect cases of interpolation. In order to insure greater fidelity to the manuscripts, the editor employs four varieties of *s*, namely, *s*, *f*, *σ*, *z*, and two sorts of *i* besides *j*. As these orthographic refinements in no way affect the question of interpolation, I have disregarded them, representing *s*, *f*, and *σ* by *s* alone, and *z* by *z*.

³ Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, p. 76.

⁴ "Era de mill E tresientos E ochenta E vn años
fue conpuesto el rromance, por muchos males e daños
que fassen muchos e muchas aotras con sus engaños,
E por mostrar alos synplex (*sic*) fablas e versos estraños."

Stz. 1634, MS. S.

T ends at this point with a variant stanza, naming a date three years earlier, as follows :—

Era de mill e tresyentos e sesenta e ocho años
fue acabado este lybro por muchos males e daños
daputs (*sic*) que fassen muchos e muchas a otros con sus engaños
E por mostrar alos synpres fabras e versos estraños.

Edited by Janer from a manuscript of the end of the XIV century, preserved in the Escorial. Whether Rodrigo Yáñez, mentioned in stanza 1841, is the author, is uncertain. Janer (*Op. cit.*, *Introd.*, pag. xlviii) believes the poem is nearly contemporary with the events which it describes, e. g. the conquest of Algeciras, A. D. 1344 (Era 1382, vide stz. 2451).

Cornu and Baist believe the poem is a transcription of a Portuguese or Galician original. Carolina Michaëlis, on the other hand, believes the original composer was a Leonese, accustomed to speak Portuguese or at least compose in that idiom. Both Cornu and Michaëlis base their conclusions on the study of assonances in the poem.¹

The evidence from interpolation is probably not sufficient to decide the question of original dialect. The author, in any case, can hardly have been a Castilian. The use of interpolation in the text, as will be shown, is exactly parallel to that of Portuguese and Galician texts, and quite different from anything in works of undoubted Castilian origin.

15. Pero López de Ayala: *Rimado de Palacio*. Este libro fizo el honrado caballero Pero López de Ayala estando preso e llamase el Libro de Palagio [*sic*]. Florencio Janer: *Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo xv* (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 57), págs. 425-476.

Janer gives no data with regard to the manuscript or manuscripts on which the edition is based. He merely says (p. 425): "Enteramente conforme con el códice más completo que se conoce."

The author lived from 1332 to 1407. Baist² dates the *Rimado* from 1378 to 1385. Fitzmaurice-Kelly³ assigns

¹ Baist, *Grundr. f. r. Philol.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 422, § 35; Michaëlis, *Ibid.*, ss. 204-5 u. Anmerkungen.

² *Grundr. d. rom. Philol.*, Bd. II., 2. Abt., s. 421.

³ *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, p. 89.

the composition of the work to the years 1378-1403, basing the latter date on a statement in the text that the schism of 1378 had lasted twenty-five years.

I have examined for interpolation the first five hundred stanzas (2000 verses), pp. 425-441.

16. Poema de José. Michael Schmitz: Ueber das altspanische Poema de José. *Romanische Forschungen*, XI (1901), ss. 315-411.

Edited from the edition by Morf¹ of the manuscript of the Bibl. Nac. de Madrid in Arabic script. The manuscript is of the XVI century. A somewhat different version of the poem exists in an older manuscript now in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia and edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal.² I have not been able to collate all the cases of pronouns in the two editions, but in those that I have collated I have found agreement.

Morf dates the poem not earlier than the second half of the XV century. Menéndez Pidal puts it much earlier, considering the manuscript edited by him to belong to the end of the XIV or beginning of the XV century.

Gayangos and Menéndez Pidal believe the writer was Aragonese. Menéndez Pidal, in the article cited, makes a detailed study of the traits of Aragonese dialect in the poem.

With regard to the use of pronouns, the most noticeable peculiarity of the poem is the very frequent occurrence of the pronoun subject. This may be an argument for a rather late date.

17. Visión de Filiberto. Octavio de Toledo (José María), Edr. *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, II, ss. 40-60.

¹H. Morf, *El Poema de José*, Leipzig, 1883.

²Poema de Yúçuf. Materiales para su estudio. *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 3ª Epoca, t. VII (1902), págs. 91-129; 276-309; 347-362.

A XIV century prose redaction of the *Disputatio Corporis et Animae*, found in the Toledo manuscript of the *Libro de Buen Amor* of Juan Ruiz,¹ and in script of the same character. The latter, as has been shown, is a manuscript of the last years of the XIV century.²

18. Pedro de Luna: Libro de las consolaciones de la vida humana. Escritores en Prosa anteriores al siglo xv recogidos é ilustrados por D. Pascual de Gayangos (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 51), págs. 561-602.

Edited from a codex in a hand of the beginning of the xv century in the Escorial.³ The work is divided into fifteen books of which the first ten (or fifty-four columns of the Rivadeneyra type) were examined for interpolation.

Pedro de Luna, known also as Antipope Benedict XIII, was a native of Aragon. Luna, who died in 1423 or 1424, composed the work in Latin in his declining years under the title *Vitae humanae adversus omnes casus consolationes*. It is not certain that the Castilian version is by him, but various Aragonisms in the text make it seem probable.⁴

19. a) El Libro de Exemplos por A. B. C. de Climente Sánchez, archidiacono de Valderas. MS. de Paris. A. Morel-Fatio, Edr. *Romania*, VII, p. 481 *et suiv.*
 b) El Libro de los Enxemplos. Escritores en Prosa anteriores al siglo xv, recogidos é ilustrados por D. Pascual de Gayangos (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 51), págs. 447-542. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra. 1884.

¹ Vide MS. T in No. 13, above.

² Octavio de Toledo (*loc. cit.*) also edits a text, *Revelación de un hermitaño* (MS. del Escorial, XIV century), with the somewhat varying text of the *Disputa del cuerpo e del anima* (MS. de la Bibl. Natl. de Paris) with the variants of another Paris MS. These texts are not available for the present investigation because not presenting any cases of pronouns in the categories where interpolation commonly occurs.

³ Gayangos (*op. cit.*, p. 561) mentions a second manuscript, "*propio de un sugeto avecindado en esta corte*," but gives no indication of variants.

⁴ Gayangos, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

The Rivadeneyra edition is printed from a Madrid manuscript, not older than the xv century.¹ This manuscript lacks seventy-two *exemplos*, all but one in the first part of the alphabet. These were found in a later manuscript, now in Paris, and are published in *Romania* as above. The rest of the Paris manuscript remains unedited. Morel-Fatio dates the Paris manuscript as of the end of the xv century. The composition of the work he assigns to the years 1400–1421.²

20. a) La Estoria de los Quatro Doctores de la Santa Iglesia.

Die Geschichte der vier grossen lateinischen Kirchenlehrer, in einer alten spanischen Uebersetzung nach Vincenz von Beauvais herausgegeben von Friedrich Lauchert (*Romanische Bibliothek hrsg. v. Dr. Wendelin Foerster*, XIV. Bd.). Halle a. S. : Max Niemeyer. 1897.

b) La Estoria del rey Anemur e de Iosaphat e de Barlaam. Von Friedrich Lauchert. *Romanische Forschungen*, VII. Bd., ss. 331–402.

Critical editions made from a xv century manuscript in the library of the University of Strassburg. Lauchert³ thinks the manuscript is a copy of an earlier Spanish translation from the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. The original Spanish translation cannot, I think, be older than the middle of the xv century. The orthography is archaistic and similar to that of the texts of Don Juan Manuel and other works of the xiv century but the constructions employed seem more modern. I wish these works and their manuscript might be more exactly dated, as they are among those that exhibit the last vestiges of interpolation in Castilian.

21. a) El Primero Libro del esforzado et virtuoso caballero

Amadís, hijo del rey Perión de Gaula y de la reina Elisena ; el

¹ See Gayangos, *loc. cit.*, pág. 423, and also in his notes to Ticknor, *Hist. de la Lit. Esp.*, I, p. 502.

² *Romania*, VII, p. 482 et suiv.

³ *Est. de los Qu. Dot.*, p. x.

cual fué corregido y emendado por el honrado é virtuoso caballero Garci-Ordóñez de Montalvo, regidor de la noble villa de Medina del Campo, é corrigióle de los antiguos originales, que estaban corruptos é compuestos en antiguo estilo, etc. Libros de Caballerías, con un discurso preliminar y un catálogo razonado por D. Pascual de Gayangos (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 40). Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra. 1874.

- b) Las Sergas del muy esforzado caballero Esplandián, hijo del excelente rey Amadís de Gaula. In Libros de Caballerías, etc. (as above), págs. 403-561.

The Rivadeneyra edition is a reprint of an edition printed at Venice in 1533 by Francisco Delgado. The extant edition of 1508 was not accessible to Gayangos. I have examined for interpolation the first twenty chapters of Book I of *Amadis* (108 columns of Rivadeneyra text) and the first ten chapters of *Las Sergas*.

The first books of *Amadis*, as we know them, were compiled in the last years of the xv century by Garci-Ordóñez de Montalvo from earlier works, but are not known to have been printed before 1508.¹ The question whether Montalvo's source was Spanish or Portuguese has been the subject of a controversy among scholars and is not yet definitely settled.² *Las Sergas de Esplandián* is a sequel to *Amadis*, composed by Montalvo himself.³

The frequent cases in *Amadis* of interpolation, taken together with the absence of interpolation in *Las Sergas*, tend to confirm the argument for a Portuguese source. Meyer-Lübke has anticipated me in suggesting that interpolation in *Amadis* may be due to the Portuguese original,⁴ but

¹ Baist, *Grundr. d. r. Phil.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 440, § 46.

² Baist, *loc. cit.*, s. 441; Carolina Michaëlis, *op. cit.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., ss. 216-226, §§ 55-66.

³ Baist, *loc. cit.*, s. 440.

⁴ *Grammatik d. rom. Spr.*, IV, s. 764, § 715. Gessner (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XVII, s. 34) mentions interpolation and other peculiarities of nominal syntax as distinguishing *Amadis* from other contemporary Spanish texts, but does not ascribe them to Portuguese influence.

I shall, in another part of this investigation, attempt to show that interpolation in *Amadis* is of a quite different sort from that found in texts of undoubted Castilian origin and that it bears a decidedly Portuguese stamp.

22. *La Leyenda del abad don Juan de Montemayor*, publicada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal (*Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur*, 2. Bd.). Dresden. 1903. (Vertreter für den Buchhandel: Max Niemeyer, Halle a. S.)
1. Diego Rodríguez de Almela: *Compendio historial*. Capítulo cclxxxvij.
 2. *Historia del Abad don Juan de Montemayor* impresa en Valladolid, 1562.

The first text is a chapter from Almela's historical work, composed about 1479 and presented to the Catholic Monarchs in 1491. This work exists in two different redactions, the first having one, the second, four, manuscripts. Menéndez Pidal publishes the text of the manuscript of the first redaction with *varia lectio* of the manuscripts of the second. The manuscripts are distinguished as follows:—

First Redaction.

P Bibl. Nac. de Madrid. P-1 In hand of the second half of the xv century.

Second Redaction.

U Bibl. Escorial. U-ij-10 y 12 Of the beginning of the xvi century.
M xvi century manuscript in the library of D. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo.

Note.—In quoting from this text I give variants only where they interest the question of interpolation.

The second text is edited from a copy of the only known exemplar of the edition of 1562. The copy was made under the supervision of S^{ra} Michaëlis de Vasconcellos.

The common sources of both of these texts are extensively discussed by Menéndez Pidal (*op. cit.*, págs. vii-xxxvi). His thesis is that they are taken from a lost prose redaction of a

lost Castilian epic. Carolina Michaëlis had assumed a Portuguese origin for the legend.¹

No argument for or against the theory of a Castilian original could be drawn from the cases of interpolation in Almela's text without previously comparing other portions of his work. The cases of interpolation seem rather frequent for so late a work but are of the same character as those observed in XIV century Castilian texts and may be copied from the lost Castilian *prosificación* which Menéndez Pidal's theory postulates.

23. Souhais de bienvenue adressés à Ferdinand le Catholique par un poète barcelonais en 1473. *Romania*, XI, pp. 333-356. (A. Morel-Fatio, Edr.)

24. Comedia de Calisto et Melibea. (Unico texto auténtico de la Celestina.) Reimpresión publicada por R. Foulché-Delbosc. (*Biblioteca Hispanica*.) Barcelona, "L'Avenç;" Madrid, M. Murillo. 1900.

A reprint of the third edition of the work, published in 1501 at Seville.²

25. Juan de Valdés: Diálogo de la Lengua. Herausgegeben von Eduard Boehmer. *Romanische Studien* hrsg. v. Eduard Boehmer, VI. Bd., ss. 339-490. Bonn: Eduard Weber's Verlag (Julius Flittner), 1895.

Edited from a manuscript in the Bibl. Nac. de Madrid. The manuscript was probably written before 1558.³ The dialog was composed about 1535.⁴

26. La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, y de sus fortunas y aduersidades. Restitución de la edición príncipe por R. Foulché-

¹ *Grundr. d. rom. Philol.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., s. 206, § 50.

² Gessner (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XVII, s. 34) states that interpolation does not occur in the *Celestina*. My examination of the critically edited reprint confirms his finding.

³ Boehmer, *op. cit.*, s. 455.

⁴ Baist, *Grundr. d. rom. Philol.*, II, Bd., 2. Abt., s. 458, § 59.

Delbosc. (*Biblioteca hispanica.*) Barcelona, "L'Avenç;" Madrid, M. Murillo. 1900.

Critical reconstruction of the lost *editio princeps* from the three editions of the year 1554 (Alcalá de Henares, Burgos, and Antwerp) with the variant readings of these editions.

27. Luis de León: La Perfecta Casada por el maestro F.

Luys de Leon. Texto del siglo xvi. Reimpresión de la Tercera Edición, con variantes de la Primera y un Prólogo por Elizabeth Wallace. (*Decennial Publications. Second Series. Vol. vi.*) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1903.

The edition followed was printed at Salamanca in 1587.

GALICIAN AND PORTUGUESE TEXTS.

28. Cantigas de Santa María de Don Alfonso el Sabio.

Las publica la Real Academia Española. (L. de Cueto, marqués de Valmar, Edr.). Madrid: Luis Aguado. 1889.

Edition made from a XIII century manuscript preserved in the Escorial.¹ The *cantigas* date from about the third quarter of the XIII century.² I have collected the examples of interpolation in the first fifteen *cantigas* (págs. 3-26).

29. (El-Rey Dom Diniz de Portugal.) Das Liederbuch des

Königs Denis von Portugal. Zum ersten Mal vollständig herausgegeben und mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar versehen von Henry R. Lang. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer. 1894.

Critical edition based on Monaci's diplomatic editions of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* (Codex Vaticanus 4803)³ and the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti*. The Vatican codex belongs to the end of the xv or beginning of the xvi century.⁴

¹ Paz y Melia, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. 37.

² Carolina Michaëlis, *Grundr. d. rom. Philol.*, II. Bd., 2. Abt., ss. 184-5.

³ Il canzoniere portoghese della biblioteca vaticana, messo a stampa da Ernesto Monaci. Con una prefazione, con facsimili e con altre illustrazioni. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer editore. 1875.

⁴ Lang, *op. cit.*, *Einl. s. v.*

Dom Diniz, grandson of Alfonso X of Castile, reigned from 1279 to 1325.¹

I have examined for interpolation only the first fifty *cantigas d'amor*, all taken from the Vatican manuscript (985 verses in all). The quotations in the Appendix follow Lang's text in every case, as very few of his emendations affect cases of interpolation.²

30. *Estoria troyãa acabada era de mill et quatroçentos et onze annos (1373). Extraits du MS. de la Bibl. Natle. de Madrid, 1-i-67 par Jules Cornu. Miscellanea Linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli, pp. 95-128. 1901.*

Crónica Troyana, códice gallego del siglo XIV de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, con apuntes gramaticales y vocabulario por D. Manuel R. Rodríguez. Publícalo á expensas de la exema. Diputación de esta provincia Andrés Martínez Salazar. Volumen Primero. La Coruña. Imprenta de la Casa de Misericordia. 1900.

Both publications are based on the same manuscript. This was completed in the year 1373. In the quotations I have followed the text as given by Cornu, examining for interpolation pages 95-113.

31. a) *Vida de Eufrosina.*

b) *Vida de Maria Egipcí.*

c) *Extraits d'un Traité de dévotion.*

Textes portugais du XIV^e siècle. Jules Cornu, Edr. Romania, XI, pp. 357-390.

These three works are found in a single XIV century manuscript. The first two are in the same hand. The third is in a different hand.

¹ *Ibid.*, s. xxxvi ff.

² To v. 975: *qual eu a vi, u ouvi Deus irado*, Lang appends the following note: *ms. q̄l eu ui; der sinn sowie das metrum verlangen a.* In view of the great preponderance of the interpolated order in the text, I should have emended: *qual a eu vi*, etc.

32. Un Viaggio fantastico, in portuguese. E. Teza: Tri-foglio. *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, XI. Bd., ss. 289-297.

Edited from a manuscript in the library of Siena (*D. V.* 13, pp. 219-223). The text is Old Portuguese but the editor vouchsafes no further indication of date.

33. Z. Consiglieri Pedroso: Contribuições para um romanceiro e cancionero popular portuguez. *Romania*, x, pp. 100-116. 1881.

Collected by the editor from oral tradition chiefly in Lisbon and vicinity.

34. A. Coelho, Edr.: Romances sacros, orações e ensalmos populares do Minho. *Romania*, III, p. 262 *et suiv.* 1874.

Collected by the editor from oral tradition in the province named.

35. Henry R. Lang: Tradições populares açorianas. Can-tigas populares. *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XVI. Bd., ss. 422-431.

Editor's note (s. 422): "Os materiaes que vou dar a conhecer aqui, foram sem excepção colhidos de gente da ilha do Fayal."

NOTES ON SPANISH TEXTS AND SPANISH DIALECTS IN GENERAL.

An examination of the preceding list of texts, utilized for linguistic material, will show that, whenever they were to be had, critically edited editions have been followed. As the number of the latter is still very limited, it has been necessary to have recourse to a rather large number of works which have not yet found critical editors.

It will be seen, also, that in the case of most works there have been added to the usual bibliographical indications of edition, manuscripts, etc., a few words with regard to the chronology and dialect both of the manuscripts and of the author.

In many cases the chronology is decidedly unsatisfactory. The small number of critical editions, the dearth of texts edited on more than one manuscript, and the lack of critical apparatus generally, make it extremely hazardous, in the absence of external data, to attempt to fix from internal criteria alone the date of any text.

Even more perplexing than the question of date is that of dialect. In the absence of any authoritative treatise on the subject, it may be well briefly to state the principles which have guided the present investigation.

In the first place one must bear in mind the historical conditions of the formative period, *i. e.*, the period during which the peninsular dialects were differentiating most rapidly from Vulgar Latin and taking on those characteristics of Castilian, Galician, etc., which we meet in the earliest Romance texts. For a period of nearly four centuries, that is, from the fall of the Visigothic monarchy in A. D. 711 to the last quarter of the XI century,¹ all of Spain south of the rivers Ebro and Duero remained in undisputed possession of the Moors. In the course of the X and XI centuries, we observe the rise of several independent Christian states along the northern border of the peninsula. Each of these is, I think, to be regarded as a linguistic centre. These states, proceeding from East to West, are :—

- 1) Catalonia.
- 2) Aragon and Navarre.
- 3) Old Castile.

¹ The following dates will give an approximate idea of the chronology of the Christian recovery of the peninsula : 1085. Capture of Toledo.—1094. Valencia taken by the Cid, but evacuated in 1102.—1104. Capture of Medinaceli, a Moorish stronghold near the meeting point of the boundaries of Old Castile, New Castile and Aragon.—1118. Saragossa.—1147. Lisbon.—1177. Cuenca, in New Castile.—1212. Battle of *Las Navas de Tolosa*, carrying Christian arms into Andalusia.—1236. Capture of Cordoba.—1238. Final capture of Valencia.—1248. Seville.

4) Asturias and Leon.

5) Galicia.

As the Christian recovery of Spain proceeded from North to South, each of these small states formed, as it were, a linguistic base from which speech was carried southward by the *conquistadores*. In their gradual progress southward, the Christians of the North mingled with great bodies of Romance speaking brethren (*aljamiados*) who had been living under Mohammedan rule. It would seem, however, as if the influence of the *aljamiado* dialects on the future trend of speech had been inconsiderable as compared with that of the northern linguistic centres named above. The northern conquerors, the *cristianos viejos*, everywhere formed the dominant class and, naturally, the pioneers of literature in the vernacular would either be members of the dominant caste or if not, would wish to adopt its idiom.

I shall consider the five linguistic centres in turn, proceeding from East to West.

1) Catalonia.—This is the centre of a linguistic province so sharply marked off from the rest of Spain that we do not have to regard it in the study of the interrelations of Spanish dialects. Catalan speech extended southwards, embracing a large part of the east coast.

2) Aragon and Navarre.—Unlike Catalonia, Aragon had no Trans-Pyrenean connections and its speech is very close to that of its western neighbor, Castile. In the march of conquest the Aragonese moved to the southeast, leaving New Castile to their western neighbors.

3) Old Castile.—The kings of Castile, in their triumphant progress from the conquest of Toledo in 1085 to that of Seville in 1248, that is, in a century and a half, carried their speech over the greater part of the peninsula. The linguistic province, which at Santander on the Cantabrian coast runs almost to a point, spreads out ever wider and wider towards

the south, taking in first New Castile and finally all Andalusia and Murcia. The relative uniformity of Spanish as spoken to-day over all of this vast area, in contrast to the divergent vernaculars of other parts of the peninsula, still bears witness to the former unity of Castilian speech.

4) Leon and Asturias.—Although these provinces were the cradle of the *Reconquista*, their dialect, owing to their early union with Castile and the transference of the seat of power to the latter country, remained subordinate to the Castilian and was not, to any great extent, carried into the conquered regions. It forms, however, a connecting link between the speech of Castile and that of Galicia, having characteristics in common with each of them.

5) Galicia.—The speech of this province differentiated itself markedly from the dialects to the East and, carried southward into Portugal, gave rise to the modern Portuguese. In the Middle Ages, however, there was no sharp boundary between Galician, on the one hand, and Leonese and Castilian on the other. In spite of salient phonetic differences both of these idioms belong to the same *Sprachgemeinde*. For this reason it has been necessary to include Portuguese and Galician texts in the present investigation.

The point of the preceding discussion which I wish most to emphasize is the fundamental character of the *East to West* differentiation of the dialects, in contrast to the comparative uniformity of speech in the direction North and South. This has an important bearing on my thesis, as I hope to make it seem probable that interpolation is a phenomenon first appearing in the West, gradually extending towards the East, gaining a foothold for a time in Old Castile but falling from Castilian speech when the centres of political and literary activity were shifted eastward from Old Castile to New Castile.

ALPHABETIC LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

The Numbers refer to the List of Spanish, Galician and Portuguese Texts.

Abad Juan.	<i>La Leyenda del Abad don Juan de Montemayor</i> (22).
Alex.	<i>El Libro de Alexandre</i> (5).
Alf. Onceno.	<i>Poema de Alfonso Onceno</i> (14).
Amadis.	<i>Amadis de Gaula</i> (21a).
Apol.	<i>Libro de Apolonio</i> (3).
Berceo.	Gonzalo de Berceo (4).
Laur.	<i>Martyrio de Sant Laurençio.</i>
Loor.	<i>Loores de Nuestra Sennora.</i>
Milag.	<i>Milagros de Nuestra Sennora.</i>
Millan.	<i>Vida de Sant Millán.</i>
Missa.	<i>Del Sacrificio de la Misa.</i>
Oria.	<i>Vida de Sancta Oria, Virgen.</i>
Silos.	<i>Vida de Sancto Domingo de Silos.</i>
Buen Amor.	v. Juan Ruiz.
Cant. Cant.	<i>El Cantar de los Cantares</i> (7).
Cant. S. María.	<i>Cantigas de Santa Maria de Don Alfonso el Sabio</i> (28).
Cav. et Esc.	v. Juan Manuel.
Caza.	v. Juan Manuel.
Celest.	<i>Comedia de Calisto et Melibea, etc.</i> (24).
Cid.	<i>Poema del Cid</i> (1).
Consol.	Pedro de Luna : <i>Libro de las Consolaciones de la vida humana</i> (18).
Contrib.	<i>Contribuições para um romanceiro e cancionero popular portuguez</i> (33).
Débat.	<i>Débat du vin et de l'eau</i> (8).
Dial. Leng.	Juan de Valdés : <i>Diálogo de la Lengua</i> (25).
Diniz.	El-Rey Dom Diniz de Portugal : <i>Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis v. Portugal</i> (29).
Docs. Alf. X.	<i>Documentos de la época de Don Alfonso et Sabio</i> (9).
Egipc.	<i>Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca</i> (2).
Egipc. (Pg.).	<i>Vida de Maria Egipcíaca</i> (31b).
Enxemp.	<i>El Libro de los Enxemplos</i> (19b).
Est. Troy.	<i>Estoria Troyãa, etc.</i> (30).
Eufros.	<i>Vida de Eufrosina</i> (31a).
Exenp.	<i>El Libro de Exenplos de Climente Sánchez</i> (19a).
Fern. Gonç.	<i>Poema de Fernán González</i> (6).
Filiberto.	<i>Visión de Filiberto</i> (17).

Gran. Conq.	<i>La Gran Conquista de Ultramar</i> (11).
Inf. de Lara.	<i>La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara</i> (10).
José.	<i>Poema de José</i> (16).
Juan Manuel.	Don Juan Manuel.
Cav. et Esc.	<i>El Libro del Cavallero et del Escudero</i> (12b).
Caza.	<i>El Libro de la Caza</i> (12a).
Patronio.	<i>El Libro de los Enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio</i> (12c).
Juan Ruiz : Buen Amor.	Juan Ruiz, arcipreste de Hita : <i>Libro de Buen Amor</i> (13).
Laur.	v. Berceo.
Lazar.	<i>La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes</i> (26).
Loor.	v. Berceo.
Mand.	<i>De los diez Mandamientos</i> (8).
Milag.	v. Berceo.
Millan.	v. Berceo.
Missa.	v. Berceo.
Oria.	v. Berceo.
P. d'A.	<i>Poème d'Amour</i> (8).
Patronio.	v. Juan Manuel.
Perf. Casada.	Luis de León : <i>La Perfecta Casada</i> (27).
Quatro Dot.	<i>La Estoria de los Quatro Doctores de la Santa Iglesia</i> (20a).
Rimado.	Pero López de Ayala : <i>Rimado de Palacio</i> (15).
Rom. Sacr.	<i>Romances sacros, orações e ensalmos populares do Minho</i> (34).
Sergas.	<i>Las Sergas de Esplandian</i> (21b).
Silos.	v. Berceo.
Souhais.	<i>Souhais de bienvenue adressés à Ferdinand le Catholique</i> (23).
Trad. Açor.	<i>Tradições populares açorianas</i> (35).
Traité.	<i>Extraits d'un Traité de dévotion</i> (31c).
Viag. Fantast.	<i>Viaggio fantastico in portoghese</i> (32).

PART ONE.

STUDY OF INTERPOLATION IN THE TEXTS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE
ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL.

Before entering upon the discussion of interpolation in individual texts, a few words of explanation with regard to the classification of examples will be necessary.

Interpolations of more than one word are rare in Castilian texts. The interpolated word is almost invariably :—

- 1) The negative particle *non* (or *no*). In this category fall a majority of all the cases of interpolation.
- 2) An adverb (other than *non*), e. g. *bien*, *mal*, *mucho*, *así*, etc. Interpolations of this sort are less frequent than those of No. 1. This category will be symbolized by the adverb *bien*.
- 3) A personal pronoun subject. This category will be symbolized by the pronoun *yo*.

Another variety of interpolation, consisting of but a single word, is that of a noun (oftenest *Dios*) or a demonstrative pronoun, e. g. *esto*. Examples of this sort of interpolation are infrequent and in most of the articles of the Appendix are, for convenience, combined with those of interpolations of more than one word.

In a great majority of the latter, one of the interpolated words belongs to one of the three categories mentioned above, or the interpolation may be a combination of two of them, e. g. *yo non*, *yo bien*. Interpolation of a noun or demonstrative pronoun I designate as *nominal*, that of two or more words as *multiverbal*.

The most general characteristic of interpolation, however, is the fact that wherever it occurs, the pronoun-object follows immediately after the initial word of a dependent clause. The exceptions to this rule are so rare in Castilian texts that I class all such exceptions as anomalous. The anomalous interpolations are of two sorts: 1st) Those in which the pronoun-object follows some member of a principal clause (including the conjunctions *et*, *pero*, *mas*), and 2nd) Those in which the pronoun-object in a dependent clause does not immediately follow the initial word of such clause. Examples of the second sort are very rare.

The initial word of the dependent clause I shall call the *exordium*.¹ The most common exordiums are *que* and *si*. The conjunctions *et*, *pero*, *mas*, do not introduce dependent clauses. This is proved by the fact that in *et*-, *pero*- and *mas*- clauses the pronoun-object may be enclitic to the verb. Such enclisis never occurs in clauses introduced by other conjunctions. At least I have found no example of it in Castilian.²

For convenience I have divided the exordiums into three classes, although the division does not represent any fundamental distinction as regards the phenomenon of interpolation. The three classes are :—

- 1) *Que*. This includes the conjunction *que*, simple or compound (*por que*, etc.), *que* with the force of *ca* or *pues*, and the relative pronoun *que*, subject or object or following a preposition.
- 2) *Si* (dialectal *se*) in the protasis of conditional sentences.

¹ I borrow this use of the word from Wackernagel's article, *Ueber ein Gesetz der idg. Wortstellung*, Idg. Forsch., I, ss. 333 ff.

² Dependent clauses introduced by a verb are naturally excluded from this discussion, as in them the object-pronoun must follow the verb exordium. Interpolation is limited to constructions in which the pronoun precedes its governing verb.

- 3) *Quando* (modern spelling *cuando*) which is employed to symbolize all exordiums other than *que* or *si*, whether conjunctions, relative pronouns, or relative adverbs with conjunctional force.¹

Still another variety of interpolation is found in the case of infinitives governed by a preposition. In this construction pronoun-objects, the negative particle, and adverbs commonly precede the infinitive, standing between it and the governing preposition. Pronoun-subjects and other words occasionally occur in the same position. Thus the preposition becomes quite parallel to the exordium of a dependent clause and the same varieties of interpolation are possible. These cases will be symbolized in the same manner as the others, *por* representing any preposition governing an infinitive.

The Appendix of this article shows all the examples, in the works or parts of works indicated, of the categories defined above. Examples of normal order are classed under the sub-heading *a*); those of interpolated order, under *b*). Examples of normal order are given only in the three categories first mentioned above (*non*, *bien*, *yo*). Nominal and multiverbal interpolations will be symbolized by two blanks (— —). The pronoun-object itself is symbolized by *lo*, which will be employed to represent also the combination of indirect and direct object (*ge lo*, etc.), as two pronoun objects form a syntactic unit which is never broken. The categories of interpolations and exordiums are combined according to the following scheme, the Spanish words having the symbolic values defined in the foregoing paragraphs.

¹Occasionally a word-group, having the function of a relative through the inclusion of *quanto*, or the like, stands in the place of an exordium. Interpolations in such cases are classed as anomalous in the Appendix, but receive special mention in the discussion.

SCHEME OF CLASSIFICATION OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. a) Que, si, quando non lo. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
b) Que, si, quando lo non. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
2. a) Que, si, quando bien lo. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
b) Que, si, quando lo bien. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
3. a) Que, si, quando yo lo. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
b) Que, si, quando lo yo. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
4. Que, si, quando lo — —. 1) Que. 2) Si. 3) Quando.
5. Anomalous Examples.
6. Infinitive. a) 1) Por non lo. 2) Por bien lo.
b) 1) Por lo non. 2) Por lo bien. 3) Por lo — —.

Note.—The material of Nos. 4 (Berceo), 12a (Caza), 13 (Buen Amor), 17 (Filiberto), 19a (Exenp.), 31 (Eufros., Egipc. (Pg.), *Traité*), does not exactly follow the preceding scheme, but is arranged: 1. a) *Que non lo*. b) *Que lo non*. 2. a) *Si non lo*. b) *Si lo non*, etc. In some works, also, examples of category No. 4, *Que lo — —*, etc., are combined with the anomalous examples. This last classification was adopted tentatively during the earlier part of the investigation. Later it appeared that the division into the categories *que, si, quando* was not organic. Consequently it seemed best to modify the scheme of classification in such a way as to give less prominence to these categories.

CHAPTER I.

INTERPOLATION IN CASTILIAN WORKS OF THE
XII AND XIII CENTURIES.

A.

THE *Poema del Cid*.

The *Cid* (Appendix, No. 1) is the only monument of the XII century of sufficient length to afford material for the study of interpolation.¹ Examination reveals only eight examples of interpolation, distributed as follows: two of the type *que lo non*, one of *quando lo non*, against nineteen of *que non lo*, three of *si non lo* and seven of *quando non lo*, or three to twenty-nine in favor of the normal order for the first category; one example of *que lo bien* to sixteen of *que, si, quando bien lo*; three of *que lo yo*, one of *si lo yo*, against four of *que yo lo*, one of *si yo lo* and fourteen of *quando yo lo*, or four to nineteen in favor of the normal order; one anomalous example: *qui lo fer non quisiesse*, v. 2993.²

¹ Fragmentary specimens of Spanish of an early date are furnished by the works named below. For the subject of interpolation their evidence is entirely negative.

a) J. Pribsch, *Altspanische Glossen*, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XIX, ss. 1-40.

b) Egidio Gorra, *Lingua e letteratura spagnuola*, pp. 177-180, 183-184. The fragments of early texts in this work are reprinted from:

c) E. Monaci, *Testi basso-latini e volgari della Spagna, raccolti per un corso accademico sui primordi della letteratura castigliana*, con note. Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1891.

d) *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, Abdruck von G. Baist. Erlangen, 1887.

² I class this as an example of interpolation because proclisis of a pronoun object with an infinitive when the latter is accompanied by a modal verb, is abnormal in Old Spanish texts, especially so when the clause is negative. For the normal order, cf. *Cid*, v. 619: *Los moros et las moras vender non los podremos*.

The relatively rare occurrence of interpolation in the *Cid*, when taken together with the small number of examples of it in most works of the following century, leads one to suspect that the phenomenon is not a feature of the *Cid* in its original form but is due to later scribes. The metrification and text criticism of the *Cid* are, however, so uncertain that any attempt to dispose of the interpolations by establishing critical readings with normal order does not seem warranted. The proportion of interpolated subject pronouns is much greater than that of examples in other categories and it is possible that some of these cases may be original. The earliest authentic case of interpolation that I have met is of this sort. In a document of the year 1206¹ there occurs the following passage:—

en tal guisa que aquellos, vasallo ó vasallos de la Reyna Doña Berenguela, á *que los ela* mandare dar, fagan omenexe primeramente, *op. cit.*, pág. cxxxv, l. 3.

B.

METRICAL WORKS OF THE XIII CENTURY ON FRENCH MODELS.

1. *Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca* (Appendix No. 2).—In the 1442 verses of this poem there is only one example of interpolation:—

por poco que *se non* murien, v. 103,

as against eight examples of the type *que non lo*, five of them with the pronoun *se*. I think we must attribute this one exceptional case of interpolation to a XIV century copyist.

¹ Tratados de Paz entre los reyes Don Alfonso VIII. de Castilla y IX. de León, firmados en Cabreros, Era 1244, año de 1206, sacados de escritura original que existe en la Santa Iglesia de León. Fray Manuel Risco, Edr. España Sagrada, t. xxxvi, apénd. lxii, págs. cxxxii–cxl.

2. *Libro de Apolonio* (Appendix No. 3).—In the first half of this work, which is all that I have examined, there is but one example of interpolation :—

Fija, si vos queredes buscarne grant plazer,
Que vos yo siempre aya mucho que gradeçer.

Stz. 166, 1-2.

I incline to think that in this case the copyist anticipated the words *yo siempre* and that the original reading was : *Que vos aya yo siempre*.¹ The poem, moreover, exhibits not less than twenty-six examples of the categories in which interpolation normally occurs without a single case of it.²

3. *Gonzalo de Berceo* (Appendix No. 4).—The extensive remains of Berceo's verse afford a wide field for the study of interpolation. The published text of the seven poems of Berceo which I have examined, presents fifteen examples of interpolation, thirteen of *non* and only two of subject pronouns. The examples of the type *que non lo* outnumber those of *que lo non* three to one (22 to 7), and those of *si non lo* are more than twice as frequent as those of *si lo non*.³ The only anomalous example is :—

Por poco se non riso, tant ovo grant sabor.

Millán 222, 4.

¹ The verse is metrically correct and it is, of course, possible that the interpolation is original. Another hypothesis is that *Que vos yo aya* represents the original order. Interpolation may have begun earlier with *nos* and *vos* than with the other pronouns, since the former do not have distinct case or stress forms. This will be discussed in another chapter.

² Brief mention should be made of : *El Libro de los Reyes de Oriente*. Florencio Janer, *Poetas Castellanos anteriores al siglo xv.* (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, t. 57), págs. 319-321.

This poem, contained in the same manuscript with *Apol.* and *Egipc.*, and written in verse similar to that of the latter, contains no example of interpolation, but it is too short to offer evidence of any considerable value.

³ These figures cannot be taken as final. Compare the note on the Rivadeneyra edition of the *Alexandre* in the *List of Texts*, No. 5.

I incline to attribute to XIV century copyists most of the examples of the types *que lo non*, *si lo non*, in Berceo. For the examples of the type *que lo non* I cannot, however, adduce any argument for a different reading in the original. Granted the absence of synalepha in Berceo's syllable count,¹ the normal or the interpolated order is indifferent to the metre.

The proportion of cases of the type *si lo non* is, we have seen, rather higher than that of *que lo non*. It seems probable that some of the former are unoriginal :—

- 1) *Que sis non quisiessen quitar de la folia*.—Millán 283, 2.

The first half verse is one syllable short. I should read :
Que si non se quisiessen.

- 2) *Sennor, si nos non sanas, daqui nunca iztremos*.—Millán 327, 1.
Si nos non vales, madre, podemosnos perder.—Loor. 223, 2.

In the two cases above, I think that *nos* partakes of the character of a stressed pronoun. It is, then, to be regarded as a relic of earlier usage before stressed pronouns employed as objects required the preposition *á*.

There are only two cases of interpolated subject pronouns in *que*-clauses, as against thirteen with normal order, and no case with *si* as against eight of the type *si yo lo*. The first example :—

- Lo que lis él diçia façieielo probar*. Milagr. 725, 3.

should be compared with :—

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| <i>Que elli les dennasse conseio embiar.</i> | Silos 450, 3. |
| <i>Que elli lis mostrase qual debiessen alzar.</i> | Milagr. 307, 4. |
| <i>En el su amor sancto que él la ençienda.</i> | Missa 102, 3. |
| <i>Que él los absuelva de todos los pecados.</i> | Missa 269, 2. |

It is apparent that the last two examples lack a syllable.

¹ F. Hanssen, *Miscelánea de Versif. Castellana*, págs. 6-8 ; *Sobre el Hiato*, etc., págs. 12-14.

They should also show the form *elli* which Berceo seems regularly to have used before a word beginning with *l*. It follows that in the interpolated example Berceo wrote *que lis él*, because *que elli lis* would have made the half verse too long, or else, *lo quelli lis digia*, although we expect him to avoid the synalepha with *que* of the last supposition.

The other example of interpolation in the *yo* category :—

De sendos pater nostres *que me vos ayudedes*. Missa 297, 3.

occurs in the last stanza of a poem. This stanza, judged from its content, can hardly be from Berceo's hand. The second verse :—

Merçet pido a todos por la ley que tenedes,

with its monosyllabic treatment of *ley*¹ is, it seems to me, sufficient proof of its late date.

Berceo contains one, for XIII century Castilian, quite anomalous example of multiverbal interpolation :—

Si me lo la tu graçia quisesse condonar.

Millán 60, 3.

This verse is metrically perfect and may be compared with *Apol.* 166, 2 (see above). I see no way of establishing a satisfactory reading without interpolation.

4. *Libro de Alexandre* (Appendix No. 5).—In the *List of Texts* I have discussed the question of the original dialect of this poem. I believe that it has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the first Spanish compiler was Berceo, or, at least, a near contemporary and compatriot. My own task is to attempt to show that in the original the word-order was similar to that of other XIII century texts and that the

¹ J. Cornu, *Grey*, *ley* et *rey* disyllabes dans Berceo, l'Apolonio et l'Alexandre. *Etudes de phonologie espagnole et portugaise, Romania*, ix, p. 71 et suiv.

great use of interpolation in the preserved text is only one feature of the dialect with which the original text is overlaid.

The text, as published, shows twenty-nine examples of the type *que non lo* to seven of *que lo non*; three of *si non lo* to five of *si lo non*; and five of *quando non lo* to six of *quando lo non*. The proportionate number of interpolations is thus much greater than in the text of any XIII century work presenting normal Castilian dialect. Of the twenty-nine cases of the type *que non lo*, fifteen, or more than one-half, are of the form *que nol*; only two are of the form *que no lo* and there is no example of *que no le*. In the cases of *que nol* it is clear that the Leonese copyist could not substitute interpolation and at the same time preserve the original syllable count except by writing *quel non* and this contraction he seems to have avoided. With the pronoun *se*, contraction (*que nos*) is rare in *Alexandre*, and it seems not to occur with *me*, *te*. In the great majority of these cases we find the interpolated order. *Se* is contracted once with *non* before a following *le*:—

Que nos le retenſe castiello nin çudat.—Alex. 285, 2.

and twice with *que* in *non* interpolations:—

Que tal fijo ouies, ques non touies por meior.—Alex. 334, 4.

Lidiaron un gran dia ques non podien uençer.—Alex. 600, 1.

The first of the two examples above has one syllable too many. The following reading rectifies the metre:

Qui tal fijo ouies, nos touies por meior.

There are three examples of *que non se* and five of *que se non*. *Sil non* in two cases: 133, 4; 205, 4, may be for an original *si nol*, given the frequency of *que nol*, discussed above.

As between the types *quando non lo* and *quando lo non* the cases are pretty evenly divided. If in the verse:—

Quien le non obedeçiesse farie trayçion.—Alex. 2471, 4.

we suppose the original composer to have written *quien nol*, the syllable count becomes correct.

Interpolation of adverbs (other than *non*), entirely absent in Berceo, is rare in *Alexandre*, which has twenty-three cases of adverbs between exordium and pronoun-object and only four cases of interpolation. The latter are :—

Era muy alegre porque lo assi ueya onrrado.—Alex. 177, 4.

Sertán mas leales si lo assy fezieres.—Alex. 48, 3.

Ca si lo bien entendiesses, mucho te escarneçen.—Alex. 360, 4.

Sennor, çiegos se uean quantos uos mal çegaron.—Alex. 2488, 2.

The first example is too long ; I suggest :—

Era se muy alegre por quel veie onrrado.

The third example is too long by a syllable. An emendation, *ca sil bien*, would support original interpolation. I prefer to think that the copyist added *ca* at the beginning of the verse. In the two other cases above, nothing, as far as I can see, can be adduced from metrical considerations.¹

With the subject pronoun, interpolation in *Alexandre* is comparatively frequent. The ratio of the interpolated to the regular order is eight to thirteen. (Compare two to twenty-one in Berceo.) The interpolated cases, however, seem to offer no internal evidence of a normal original.

From our point of view, the most remarkable feature of *Alexandre* is the large number of interpolations of a kind common in western dialects (cf. chap. iv), but anomalous in Castilian of any period. Thus there are eight cases of multi-verbal interpolation and three in which *non* follows the object-pronoun, although the latter does not stand next to

¹ In the fourth example, the only one in *Alex.* of the adverb *mal* occurring with pronoun objects, one is tempted to write *malçegaron*, treating it as a formation parallel to *maldecir*, *malquerer*, *maltratar*, etc. The sense, however, seems to preclude this hypothesis.

the exordium. If *Alexandre* comes from an Old Castilian original, the latter can hardly have possessed many of the class of interpolations which we are now considering. Berceo has only a single example:—

Si me lo la tu graçia quisesse condonar.—Millán 60, 3.

I think that criticism of these examples of irregular interpolation in *Alexandre* will, in a number of cases, show that the present form is not original.

1) *Si lo yo saber puedo non me lo podrá lograr.*—Alex. 34, 3.

Merely suppressing *me* in the second half restores the metre. I propose to read:—

Si yo saber lo puedo non lo podra lograr.

I justify the order *Infinitive—Pronoun Object—Modal Verb* by its extreme frequency in *Alexandre*, Berceo and Old Castilian generally.¹

2) *Nunca te falliré si me tu non falleçieres.*—Alex. 362, 3.

This verse can be corrected by reading *si tu nom falleçieres*, but as the contraction *nom* is uncertain for Berceo and *Alexandre* and as the pronoun subject is not expressed in the first half verse, I am inclined to omit it in the second also, in which case we have *si me non* (or with greater probability *si non me*) *falleçieres*. The sense, however, seems to demand

¹ Examples are *Alex.*, 3, 1; 14, 3; 46, 4; *et passim*. Cf. *Cid.*, vv. 813, 890, 1071, 1298, 1416, 1620, 1951, 2168, 3011. (See Nils Flaten, *The Personal Pronoun in the Poema del Cid*, *Modern Language Notes*, xvi, col. 72). In this construction the pronoun object is not attached to the infinitive (as erroneously indicated in the Gayangos editions by the introduction of a hyphen), but is the object of the governing verb. This appears plainly when the phrase is negative: *pagar non te lo podria*, *Alex.*, 36, 2. Cf. *Alex.* 101, 2; 145, 2, etc. Berceo, *Silos*, 132, 4; Millán, 50, 4; 68, 1, etc. *Deçirla non podremos*, *Silos* 33, 4, is an exception and is probably not original, as the reading of the manuscript collated by Janer is *deçir non lo*. Compare, also, the note on the edition of *Fern. Gonç.* (*List of Texts*, No. 6).

stressed objects. I think we may go still farther and write :—

*A ti non falliré si a mi non falleres.*¹

3) Non tornaríe rienda quien *se a él* llegaua.—Alex. 113, 4.

The first half verse lacks a syllable. The second shows *él* before initial *l*, in which position, as we have seen, Berceo preferred the form *elle* or *elli*.² The original, then, may have read somewhat as follows :—

Nunca tornaríe rienda qui a *elli* llegaua.

4) Quando *se omnes uien* catan uassallos e sennores.—Alex. 1666, 1.

I suppress *bien* and restore normal order as follows :—

Quando omnes *se* catan uassallos e sennores.

5) Quando *la el rey* dixo quierolo yo cuntar.—Alex. 1935, 4.

The first half verse, counting *rey* as two syllables, is too long. The context (see Appendix No. 5, § 5) seems to demand *quanto* rather than *quando*, in which case *la* is superfluous. I propose :—

Quanto el rey dixo quiero lo yo cuntar.

6) Quanto *uos omne non* podrie dezir nen cuntar.—Alex. 1967, 4.

In this example the first half verse is too long, the second, too short. I propose :—

Quanto *non vos* podrie omne dir nen cuntar.³

7) Quellos *te non* digan en que puede finir.—Alex. 2318, 3.

¹ My impression is that *fallir* had simple as well as inchoative forms in the perfect system, but I cannot now cite any instances.

² The form *elle* (in Berceo usually *elli*) is properly a nominative but appears to have been used after prepositions as well. Cf. *Las oveias con elli avien muy grant sabor*, Silos 20, 4.

³ The existence of an infinitive *dir* seems attested by the Castilian future *diré*, *dir-vos-he*, etc., but I cannot now cite any examples of the simple infinitive.

The first half verse is short. If *quellos* represents a contraction in the original text, I should propose, *qu'ellos a ti non digan*, etc., but *que ellos non te digan* is probably to be preferred.

The three examples following are anomalous in Castilian, but find frequent parallels in Galician and Portuguese texts (see chap. IV).

- 1) Desque *lo uisto* ouo nos le pudo asconder.—Alex. 160, 2.

I propose the reading :—

Desque *uisto lo* ouo¹ nos pudo asconder.

- 2) Aqui *te merçed* pedir si tu lo destruyeres.—Alex. 219, 1.

The verse is evidently corrupt. I propose :—

Merçed *te* pediré si tu lo destruyeres.

Compare : *merçé te pido*, Berceo, Loor. 98, 3. The verse is uncertain as it occurs at the beginning of a stanza with five verses and does not seem to connect with the four following which make a regular stanza.

- 3) E lo que yo quis nunca *lo uos* contradixiestes.—Alex. 2120, 4.

The first half verse is short, the second, long. Transferring *vos* to the first verb and striking out the second *lo*, we produce a regular verse :—

E lo que *yo vos* quis nunca contradixiestes.

If the text criticisms made above are at all tenable, it follows that interpolation in *Alexandre* is not sensibly different from that in Berceo, and that in the transmitted texts of both, most of the examples of it are due to copyists.

5. *Poema de Fernán González* (Appendix No. 6).—Interpolation is rare in this work. There is in the manuscript

¹ For this order cf. *Cid*, vv. 62, 261, 306, 366, 845, 848, 1075, etc.

only one example of interpolated *non*, *Si los non acorryan*, 530, 4, as against eleven of regular order (type *que non lo* 8; *si* 1; *quando* 2). There is no example of interpolation in the *bien* category and only one case of an interpolated subject pronoun: *quanto que te yo digo*, 238, 3. In the latter category there are five (accepting Marden's readings, six) cases of regular order. There are two anomalous cases:—

- 1) *Que ge la conquerryan mas non lo byen asmavan*.—F. Gonç. 132, 4.

I should prefer to read *mas bien non lo asmavan*, or perhaps, *pero bien nol asmavan*, although the versification does not demand any change.

- 2) *Sennor, dicho te he lo que te dezir queria*.—F. Gonç. 344, 1.

Marden emends the verse by striking out *te*, and incidentally removes the anomalous order.¹

C.

MINOR TEXTS OF THE XIII CENTURY.

1. *El Cantar de los Cantares* (Appendix No. 7).—This XIII century Castilian version of the Song of Solomon presents only two examples of the categories in which interpolation usually occurs. The first example, *si non te connoces*, cap. 1, v. 7, is regular; the second, *por que nos assi coniurest*, cap. v, v. 9, shows interpolation.

2. The *Poème d'amour*, *Débat du vin et de l'eau*, and *Dix commandements* (Appendix No. 8 abc), three short compositions preserved in a XIII century manuscript, show no examples at all of interpolation. This might be expected from the fact that the manuscript seems to have been written in Aragon.

¹ With regard to the position of pronouns in phrases containing infinitives with governing verbs, see the note above to *Alex.* 34, 3.

D.

SUMMARY.

In the preceding examination of texts of works of the XIII century it will have been noted that in them interpolation is relatively rare. I have attempted to prove also that in the texts in which it is most frequent, many of the cases of it are not original. It should be noted that interpolation is most frequent in those texts which exhibit western traits¹ and entirely absent in those of eastern (Aragonese) origin.² It is not possible, however, to maintain that all cases of interpolation in XIII century works are due to copyists, because one or two cases of it appear in XIII century manuscripts.³ It was pointed out, also, that the early occurrence of interpolation of the pronoun subject seems to be better supported than that of other categories.

¹ *Alex.*, and to some extent also, *Berceo*. For traits of western dialect in the texts of the latter, see Hanssen : *Misc. de Versif. Castell.*, págs. 4-5.

² *P. d' A.*, *Débat*, *Mand*.

³ See note at the end of the discussion of interpolation in the *Cid* and *Cant. Cant*.

CHAPTER II.

INTERPOLATION IN CASTILIAN WORKS OF
THE XIV CENTURY.

A.

ALFONSO EL SABIO TO DON JUAN MANUEL.

Although the greater number of the monuments which we shall study in this chapter belong to the XIV century, the period embraces documents from the early years of the reign of Alfonso X (1252-1284). The literary monuments of Alfonso X and his immediate successors are classed here, rather than with the XIII century texts discussed in the last chapter, because of their quite different standing in the matter of interpolation. The Court of Castile in the latter half of the XIII century was, we know, influenced by Galician traditions. Alfonso X cultivated Galician verse, and it is probable that most persons at his court were more or less familiar with the western idiom. To what extent the use of interpolation in Castilian texts is the result of Galician influence, it is difficult to say, but the sudden appearance of interpolation as a regular phenomenon of Castilian writing in the reign of Alfonso X, compared with its rarity in works of the period just preceding, points, rather unmistakably as I think, to an outside influence. I do not believe, however, that it was merely a literary affectation. The regularity with which certain categories of interpolation continue to be employed by all sorts of writers of Castilian throughout the XIV century, seems sufficiently to indicate that it was, or had become, a phenomenon of Castilian speech as well. Even so it may have received its first vogue from imitation of the Galicianisms of courtiers.

1. *Documentos de Alfonso X*, A. D. 1253 and 1254 (Appendix No. 9).—Although the order *que non lo* is still used in a majority of the cases, yet *que lo non* also occurs. There are in the documents examined no examples of interpolated adverbs other than *non*. *Que lo yo*, on the other hand, seems to be the regular order, there being four examples of it and none of *que yo lo*.

2. *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*. Extract from the *Crónica General* (Appendix No. 10).—The critical text of the seven chapters examined shows a great preponderance of interpolations in the *non* and *yo* categories, but no example in the *bien* category.¹ There are thirteen cases of interpolated *non* to three of normal order; eight of interpolated subject pronouns to six of normal order. Of the six latter, four are in the category *quando yo lo*. Interpolation of the subject pronoun with exordiums other than *que*, *si*, is in general not so frequent. In this regard compare the text of the *Cid*. The text of *Infantes de Lara* shows also eight examples of nominal and multiverbal interpolation and seven of anomalous interpolation.

The discrepancies of the eight manuscripts on which the text is based make the determination of the original status of interpolation in *Infantes de Lara* rather difficult. As will be seen by reference to the notes in the *List of Texts* (No. 10) there are three groups of texts. The only ones grouped with *E*, which the edition mainly follows, are a Galician or Portuguese version *A* and a late Castilian copy *I*. The latter modernizes at many points and with special frequency substitutes normal order for interpolated. It cannot be argued that *I* is based on an older text with less frequent

¹ In this regard *Inf. de Lara* contrasts strikingly with some other Castilian texts; compare, for instance, the occurrence of *que lo bien* in the text of the *Siete Partidas*, treated in the note appended to the discussion of *Inf. de Lara* in this chapter.

interpolations, because once (pág. 221, l. 11), *I* has *si lo uos* where *E* and the others have *si uos lo*.

The groups *B* and *GYTZ* are apparently based on texts with fewer interpolations than *EA*, although the places where they all agree in a normal order against the interpolated order of *EA* are not very numerous. Examples are: *que lo non EA*, *q. n. lo* all others (p. 266, l. 11); *aun quel ella quiera E*, normal order in *IBYTGZ* (215, 11); *que uos yo diga EA*, all others suppress *yo* (223, 13).

In the case of nominal, multiverbal and anomalous interpolations the discrepancies of the manuscripts are much greater. The only example for which no variants are given is *que uos esta mi carta aduze*, 218, 23. In five cases at least, all other manuscripts agree in having normal orders as opposed to the interpolations of *EA*, viz.: p. 228, l. 10; 228, 18; 215, 10; 225, 5; 225, 19. (The variants are indicated in the *Appendix*, No. 10, §§ 4 and 5.)

The large number of anomalous and multiverbal interpolations in the text of *Inf. de Lara* plainly indicate, I think, Galician influence. Manuscript *E* must descend from one written by somebody very familiar with the western dialects. Whether the original composed for Don Alfonso presented as many anomalous interpolations is extremely doubtful. In those cases, at least, where all the other manuscripts except *EA* exhibit a normal order, it would seem as if a critical text should reject the interpolated order. It is possible, however, that the original was written in Castilian by a western writer who unconsciously introduced his western syntax. On this supposition, *E*, as the oldest text, has preserved more of the original interpolations, while the other later manuscripts represent redactions that tend more and more to conform to the syntax usual in Castilian, and so reject the interpolations of a non-Castilian character. It is difficult to decide between these two hypotheses without

evidence for or against western influence in the original drawn from other sources than the observation of interpolation.¹

3. *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* (Appendix No. 11).—The twenty chapters of this text which I have examined show only such interpolations as are quite normal for works of a somewhat later date. In the *non* category cases are equally divided between interpolation and normal order. As the edition seems to be defective in many ways, I do not think it safe to base any conclusions on the examples of interpolation which it offers.

B.

DON JUAN MANUEL TO LÓPEZ DE AYALA.

1. *Don Juan Manuel* (Appendix No. 12abc).—In the works of Don Juan, son of the Infante Don Manuel and

¹ I have not included in the *List of Texts* the greatest monument of the reign of Alfonso X, the *Siete Partidas*, as the transmitted text bears rather the character of a XIV century work than of one of the period of Don Alfonso. The *Siete Partidas* were promulgated as the law of Spain first in 1348, and the manuscripts which have come down to us probably represent redactions of that period. In their use of interpolation the *Siete Partidas* stand quite parallel to the works of Don Juan Manuel. Below I give a summary of interpolations from the beginning of *Partida I* to *Partida I*, *Título IV*, *Ley XIV* (pp. 1–52). I cite page and line of the edition following:—

Las Siete Partidas del rey don Alfonso el Sabio, cotejados con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807.

1. a) Que non lo : 6, 21 ; 11, 12 ; 54, 6. Si : 23, 14.

b) Que lo non : 13, 2 ; 24, 13 ; 26, 28 ; 28, 8 ; 34, 5 ; 42, 3 ; 52, 2 ; 55, 31 ; 56, 4. Si : 49, 25. Quando : 2, 14.

2. a) Que bien lo : 53, 16.

b) Que lo bien : 5, 11 ; 13, 25 ; 15, 16 ; 42, 2 ; 55, 18. Si : 15, 1. Quando : 51, 6.

3. a) Que yo lo, etc. : No example.

b) Que lo yo : 2, 18 ; 4, 12 ; 8, 13. Quando : 22, 5 ; 27, 6.

4. Anomalous : quien la bien recibe como debe et la bien guarda, 51, 6.

nephew of the *Rey Sabio*, we can best study interpolation in Castilian writing of the first half of the XIV century. This is the classic period of Old Spanish when the literary language had become more or less fixed through the literary efforts of the preceding epoch.

With what degree of faithfulness the transmitted texts of Don Juan Manuel preserve the original word order, it is difficult to determine, but I am inclined to think that the proportion of interpolations in the original was much the same as it is now. The following table exhibits the distribution of interpolation in the text of the three works examined:

Tabular Summary of Interpolation in Juan Manuel.

NORMAL ORDER.				INTERPOLATION.				
	Que.	Si.	Quando.		Que.	Si.	Quando.	
1. Category <i>non</i> .								
Caza	13	3	2	18	19	3	0	22
Cav. et Esc.	14	4	2	20	15	4	1	20
Patron.	27	3	3	33	32	0	0	32
	54	10	7	71	66	7	1	74
2. Category <i>bien</i> .								
Caza	8	0	1	9	3	0	0	3
Cav. et Esc.	5	0	0	5	6	0	0	6
Patron.	6	1	1	8	4	1	0	5
	19	1	2	22	13	1	0	14
3. Category <i>yo</i> .								
Caza	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	3
Cav. et Esc.	6	2	0	8	13	0	2	15
Patron.	5	1	2	8	5	0	2	7
	12	3	2	17	18	0	7	25
INTERPOLATION.								
4. Nominal and multiverbal.				5. Anomalous.				
Caza	6	0	0	6				0
Cav. et Esc.	0	1	0	1				2
Patron.	1	0	0	1				1
	7	1	0	8				3

It will be noticed that in the *non* categories interpolation and normal order are about equal, while with other adverbs the normal order considerably predominates.

I have not been able to discover that there is any criterion, syntactical or phonetic, which differentiates the cases of interpolated from those of normal order. The orders *que lo non* and *que non lo* are used with apparent indifference. *Le* before *non* is regularly contracted with *que* (*quel non*), *se* is not so contracted (*que se non*). When *le* follows the negative it is in Don Juan Manuel usually left uncontracted (*que non le*). It does not seem that individual adverbs show any predilection for interpolation. All of them follow or precede the pronoun object with apparent indifference.

Interpolation of the subject pronoun is much more frequent than normal order. As has been pointed out, this seems to be the type of interpolation most prevalent in Castille, and the one which first makes its appearance. Individual works, however, show different results; compare in this regard Juan Ruiz. It should be noted, too, that if *Cav. et Esc.* were omitted from the count, normal and interpolated order would nearly balance in the subject pronoun category. Of the fifteen subject pronoun interpolations in *Cav. et Esc.* ten are of the form: *que me vos fazedes* (*feziestes, preguntades*, etc.). This occurs as a regular formula, there being only two examples of *que vos me*.

Of the eight cases of multiverbal interpolation, six are in *Caza* and four of them are repetitions of the formula: *Los girifaltes* (or *neblis*, etc.) *de que se agora mas pagan*. I suspect that this is a Galicianism borrowed from some older work on falconry.

There are only three interpolations to be classed as anomalous. One of them: *por quantas merçedes le dios fizo*, *Cav. et Esc.* 510, 20, probably belongs in the category of nominal interpolations as *quantas merçedes* has the force of a relative

exordium. The interpolation in *Patron.*, 69, 9; *a quanto floxa mente voslo el rruega*, appears to be a corrupt reading, as all the other manuscripts agree in rejecting *el*. This leaves only one example of anomalous interpolation unexplained: *Et alo que cosa son los angeles, fijo, ya vos yo dixie que . . .* *Cav. et Esc.* 470, 6.

As has been stated, I regard interpolations of other forms than those included in the first three categories (*non*, *bien*, *yo*) of my classification scheme as abnormal in Castilian and as almost certain indication of western influence. I adduce the works of Don Juan Manuel as representing the norm of interpolation in Castilian at the time when it had reached its greatest development.

2. *Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita* (Appendix No. 13).—Examination of the diplomatic edition of the *Libro de Buen Amor* gives the following results.

In the *non* category there are forty-four cases of normal order to thirty-one interpolations, distributed as follows:—

que non lo 35, *si* 5, *quando* 4.

que lo non 26, *si* 3, *quando* 2.

Manuscript *T* shows the interpolated order once where *S* has the normal; manuscript *G*, on the other hand, in eight instances shows normal order instead of the interpolated order of *S*. The contraction *nol* for *non le*, rare in the texts of Don Juan Manuel, is rather frequent and in some cases the metre demands *nol* where *non le* is written, e. g.:

Achaque le leuanta por que *non le* de del pan, 93, 2.

Contraction of *non se*, and possibly also of *non me*, appears to be demanded in a number of cases. Cf. 161, 3; 421, 4; 623, 4; 731, 4. *Quel non* (in Don Juan Manuel regular for *que le non*) occurs once (1129, 3) and there is no instance of *que le non*.

With other adverbs than *non*, the normal order is in a marked majority (thirty-one cases of normal order to eleven of interpolated). Three of the latter cases are normal in the manuscripts *GT*.

In the category of subject pronouns, the same preponderance of normal order is visible (twenty cases of normal order to six of interpolation). The proportion of interpolations in this category as compared with that of the same category in other texts, seems small, but there is substantial agreement of the manuscripts, *G* showing one case of interpolation where *S* has normal order.

There are only four examples of the category *que lo* — — (Appendix No. 13, §§ 10 b and 11) and one anomalous interpolation (1482, 2). In three of these five cases of irregular interpolation *G* shows normal order.

A critical revision of the text of *Buen Amor* might change somewhat the proportions of normal and interpolated order as indicated above. A rather large proportion of the verses of the poem are metrically imperfect. Some can easily be amended; others require considerable changes in the language and it seems doubtful whether they formed perfect alexandrines in the original. An investigation of the five examples last mentioned shows that at least three stand in verses metrically imperfect:—

- 1) Segund *le dios le demostrase fazer señas con la mano*, 51, 3.

Evidently one of the *le*'s is to be dropped, and the reading of *G*: *quales dios les mostrase*, suggests that it is the first one. I amend: *Segund dios le mostrase fer señas con la mano*.

- 2) Con lo *quel dios diere* paselo bien fermoso, 780, 4.

The first half verse is short. Juan Ruiz may have written *que le dios* but it is more probable that he wrote *que dios le*.

- 3) Quered salir al mundo aque *vos dios fizo nascer*, 917, 4.

The second half verse is too long but is difficult to correct.

- 4) Ssy *vos lo bien* sopiesedes qual es e quan preçiado, 732, 3.

This verse is metrically correct but *G* presents the reading *si vos bien lo*.

- 5) De eso que vos rresçelades ya *vos yo* asseguro, 1482, 2.

The second half verse is metrically perfect, but *G* shows the reading *yo uos asseguro*. The interpolation in *S* may be due to a desire to avoid the concurrence of *ya yo*.

The foregoing makes it seem probable that in Juan Ruiz, as in Don Juan Manuel, interpolation was confined to the three categories in which it is normal in XIV century Castilian.

Criticism of the cases of pronoun subject interpolation tends to diminish still further their number, already small:—

- 1) Segund *quelo yo* deseo 684, 3.
- 2) ante *quela el* asa, 1350, 3.
- 3) ante que *gelo yo* diga, 1497, 2.
- 4) Pues *vos yo* tengo, hermana 989, 4.

Suppression of the subject pronoun in the four half verses just quoted makes them regular.

- 5) Sy *vos yo* engañare, el ami lo demande, 817, 4.

The reading of *G* is: *sy yo a vos engañare*. . . . It is possible to posit an original reading:

Sy a vos engañare el a mi lo demande . . .

Yo was then added to remove the ambiguity of the first construction, and finally *si a vos yo* changed to *si vos yo* in order to rectify the metre.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the exact status of interpolation in Juan Ruiz is rather uncertain. In the transmitted text it is very much less frequent than in the courtly prose of Don Juan Manuel, and attempts at text criticism seem to indicate that in the original it was even much less frequent

than in the text. As the Archpriest of Hita represents rather the popular tradition of Castilian than the courtly idiom of the literary successors of Don Alfonso the Learned, infrequency of interpolation in his verse may be another argument for the attribution of interpolation in Castilian to the influence of western dialects on the court speech. It should be noted, too, that Juan Ruiz lived in New Castile and consequently found himself locally removed from the centres of western influence.

3. *Visión de Filiberto* (Appendix No. 17).—In the *List of Texts* I have placed this work at the end of the XIV century, as that is the date of the manuscript and there is no indication of the time of composition. Found in one of the manuscripts of *Buen Amor*, its treatment of interpolation leads me to class it with that work. The text is too short, however, and offers too few examples of the interpolation categories to give much weight to such a determination.

The piece contains no case of interpolation of *non*, with three cases of normal order. There are three examples of interpolated adverbs and five of adverbs in normal order. Two examples of interpolated subject pronouns occur, and three of normal order. One nominal interpolation occurs: *sy te dios erio*, 53, 42.

4. Pero López de Ayala: *Rimado de Palacio* (Appendix No. 15).—In chronological order the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* follows immediately upon the Archpriest of Hita, but the discussion of it will be taken up in connection with that of the much later *Amadis*, both works betraying marks of an original in western idiom.

Of the Castilian writers whom I have examined, López de Ayala is the latest one that makes any considerable use of interpolation. He seems to represent the last phase of the courtly literature which began with the *Rey Sabio*.

In the first five hundred stanzas of the *Rimado* I find the status of interpolation to be as follows: In the *non* category, nine cases of normal order to three of interpolation; in the adverb category, fourteen of normal order to six of interpolation; in the subject pronoun category, two of normal order to eight of interpolation; three cases in the category *Que lo* — — and three anomalous examples.

From the above it will be seen that interpolation predominates only in the case of the subject pronoun. This, as has already been pointed out, is the species of interpolation most general in Old Spanish, Juan Ruiz forming an exception in this regard.¹

The proportion of multiverbal and anomalous interpolations is rather large, but some of these cases are probably not original and others can be explained.

- 1) *Que les yo aquí diré* ca los he bien usados, 63, 4.

Suppression of *yo* corrects the metre, leaving an interpolation of the ordinary type *que lo bien*.

- 2) *Salvo obediencia* que *les leal* deuenos, 236, 4.

Leal uninflected can only be an adverb, and consequently this example also belongs in the category *que bien*.

- 3) *Así les Dios aluengue* los días de las vidas, 229, 3.

The composer probably had in mind a construction *así que les dios aluengue* and omitted *que* for the sake of the metre. *Dios* is the oftenest occurring nominal interpolation and is so much more frequent than any other that during the earlier part of this investigation I put it in a category by itself.

¹ I say that this sort of interpolation is the most general, not the most frequent. As the *yo* category occurs much less often than the *non* category, the actual number of interpolations is usually greater in the latter, but in most works the ratio of interpolation to normal order is higher in the former.

4) *Alguna petiçion e la non va recabdar*, 412, 2.

The second half verse is too long. If instead of *e la* we write *que* the *enjambement* with the preceding verse is less violent and the anomalous interpolation disappears, thus :—

Por ende non se quexe quien a Dios va rogar
Alguna petiçion que non va recabdar.¹

¹ Prof. J. D. M. Ford has communicated to me a note of his on another example of anomalous interpolation in the *Rimado* :—

Con quien *yo me* fasta agora de todos defendí, 720, 6.

Professor Ford suggests that the anomalous position of the object pronoun is due to metrical necessity. It can be contracted with *yo* (*yom*), but in any other position spoils the verse. It seems to me that contraction of *me* in a text as late as that of the *Rimado* would need to be supported by other examples before it could be accepted. I incline to think that *yo* in this verse was merely repeated by a copyist from the preceding verse. Suppressing *yo* in the second, the two verses read :—

(Pues) a tan alto Sennor yo so acomendado,
Con quien me fasta agora de todos defendí.

The interpolation then remains multiverbal and not anomalous. Professor Ford's suggestion of metrical necessity remains equally applicable to this reading also.

I have examined one other work by Ayala, but I do not include it in the *Appendix*, as I have not copied all the occurrences of the several categories. The edition is entitled :—

El libro de las aves de caça del canceller Pero López de Ayala, con las glosas del duque de Alburquerque. (Pascual de Gayangos, Edr.). Madrid : Sociedad de Bibliófilos, 1869.

In this work the proportion of interpolations seems to be rather higher than in the *Rimado*. They are all, however, in the regular categories (*non*, *bien*, *yo*). The works on falconry seem to be largely copied one from another, and the greater use of interpolation in the *Libro de la Caça* than in the *Rimado* is probably due to portions of it having been adapted from older works on the subject.

C.

SUMMARY.

Enough material has, I think, been presented in this chapter and the accompanying portions of the *Appendix* to show the general features of interpolation in XIV century texts. If interpolation in XIV century Castilian is a feature borrowed from western dialects, the conditions of its occurrence are, at any rate, much more narrowly defined than in the latter, as may be seen by comparing chapter IV, in which Galician and Portuguese texts are discussed. Chapter III will deal with texts which throw light on the chronology of the disappearance of interpolation from Castilian.

CHAPTER III.

SPANISH TEXTS OF THE XV AND XVI
CENTURIES.

A.

CASTILIAN TEXTS SHOWING OCCASIONAL INTERPOLATION.

1. *El Libro de Exenplos por A. B. C.* (Appendix No. 19).—Although the Paris manuscript (Appendix No. 19 a) is considerably more modern than the Madrid manuscript (Appendix No. 19 b) the occurrence of interpolation is substantially the same in both.

The portion examined of the published text of the Madrid manuscript gives the following results: In the *non* category, eighteen examples of normal order (type *que non lo* 16, *si* 1, *quando* 1) to two interpolations of the type *que lo non*; in the *bien* category, nine cases of normal order and none of

interpolation; in the *yo* category, five of normal order (type *que yo lo* 4, *si* 1) to one interpolation (type *que lo yo*). No interpolation occurs outside of these three regular categories.

In the published portion of the Paris manuscript there are in the *non* category twelve cases of normal order (all of the type *que non lo*) to five cases of interpolated order (two of the type *que lo non*, three of *si lo non*); in the *yo* category, five cases of normal order (*que* 4, *si* 1) to one of interpolated order (type *que lo yo*); one anomalous example.

Contrary to what we should expect, the numerical ratio of interpolated to normal order appears to be higher in the more modern Paris manuscript than in the older Madrid manuscript. If, however, we remove the category *si non lo—si lo non*, the ratio becomes nearly equal (for the *non* category, Madrid text 17 : 2, Paris text 12 : 2). The Paris text shows three cases in the *si non lo—si lo non* category, all interpolated, while it happens that in the portion of the Madrid text examined, there is but one case in this category and that one shows normal order.

As indicated above, the Paris text has one example of anomalous interpolation :—

Si los non amamos e los non honrramos.—Exenpl. 503, 19.

The interpolation in the first clause is reckoned in the *si lo non* category above. The interpolation of the second clause is, I think, not to be considered as an independent example of anomalous interpolation, but as a mere repetition of the word order of the first clause with ellipsis of *si*.¹

2. *La Estoria de los Quatro Dotores de la Santa Eglesia* and *La Estoria del rey Anemur*, etc. (Appendix No. 20 ab).—In the first hundred *capita* of the first named text, I find :

¹ Cf. *Quien la bien recibe como debe et la bien guarda*. *Siete Partidas*, 1, Tít. iv, Ley 6, pág. 51, l. 6.

1st) In the *non* category, seventy examples of normal order (fifty-four of the type *que non lo*) and one example of interpolated order of the type *que lo non*; 2nd) In the *bien* category, four of normal order (*si* 1, *quando* 3) and one of interpolated order (type *que lo bien*); 3rd) In the *yo* category, ten of normal order (*que* 6, *si* 4) and one of interpolated order (type *quando lo yo*); one multiverbal interpolation, *que lo el non*.

The one example of an interpolated adverb is only apparent. *Por que lo mal trayesen*, 11, 27, should read *por que lo maltrayesen*. The only irregular interpolation: *maguer que lo el non quisiese*, 47, 5, is rather a combination of the types *que lo yo* and *que lo non* than a multiverbal interpolation in the ordinary sense.

In the *Estoria del rey Anemur*, although found in the same manuscript as the preceding and translated from the same Latin source, the proportionate number of interpolations is considerably higher. In the *non* category there are twenty-five examples of normal order (*que* 19, *si* 3, *quando* 3) and three of interpolated (*que* 1, *si* 2); in the *bien* category, two of normal (*que* 1, *quando* 1) and two of interpolated, both of type *que lo bien*; in the *yo* category, one of normal order, *commo tu me echaste* (363, 41) and three of the type *que lo yo*.

In this text, just as in the *Exenp.*, there is a greater tendency to interpolation of *non* after *si lo* than after *que lo*. In contrast to the use of *Exenp.* and *Quatro Dot.*, interpolation predominates in the *yo* category, placing the text in this regard on a par with most XIV century texts. In view of so marked a difference in the treatment of the *yo* category, it does not seem likely that *Barlaam* and *Quatro Dot.* are the work of the same translator.

3. *Leyenda del abad don Juan de Montemayor* (Appendix No. 22). The text taken from Almela's *Compendio* shows

four examples of interpolation in the *non* category, all of the type *que lo non*,¹ and five of normal order (*que* 4, *si* 1). In the *yo* category there is one interpolation: *mejor que lo tu dizes* (12, 10), and no occurrence of normal order.

The text of the popular edition of the legend, printed in 1562, contains no example of interpolation. *Que no le dexasse vivir, etc.*, pág. 32, l. 27, is the only passage parallel to one in Almela with interpolation (*e que lo non dexase bevir, etc.*, 9, 14; *vide* Appendix). It would be very remarkable if any cases of interpolation were preserved in a text of the latter half of the XVI century.

The large number of interpolations in Almela's text can hardly be a characteristic of his speech, seeing that he flourished in the latter part of the XV century. It seems safe to assert that they are derived from the source whence he derived the legend. This source, according to Menéndez-Pidal, was a prose redaction of an older Castilian epic. There is nothing in the character of the interpolations which betrays Portuguese influence. They are all of the types usual in XIV century Castilian. The number of cases, however, is rather small to make the argument conclusive.

B.

SPANISH TEXTS OF ARAGONESE CHARACTER.

1. *Poema de José* (Appendix No. 16).—This poem contains no examples of interpolation, although it presents a good number of occurrences of the regular categories and particularly of the *yo* category.

2. Pedro de Luna: *De las Consolaciones de la Vida humana* (Appendix No. 18).—In the ten books of this work

¹One of these cases is not taken from the edited text, but from the agreement on it of three manuscripts.—*Vide* Append.

examined, I find in the *non* category eleven examples of normal order and none of interpolated; in the *bien* category, one of normal and two of interpolated; in the *yo* category, none of normal and two of interpolated.

The occurrence of pronouns, as in most works translated from the Latin, is rather restricted. At first sight the ratio of interpolations to cases of normal order seems too large for a text written in Aragon. It will be seen, however, that all four cases of interpolation occur in quotations. In these cases the translator may have availed himself, consciously or unconsciously, of older Castilian versions of the works quoted. The two cases of the type *que lo bien* are both a quotation from Saint Gregory in the same words: *Los males que nos aqui apremien*. The two cases of the type *que lo yo* are quoted from the Old Testament (see Appendix).

3. *Souhails de bienvenue, etc.* (Appendix No. 23). This poem is adduced as an example of a text written in Castilian by a Catalan or Aragonese. It shows no vestige of interpolated order, but its evidence for absence of interpolation in Eastern dialects would be more satisfactory if its date were earlier.

C.

CASTILIAN TEXTS WITHOUT INTERPOLATION.

1. *Comedia de Calisto et Melíbea* (Appendix No. 24).
2. Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la Lengua* (No. 25).
3. *Lazarillo de Tormes* (No. 26).
4. Luis de León, *La Perfecta Casada* (No. 27).

These texts, covering nearly the whole of the XVI century, show not a single example of interpolation.¹

¹ Still earlier evidence for the disappearance of interpolation is afforded by the following brief text :—

The *Diálogo de la Lengua*, however, deserves special mention because it is probably the first work in which the phenomenon is noticed. In two places Valdés mentions the interpolated order or adduces an example of it,¹ and from these passages we gather that he considered it incorrect and antiquated.

D.

SUMMARY.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to show that after the close of the XIV century interpolation becomes very

Libro de Ceterría de Evangelista y una Profecía del mismo, con prólogo, variantes, notas y glosario por A. Paz y Melia, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, I. bd., ss. 222-246.

This text is published from a manuscript of the XV century in the Bibl. Nac. de Madrid. The author flourished in the reign of Enrique IV (1454-1474). Following are references to the cases of normal order:—

1. Que non lo : p. 233, l. 21 ; 234, 5 ; 235, 7 ; 235, 16 ; 238, 32 ; 244, 12 ; 244, 30 ; 245, 20. Si non lo : 227, 19. Quando : 235, 11.

2. Que bien lo : 227, 10 ; 227, 21 ; 230, 15 ; 234, 13 ; 234, 15. Si bien lo : 228, 5. Quando : 227, 18.

3. Que yo lo : No example.

¹ “Pues sabed que lo es, por tanto os guardad de caer en el. Y tambien de caer en otro que es a mi parecer aun mas feo que este, y por esto creo que son mas los que tropieçan en el ; este es que no pongais el verbo al fin de la clausula quando el de suyo no se cae, como hazen los que quieren imitar a los que scriven mal latin.

— Eso nos declarad un poco mas.

— Digo que os deveis guardar siempre de hablar como algunos desta manera : *Siempre te bien quise y nunca te bien hize*, porque es muy mejor dezir *Siempre te quise bien y nunca te hize bien*.”—Pág. 404, ll. 22-30.

The second passage occurs in a discussion of the style and language of *Amadis de Gaula* :

“Pareceme tambien mal aquella manera de dezir *si me vos prometeis* por *si vos me prometeis*, y aquello *de lo no descubrir* por *de no descubrirlo*. ¿ Que os parece desto ?

— Que lo aveis considerado bien, con tanto que aya siempre lugar la disculpa del antigüedad, la qual vos no le podeis negar de ninguna manera.”—Pág. 7, ll. 7-11.

rare in Castilian texts; that in works of the second half of the XV century we can regard it only as an archaism inherited from older sources;¹ and that in texts of the XVI century the phenomenon is nearly or quite absent.

Works written in Aragon and its dependencies are grouped together in accordance with the view developed in chapter II, that interpolation is a feature of language due to western influence, one which, for a time, obtained a considerable hold in Castilian speech but which can hardly have reached the provinces not in direct contact with the court language of the kingdom of Castile and Leon.²

¹ *Amadis de Gaula* would naturally fall in this class, but on account of its very special character in the matter of interpolation, it will be discussed in connection with Galician and Portuguese texts.

² Instances of interpolation are not entirely absent from Aragonese texts. In the *Actas del Parlamento de Cataluña*, there are a few documents written in Spanish among a much greater number in Catalan and Latin. The legal style in which these documents are composed avoids the use of simple personal pronouns and renders them ill-adapted to the investigation of interpolation. I have found only one example:—

Año de 1409. Convenio celebrado entre don Martín de Aragón y su sobrino don Juan 2º de Castilla. e mandara so çiertas penas a los cogedores et arrendadores de la dicha quema *que la non lieven nin coxgan nin exiguán* . . . (Colecc. de Documentos de la Corona de Aragón, t. I, pág. 100, l. 17).

The document quoted above is decidedly Castilian in character and may well be the production of a Castilian secretary.

CHAPTER IV.

INTERPOLATION IN GALICIAN AND PORTUGUESE
TEXTS AND IN SPANISH TEXTS DERIVED FROM
GALICIAN OR PORTUGUESE ORIGINALS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

As this investigation is primarily concerned with interpolation in Spanish, the texts discussed in this chapter have not been examined with a view to writing the history of interpolation in Galicia and Portugal. Only enough material is presented to illustrate the peculiar characteristics of interpolation in the western idiom. For the sake of convenience and uniformity, the nomenclature and arrangement, adopted for Spanish texts, are followed here, although in a treatise on interpolation in Portuguese a somewhat different classification of material would be preferable. The cases classed as anomalous in Castilian are in Portuguese and Galician hardly to be called so, but the designation is allowed to stand.

A.

OLD GALICIAN AND OLD PORTUGUESE TEXTS.

1. Alfonso (X) el Sabio: *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Appendix No. 28).—In the first fifteen *cantigas* I find: 1st) In the *non* category one case of normal order to three of interpolation; 2d) In the *bien* category none of normal to five of interpolated; 3rd) In the *yo* category, one of normal, none of interpolated. So far we might be dealing with almost any Spanish text of the end of the XIII century. In the next category (nominal and multiverbal interpolation), however, we meet nineteen cases (*que* 9, *si* 2, *quando* 8). Add

to these four anomalous cases and it results that there are twenty-three interpolations of types abnormal in Castilian to eight of types predominant in that idiom.

Of the anomalous examples, one :—

Por quanto mal *nos ele* buscaua.—Cant. xv, 11, 4.

is probably to be classed under the type *quando lo yo*. In another case we find interpolation after *et*, anomalous in Castilian but not uncommon in Galician and Portuguese :—

Et *se guarida* achou.—VII, 4, 2.

2. Diniz de Portugal, *Cantigas d'amor* (Appendix No. 29).—Examination of the first fifty *cantigas* shows : 1st) In the *non* category, one case of normal order to fifteen of interpolated ; 2nd) In the *bien* category, seven of normal to six of interpolated ; 3rd) In the *yo* category, one of normal to eleven of interpolated. It will be observed that interpolation of adverbs (*bien* category) is not so prevalent as that of *non* or of the pronoun subject. What is true of this text seems to be true in general of Portuguese and Galician texts, the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X forming an exception in this regard.

In the category of nominal and multiverbal interpolations there are thirty-three cases (*que* 13, *si* 8, *quando* 12). Fourteen more cases of interpolation are classed as anomalous. We have, then, forty-seven cases of types of interpolation exceptional in Castilian to thirty-two of the ordinary varieties, a ratio not so high as was found in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X, but still strikingly large.

The examples classed as anomalous may be analysed as follows. Four of them, viz :—

qual mingua *vos pois* ei de fazer, v. 4.

quam de coração *vos eu* am', 72.

com quaes olhos *vos eu* vi, 483.

e por quam boa *vos el* fez, 790.

are probably to be taken as having relative exordiums and

are thus to be referred to the category *quando lo yo* (except the first which is rather *quando lo bien*). In two cases:—

e me bem esforcei, 155.

e m'el nom fôr, 866.

the connective *e* has the function of an exordium, a phenomenon common in Galician and Portuguese, but quite anomalous in Castilian, as was already pointed out in the discussion of the *Cantigas* of Don Alfonso. In the remaining examples, with one exception, the object pronoun follows an adverb. The adverb *pero* in three of these cases is not to be confused with Spanish *pero*, as it retains its original meaning of *per hoc* and presumably also its original accent. One example still remains to be classed, viz:—

desi nom' o er podedes enganar, 70.

which I am inclined to consider an instance of normal order, as *er* or *ar* seems to be a particle forming an inseparable compound with the verb. Compare:—

e de vós nom ar ei al, v. 332.

3. *Estoria Troyãa* (Appendix No. 30).—Examination of nineteen pages of the portions edited by Cornu reveal: 1st) In the *non* category, no example of normal order and nine of interpolated (*que* 7, *quando* 2); 2nd) In the *bien* category, two of type *que bien lo*, one of *si lo bien*; 3rd) In the *yo* category, two of normal (type *que yo lo*) and five of interpolated order (*que lo yo* 3, *si* 1, *quando* 1). In the category of nominal and multiverbal interpolations the number rises to twelve (*que* 5, *si* 4, *quando* 3). There are two anomalous interpolations. In both of the latter the object pronoun follows an adverb which is the initial word of the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

4. *Vida de Eufrosina, Vida de Maria Egipcica, Traité de Dévotion* (Appendix No. 31).—These texts exhibit: 1st) In

the *non* category, one example of normal order (type *quando non lo*) to eighteen of interpolated (*que lo non* 15, *si* 1, *quando* 2); 2nd) In the *bien* category, three of type *que bien lo* to six of *que lo bien*; 3rd) In the *yo* category, two of normal order, type *que yo lo*, to five of interpolated (*que* 1, *si* 2, *quando* 2). The proportion of nominal, multiverbal and anomalous interpolations is not so high as in the other western texts examined, only eight in all (nominal four, multiverbal three, anomalous one). This may be due to the fact of these pieces being in prose while the others are in metre.

In the anomalous example:—

Ay amigos, que mal *me ora* julgastes, 382, 37.

the object pronoun follows the adverb *mal*. The tendency of pronoun objects to attach themselves to adverbs in Portuguese has already been noticed.

5. *Viaggio fantastico* (Appendix No. 32).—This fragmentary text shows relations similar to the other Old Portuguese texts: *i. e.* in the *non* category, no case of normal order to four of interpolated; in the *yo* category, none of normal to one of interpolated; in the nominal and multiverbal category, four interpolations and in the anomalous, one.

The latter: *ate que as pessoas as nam queirão ouvir*, 292, 2, exhibits the inversion of pronoun and negative particle, common in modern Portuguese anywhere except at the beginning of a clause.

B.

NOTES ON MODERN PORTUGUESE TEXTS AND SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERPOLATION IN GALICIAN AND PORTUGUESE.

Modern Portuguese Texts (Appendix Nos. 33–35).—The three texts here examined for interpolation are based on oral

tradition in popular speech, but the usage of modern literary Portuguese in the matter of interpolation seems not to be materially different. The relations of interpolation to normal order and the distribution of categories in modern Portuguese have no essential bearing on the investigation of interpolation in Old Spanish. Consequently I shall not here analyse the material collected. It is enough to point out that interpolation still persists in Portuguese in all the old categories; and far from losing ground, as Meyer-Lübke seems to imply,¹ it appears to be gaining, especially in principal clauses.

Before passing on to the Spanish texts preserving features of western originals, it will be well briefly to summarize the main features of Portuguese interpolation. These were found to be:—

- 1st) In all periods marked predominance of interpolation in the *non* category, leading, in the later texts, to frequent use of the order *lo non* even when not in a dependent clause or when separated from the exordium by other words.
- 2nd) Predominance, but to a lesser degree than in the preceding category, of interpolation in the *bien* and *yo* categories, especially in the latter.
- 3rd) Extensive use of nominal and multiverbal interpolation, this in marked contrast to Castilian usage.
- 4th) Numerous cases of interpolation in principal clauses, in clauses beginning with *e*, *mais*, and in dependent clauses with the pronoun object following some other word than the exordium. Cases in which the object pronoun follows an adverb are especially frequent.

¹ *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XXI, s. 318: Es wäre ein interessantes Unternehmen, nachzuweisen wie viel von den alten Regeln bis heute geblieben ist, die Ausnahmen in alter Zeit zusammenzustellen und zu erklären, die allmähliche Umgestaltung zu verfolgen.

Castilian texts, as we have seen, confine interpolation almost exclusively to the first two categories above, while in Galician and Portuguese texts a majority of all the interpolations are apt to be found in the third and fourth categories above. I think, then, that we shall be justified in holding a large number of examples in a Spanish text, falling under three and four above, as an indication of an original in western speech or, at least, of a writer more familiar with western dialects than with Castilian.

C.

CASTILIAN TEXTS TRANSCRIBED OR COMPILED FROM
WESTERN ORIGINALS.

1. *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (Appendix No. 14).—Examination of the published text of this work reveals: 1st) In the *non* category, one case of normal order to eighteen interpolations (type *que lo non* 14, *si lo non* 4); 2d) in the *bien* category, eight cases of normal order (all of type *que bien lo*) and fourteen of interpolated (type *que lo bien* 4, *si lo bien* 8, *quando lo bien* 2); 3d) In the *yo* category, three of normal order, type *que yo lo*, and two of interpolated, type *que lo yo*; 4th) Thirty-four nominal and multiverbal interpolations (*que* 11, *si* 20, *quando* 3); 5th) Eleven anomalous interpolations.

The noteworthy fact to be gathered from the preceding summary is that forty-five, or a majority, of all the interpolations are in the last two categories, while only thirty-four are in the three categories which normally admit interpolation in Castilian. Of the thirty-four nominal and multiverbal interpolations only three are combinations of two of the three regular types: *si le vos non* 1198, 4; 1350, 4; *si nos el non* 1298, 4. In four other cases, namely, 900, 4; 1955, 4; 2199, 4; 2339, 2; the interpolation consists of the words

muy bien. All the remaining interpolations certainly contain words with full stress. In five of the eleven cases of anomalous interpolation, the pronoun object follows the word *todos*; in four cases, an adverb (*nunca, ayna, luego, sienpre*). In two of these cases, *todos* follows the exordium of a dependent clause; the other cases are in principal clauses. It was noticed in the general characterization of Galician-Portuguese interpolation above, that attachment of the object pronoun to adverbs was frequent, both in principal and dependent clauses. The verses:—

El fijo de Santa Maria

Le non mostró atal plaser, 1588, 3-4.

both contain one syllable too many, and the construction with unstressed *le* at the beginning of the verse seems improbable either for Castilian or Galician.

2. *Amadis de Gaula* (Appendix No. 12a).—Examination of the first twenty chapters of the First Book shows: 1st) In the *non* category, thirty cases of normal order (*que* 25, *si* 2, *quando* 3) and sixty of the interpolated (*que* 42, *si* 18); 2nd) In the *bien* category, forty-three of normal order (*que* 40, *si* 2, *quando* 1) and nineteen of interpolated (*que* 16, *si* 1, *quando* 2); 3rd) In the *yo* category, twenty-nine normal (*que* 26, *si* 1, *quando* 3) and twenty-one interpolated (*que* 8, *si* 9, *quando* 4); two cases of nominal interpolation (type *si lo* —), seven of multiverbal (*que* 5, *si* 2) and four of anomalous.

Interpolation preponderates only in the *non* category. Just as in *Alfonso Onceno*, *si* is followed by interpolated order almost to the exclusion of normal order. Only one of the multiverbal interpolations is a combination of two simple types: *que lo yo no*, 28, 1, 24. Of the four anomalous interpolations, one is an interpolated infinitive: *que las defender pueda*, 32, 2, 32; one is in a dependent clause with the object pronoun following an adverbial phrase, *si a mi*

grado lo vos sabreis, 19, 1, 21; the remaining two are in principal clauses, one following an adverb, *agora me no pesa*, 34, 1, 14, the other the coördinating conjunction *o*, *ó me tú guiarás*, 39, 2, 33. The three last are interpolations of types very common in Portuguese, as we have seen.

If interpolations, and especially interpolations of western type, do not predominate in the text of *Amadis* as they do in the earlier *Alfonso Onceno*, we may attribute the fact to the castilianizing hand of Montalvo. Rather it is very remarkable that so many of them have been preserved by so late a Castilian redactor. As noted in the preceding chapter, they attracted the attention of Juan de Valdés.

Turning to *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (Appendix No. 21b), Montalvo's sequel to *Amadis*, we find only one interpolation in the first ten chapters, although there are forty-one cases of the three regular interpolation categories. The one example of interpolation is multiverbal and is probably a literary affectation, viz. : *que nos, por bien y reparo de los suyos, suele dar semejantes azotes*, 412, 2, 41.

Comparison of *Las Sergas* with *Amadis* proves beyond a doubt that the latter was compiled from an original with frequent interpolation. The number of interpolations in the nominal, multiverbal and anomalous categories, while not so large as it must have been in the Portuguese original, is still too large to have been derived from a Castilian original with interpolations of normal Castilian types.

CHAPTER V.

PRONOUN ORDER IN LATIN TEXTS.

[This chapter, dealing with Pronoun Order in the Vulgar Latin of the *Peregrinatio S. Silviae* and of certain Hispanic Latin texts found in the *España Sagrada*, it has seemed best to omit in the present publication.]

PART TWO.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The theoretical exposition of interpolation presented in the following pages is not intended as a final solution of the problem. The paucity of scientifically coördinated data on problems of word order in the Romance Languages exacts that any theoretical exposition like the following be regarded as merely tentative.

CHAPTER VI.

THEORY OF PRIMITIVE ENCLISIS OF OBJECT PRONOUNS.

I shall discuss in this chapter the theory of the position of enclitic words, advanced for ancient Indo-European languages by Wackernagel¹ and Delbrück² and applied to Vulgar Latin and primitive Romance dialects by Thurneysen³ and Meyer-Lübke.⁴

¹ J. Wackernagel : Ueber ein Gesetz der idg. Wortstellung. *Idg. Forsch.* I. ss. 333-436.

² B. Delbrück : Vergl. Syntax der idg. Sprachen. I. Bd., s. 475 ; III. Bd., ss. 41, 50.

³ R. Thurneysen : Zur Stellung des Verbuns im Afrz. *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.* XVI. ss. 289-307.

⁴ W. Meyer-Lübke : Zur Stellung der tonlosen Objektspronomina. *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.* XXI. ss. 313-334. *Grammatik der rom. Sprachen.* III. Bd., ss. 764 ff.

Just as the galley proofs of this article are going back to the printer, my attention has been called to the following work : Elise Richter, *Zur Entwicklung der romanischen Wortstellung aus der lateinischen* (Halle a. S. : Max

Briefly stated, and omitting details irrelevant to our discussion, the theory is as follows. The first word of a sentence or clause is strongly stressed. Unstressed words, *i. e.* particles and pronouns, tend to become enclitic to the first stressed word (exordium) of the clause, and this, because the rhythm of speech causes the weakest accent of the clause to be found immediately after the strongest. Hence the weakest words naturally gravitate to the position immediately after the initial accent of the clause, the first stressed word.

According to this theory the pronoun objects were always enclitic in Latin and generally enclitic to the initial word of the clause. The change from the enclitic position, postulated for Vulgar Latin, to the proclitic position with the verb, observed in the Romance Languages, is accounted for by the shifting of the position of the verb from the end of the clause to the second place. This shift of the verb is held to be due to analogy with *esse*, which in classical Latin preferred the second place. *Habere*, reduced to the function of an auxiliary, naturally fell into the same category with *esse*. Second-place position of the verb, made common through the increasing use of compound tenses (perfects and passives), then became generalized for all verbs. From this it resulted that the verb came to stand immediately after the pronoun object, enclitic to the first member of the clause. The close syntactical connection of verb and object then caused the pronoun to be regarded as proclitic to its verb rather than enclitic to the preceding word, and in this way grew up the inseparable connection of verb and unstressed pronoun object, general in the Romance Languages.

Niemeyer, 1903). I find no reference to interpolation in this work, but I discover that in the criticism of the Thurneysen and Meyer-Lübke theories of Romance word-order, discussed in this chapter, the author has anticipated me on a number of points; notably in rejecting the theory of strong stress on the initial word of a sentence or clause in Latin (*op. cit.*, ss. 38 ff.), and in postulating for the Romance sentence or clause a strong end stress (ss. 33 ff.).

The interpolated order, found in Portuguese and Old Spanish, is regarded as a striking confirmation of the theory of original enclisis of the object pronoun. Meyer-Lübke has no hesitation in pronouncing it a relic of the original order, universal in Vulgar Latin. In spite of the fact that so eminent a scholar as Meyer-Lübke regards the argument for original enclisis in Vulgar Latin as conclusive and "*in die Augen springend*," I think that it can be shown to be open to several objections.

In the first place, the theory postulates a strong initial stress. Are we justified in assuming that in Classic and Vulgar Latin the first word of a sentence or clause was specially emphatic or stressed? Latin phonology has demonstrated that in prehistoric Latin the first syllable of a word bore the main stress, and the treatment of initial syllables in Romance phonology shows that after the stress in Latin was shifted towards the end of the word the initial syllable continued to preserve a secondary stress. This may be a reason why unstressed words are avoided after a pause. On the other hand it hardly seems probable that *et*, *uel*, *si*, *ne*, and other monosyllables, used freely to introduce clauses, were often stressed. There seems to be no inherent rhythmical impossibility in beginning a clause with any weak word. If certain classes of weak words are always used as enclitics, I think it is due to inherited habit rather than to rhythmical necessity.¹

It seems to me, also, that the radical difference between the early Latin accentuation with initial stress and the

¹ The unstressed pronoun continues to be avoided after a pause until late in the Romance period, but the article, an unstressed word of later formation, knows no such rule. Prevalence of initial stress in primitive Latin might engender a kind of trochaic sentence rhythm unfavorable to initial use of weak words. In English and German, however, although the word stress is prevailingly initial, all sorts of weak words (articles, prepositions, conjunctions) are used after a pause with entire freedom.

Classic and Vulgar Latin stress, always on the penult or antepenult, ought to be considered. The later accentuation seems to be more favorable to the development of proclisis than of enclisis. When in the Romance languages two stressed words are brought into close syntactical connection, it is always the first that suffers diminution of its stress, *e. g.*, *vuestro hermano* but *hermano vuestro*, *buèn amigo* but *amigo buèno*, *hèmos de hablár* and *hablarémos* (*hablâr hémós*). Evidence of the same tendency in Latin is probably to be seen in the formation of improper compounds such as *pater-familias*, *iusiurandum*, etc. When today the priest pronounces the liturgical salutation as *Dòminus vobiscum*, he is probably following ancient usage, although logically he ought to say *Dóminus vobiscum*, *The Lórd be with you*. The Gregorian chant seems to me to be another evidence of tendency in later Latin to throw the stress on the final part of a word group, for I think that, in Latin, musical accent and expiratory stress went together. In the Gregorian tones, the level intonation of the colon with a musical cadence on the final stress group, is, I think, merely a further development of the phrase accent employed by the Romans in reading and reciting. Something very like it is observable in the cries of Spanish street venders.

I have discussed at some length the tendency of Latin and Romance to shift the stress from the first to the last part of a phrase or word group, that is, a tendency away from enclisis and towards proclisis, because to my mind it proves that there is no inherent reason why pronouns in Latin should be enclitic rather than proclitic. If pronouns in Latin continued to be prevaiingly enclitic, it must have been due to inherited custom.

An extended investigation of the position of pronoun objects in Latin does not fall within the scope of this article. As far as I have been able to observe, however, it

does not seem to me that, either in Classical Latin or in texts of a Vulgar type, pronoun objects have any such unmistakable tendency to follow the first member or stressed word of a clause as to warrant the statement that this position is the regular one and that the pronouns are always enclitics. If enclisis, and especially enclisis to the first member of the clause, was a universal trait of Vulgar Latin, it is rather remarkable that neither in the oldest monuments nor in the multifarious dialects of Romance is there any occurrence of interpolation of which we have any notice, except only in the Iberian Peninsula.

From the general usage of the older forms of the Romance Languages, all of which agree in making the pronoun enclitic whenever the verb is the first member of the clause, we should expect Vulgar Latin also to avoid placing the unstressed pronoun in initial position.¹ Further than this we can hardly go.

The testimony of Portuguese and Old Spanish word order for universal enclisis in Vulgar Latin is rendered weaker by another consideration. In these idioms, the pronoun object, when separated from its verb, almost invariably follows the exordium of a dependent clause. Now these exordiums, in most cases, can hardly be other than words with weak stress.

¹ A number of early Latin hymns begin with object pronouns, *e. g.*, the compline hymn :—

Te lucis ante terminum
Rerum Creator poscimus,

but in these cases the pronoun is probably stressed, as there is always a vocative or accusative noun in apposition.

Avoidance of proclitic pronouns at the beginning of a clause is, we have said, a phenomenon of customary usage, not of rhythmical necessity. The definite article, proclitic in every Romance idiom except Roumanian, shows from its phonological development that it was just as much an unstressed word as the object pronoun, but there was no hesitation in using it at the beginning of clauses.

Like personal pronouns, they have no independent existence but occur only in close connection with other words. Personal pronouns are symbols standing for names easily inferred; similarly, exordiums of dependent clauses are symbols of readily inferred relations. In neither case is stress logically necessary. In Portuguese the object pronoun frequently follows *e(t)*, *mais*, copulative conjunctions which must be regarded as among the weakest of all words.¹

The point I wish to make is that the exordium, being commonly a word with weakened stress and standing very often after a pause, logical or respiratory, partakes of the nature of a proclitic rather than an enclitic, especially in the Romance sentence with its tendency to ascending rhythm, already discussed. If it be granted, then, that the sentence rhythm of Vulgar Latin was such as to favor the formation of proclisis rather than enclisis and that in dependent clauses the verb was more strongly stressed than the exordium, it will scarcely be granted that the object pronoun was always enclitic to the exordium rather than proclitic to the verb.

Another argument for the proclitic character of the pronoun object in primitive Romance is to be found, I think, in the word order observed when the verb is accompanied by the negative *non*. The order Negative—Pronoun—Verb is well-nigh universal in the Romance Languages. The nega-

¹ Meyer-Lübke (*Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, XXI, s. 320) obviates this difficulty by assuming that *que* after a pause had a secondary stress, strong enough to attract an enclitic pronoun. *Et*, on the other hand, was, in his view, entirely unstressed, but itself was enclitic to the last word of the preceding clause. Modern Spanish *y* for older *e* offers evidence of the enclitic character of the conjunction.

As Meyer-Lübke suggests, modern *y* may have developed from *e* in such collocations as *padre e madre*, but when it is used to connect clauses there must commonly be some pause, and, in any case, the conjunction belongs to the second clause; it cannot then be enclitic. No Old Spanish poet ever thought of ending a verse with *e(t)*, but as a verse beginning it is common enough.

tive is a word tending to weakened stress, but unlike the personal pronouns is not entirely unstressed. The fact that in cases with pronoun objects, it does not stand next to the verb, in spite of its close syntactical connection with the latter and of the universal tendency of the Indo-European languages to place it in direct connection, shows that the weaker pronoun is proclitic. On the hypothesis of enclisis the pronoun would either follow the verb or seek the support of some other word stronger than the negative. If the pronoun was always enclitic in vulgar Latin, we should expect to find vestiges of one or both of the arrangements just defined in other Romance idioms than Portuguese and Old Spanish and there, not alone in dependent clauses but in others as well.¹

Still another mode of approaching the question of original enclisis or proclisis in Vulgar Latin and primitive Romance personal pronouns is afforded by the phonetic development of the pronouns themselves in the several idioms. Here again the evidence for universal enclisis in Vulgar Latin is entirely inconclusive. The best case for enclisis in the pronoun can probably be made from the comparison of the article *il(le)* = Span. *el* with the pronoun *(il)lu(m)* = Span. *lo*. The preservation of the initial vowel in the proclitic article

¹ I infer that the negative commonly bears some stress from the fact that in languages where it has been weakened to a mere enclitic or proclitic it is usually reinforced by the addition of another word. Spanish and Italian preserve the Latin negative intact (the former merely dropping the final consonant) and express negation without the concurrence of any other word. The French, on the other hand, have to say: *je n'aime pas*, etc. In English *not* is reduced to an enclitic and then, except with auxiliary and modal verbs, strengthened by a periphrastic conjugation with *do*, the latter having the value of a negation only. *I don't see him* or *I see him not* (cf. German: *Ich sehe ihn nicht*). The second order shows, besides, that the negative has stronger stress than the pronoun object, since the weaker word will naturally stand nearer to the stressed verb, just as in the Romance order: *el padre no lo ve*.

seems to be due to the secondary stress in initial syllables, and the second vowel falls, as it commonly does in non-initial pretonic syllable. Compare *ille cattu*, *illu(m) cattu(m)* Span. *el gato* with *fôllicâre* Span. *holgar*, *côllocâre* Span. *colgar*. If the article did not receive secondary initial stress, as when a preposition preceded, then both vowels might be lost, as in *à(d) illu(m) môte(m)* = Span. *al monte*. In the pronoun *illu(m)*, on the other hand, the initial vowel is treated like the penultimate vowel of a proparoxytone. Compare *amâte illu(m)* = Span. *amadlo* (Old Span. also *amaldo*), *amâtis illu(m)* = Old Span. *amâdes lo*, with *mûsculum* Span. *muslo*.

In spite of the apparent evidence for enclisis to be drawn from the preceding argument, I think that further considerations will show that *lo* is not necessarily an enclitic form. We have seen that in the older Romance idioms, and probably also in Vulgar Latin, unstressed pronouns never begin a clause. From this it follows that forms with initial secondary stress are never necessary. *Illu(m)* as pronoun object and preceding the verb must, then, always stand between words with stronger stress than its own. If it is proclitic to its verb, the position of its vowels is quite parallel to the intertonic vowels of a word with three pretonic syllables. Both of the vowels may fall, as in Old Span. *nôl véo (nôn illu(m) véo)*; compare Ital. *parlare* from *pârabolâre*; or only one of them as in Span. *no lo veo*; compare *cabalgar* from *câballicâre*. In the latter case, the final vowel is more likely to be preserved than the initial, because of the analogy of *(il)lu(m)* derived from the enclitic position of the pronoun with verb exordium.¹

¹ A. Mussafia, in a note entitled *Enclisi o proclisi del pronome personale qual oggetto in Romania*, xxvii, pp. 145-6, discussing the theory of original vulgar Latin enclisis of pronouns as maintained by Meyer-Lübke, similarly arrives at negative results, after examining the phonetic evolution of object pronouns in Old French and Provençal.

The argument might be extended to other cases, but probably enough has been said to show that no conclusive argument for general enclisis of pronoun objects in Vulgar Latin can be drawn from phonetic considerations. From all that has been advanced in the preceding paragraphs, I think it will be safe to revert to the doctrine, not questioned until the appearance of Thurneysen's article, that ever since, in Romance speech, object pronouns have been placed before the verb, they have been prevaiingly proclitic to the latter.

CHAPTER VII.

ENCLISIS OF OBJECT PRONOUNS IN PORTUGUESE.

In the preceding chapter I developed certain arguments tending to show that pronoun objects preceding the verb in Vulgar Latin and Romance are generally proclitic to the verb, not enclitic to some preceding word. From that discussion I omitted reference to the Galician-Portuguese idiom because I believe that in it different conditions prevailed.

Several considerations make me think that here the unstressed object pronoun was prevaiingly enclitic. The proofs which I shall advance are not, however, based on a statistical examination of a large number of Galician and Old Portuguese texts. All the matters which I treat in this chapter need further investigation.

The fact that in Old Portuguese (I shall use the term to include Old Galician also) the object pronoun is always enclitic to an initial verb cannot be adduced as an evidence of pronominal enclisis, because, as we have seen, the phenomenon is general in Romance, but the fact that Portuguese still observes this order, whereas most other Romance idioms, including Castilian, either disregard it or observe it only in

certain special categories, seems to show that a greater tendency to enclisis inheres in the Portuguese pronoun.

It is my impression also that in Old Portuguese there is a much greater tendency than in Castilian to make the pronoun object enclitic to the verb in principal clauses when the verb is not the initial word of the clause. This order is not infrequent in the older Spanish texts. After a time it is in the latter limited to cases where the verb is in a historical tense, and becoming more and more infrequent, comes at last to be a mere literary affectation. In Portuguese, on the other hand, the phenomenon is much more persistent. This sort of enclisis is especially frequent in the first books of *Amadis de Gaula* and is, I think, still another proof of their Portuguese origin.

One main objection to the enclitic theory lies in the fact that in Portuguese, as in other Romance idioms, the unstressed pronoun object in principal negative clauses usually stands between the negative particle and the verb. On the theory of enclisis and granting that the negative adverb is a word with weakened stress, we should expect the pronoun either to be enclitic to the verb or else enclitic to the subject or other preceding stressed word, the negative being interpolated. In point of fact interpolations of *não* in principal clauses are found in all periods of Portuguese but rather more commonly in modern than in ancient texts. That this is not the prevailing order may be due to the analogy of negative sentences with unexpressed subject, especially negative imperative sentences, e. g. *Não me disse* ; *não me digas*. Why in these phrases the pronoun, if naturally enclitic, did not attach itself to the verb still needs to be explained.

It was pointed out in the preceding chapter that the confinement of interpolation to dependent clauses, far from being a proof of original enclisis, as might be inferred from Meyer-

Lübke's arguments, is rather an objection to that theory. If then, we are to establish a theory of pronominal enclisis for Portuguese, it will be necessary to discover whether there is any evidence of a freer use of interpolation in earlier stages of the language and what causes operated to limit it almost exclusively to dependent clauses in the period covered by the texts.

Object pronouns are not enclitic to the verb in dependent clauses not beginning with a verb either in Portuguese or in Castilian.¹ Enclisis to the verb being forbidden, it follows that if a tendency to enclisis is present, the pronoun object must seek the next strongest word. It happens, however, that in perhaps a majority of dependent clauses containing an object pronoun, there is no other word except the exordium. Another frequent case is when the only other word is the negative particle or a subject pronoun, both words with comparatively weak stress, and in this case, also, the enclitic naturally gravitates to the exordium. The extreme frequency of the junction of exordium and object pronoun, brought about in the ways just described, tends to establish the same order in the other dependent clauses, although in

¹I have not been able to discover any satisfactory explanation of this restriction. There seems to be a tendency in Old Portuguese and in Old Spanish, especially in the former, to put the verb at the end of dependent clauses, and I do not believe that this tendency is merely the result of an affectation of Latin constructions. The Hispanic Latin texts, however, as well as some other Vulgar Latin documents, seem rather generally not to remove the verb to the end of a dependent clause. Hence the end position of the verb seems rather an innovation than an inheritance of Latin order, and it cannot be argued that avoidance in the same Hispanic texts of enclisis to the verb is a result of end position. I can understand the avoidance of enclisis to the verb in dependent clauses only on the supposition of universal proclitic position in primitive Romance except in the case of initial verb. Pronouns enclitic to non-initial verb in principal clauses, common in Old Spanish and Old Portuguese, are then to be considered as extensions of the order observed with initial verb, not relics of a primitive enclisis.

these the exordium does not come next to the verb in point of stress. This is particularly the case with conditional clauses containing adverbs. It is noticeable, however, that in this category interpolation never became general, and we may, perhaps, assume that in some former period of the language the object pronoun was usually attached to the adverb rather than to the weaker exordium. Especially noteworthy in this regard are the cases of interpolation, rather numerous in Old Portuguese texts, in which the pronoun object follows, not the exordium, but an adverb or other stressed word standing in the first part of the dependent clause. These, I think, offer strong evidence of enclisis.

Nominal interpolations, on the other hand, are unfavorable to the theory of enclisis. The subject, noun or demonstrative, must logically have greater stress than the exordium, and consequently ought to be preferred by enclitics. If, in this category also, the pronoun object tends to attach itself to the exordium, then it is by analogy with the frequent junction of exordium and pronoun in other forms of dependent clause discussed above. To discover whether nominal interpolation predominates in Old Portuguese and whether there has been any change in this regard in Modern Portuguese would require a special investigation not falling within the limits of the present one.

Whether the arguments contained in the preceding paragraphs have made the theory of enclisis of the object pronoun in Portuguese seem probable, I do not know. To my mind, however, this theory explains all the facts better than any other. If a tendency to enclisis in the Portuguese pronoun be granted, the next question to be raised will be whether this tendency is one inherited from Lusitanian Latin or one developed at a later period. This also is not a question to be decided without special investigation, but I incline to the second hypothesis. The proclitic position of the pronoun in

a great many constructions, especially the order in negation (*não me disse*), and the proclitic definite article point to a general agreement with other Romance dialects during the earlier period. The change from procliticism to encliticism I regard as due to the growth of a peculiar word stress, differentiating Galician and Portuguese from the other dialects of the Iberian Peninsula. This probably coincided with the remarkable phonetic changes which took place before the appearance of vernacular writing. These changes, weakening and fall of medial *l* and *n*, weakening and interchange of intertonic vowels, and apocopation of vowel of unstressed words, when all taken together, predicate the development of expiratory word stress. This sort of stress, we know, is still characteristic of Portuguese at the present time and stands in marked contrast to the combination of moderate stress and strong pitch accent which characterizes the word and sentence emphasis of modern Spanish.

It remains to show what connection there is between enclisis and proclisis, on the one hand, and expiratory stress and tonal accent, on the other. Tonal accent tends always to fall near the close of a breath group, in Greek, Latin, and Romance on one of the three final syllables. If the accent is, for any reason, emphasized, the final syllable following the accent is prolonged. This phenomenon is observable in all forms of chanting, in street cries, and in Spanish in anything called or cried out. As explained in the preceding chapter, stress and accent of this sort favor the development of proclisis and also the development of sentence accent at the expense of word accent. With the development of expiratory stress the breath is less economized. Each longer word generally becomes the center of a distinct stress group. The strong expiration accompanying each stressed syllable is made at the expense of the syllables that precede and follow in each stress group, but especially of those that follow, since

before reaching them most of the breath impulse has already been spent. From what has been said, it follows that the weakest positions in a sentence composed of stress groups are those following each stress. The unstressed pronoun objects as among the very weakest of all words will naturally be relegated to these positions ; in other words, they will become enclitics.¹

CHAPTER VIII.

THEORY OF INTERPOLATION IN CASTILIAN.

The theory of enclisis, developed in the preceding chapter as explaining in part the phenomenon of interpolation in Galician-Portuguese, is, I think, quite inapplicable to the same phenomenon in Castilian. On this account I have throughout the present investigation everywhere carefully abstained from employing the words *enclisis* or *enclitic* in connection with interpolated order in Castilian texts.

I believe that in all Castilian dialects the conditions of word stress, word intonation and sentence accent were those normal in Romance idioms and all tending, as explained in Chapter VI, to the development of proclisis. I shall try to show, also, that these normal conditions persisted in Old

¹ Gonçalves-Vianna, to whom we owe nearly all that has yet been done in the field of Portuguese phonetics, considers the unstressed pronoun as always enclitic in modern Portuguese pronunciation. The following note, which I owe to the kindness of Professor Ford, is taken from :—

R. Gonçalves Vianna, *Portugais : Phonétique et Phonologie* (Skizzen lebender Sprachen, hrsg. v. W. Vietor, II. Bd.), Leipzig, 1903.

Page 91 : "Tous les pronoms régimes dont nous venons de parler sont atones ; après le verbe ils sont enclitiques ; devant le verbe ils le sont également, par rapport au mot qui les précède immédiatement. Jamais ils ne sont proclitiques, et c'est pour cela qu'ils ne sauraient commencer une phrase."

Spanish as they still persist in the modern idiom, and that pronouns in interpolated constructions lose little or nothing of their proclitic character. My contention, then, is that the problem of interpolation in Old Spanish resolves itself mainly into one of relative order among words of weak stress.

The main proof of the proclitic character in Old Spanish of the object pronoun preceding its verb, whether immediately or not, will be drawn from considerations based on word order. Apart from these, however, the morphology of the Spanish pronouns gives, I think, some indication of their prevailing proclitic character. In the oldest texts we meet a number of apocopated forms (*l*, *s*, and more rarely *m*, *t*, for *le* (*lo* ?), *se*, *me*, *te*). In enclitic position after a vowel the *-e* of these pronouns falls in the same way that *-e* falls in most other words after a single consonant. These shortened forms, primarily enclitics to the verb, are used also in certain proclitic positions. It is noteworthy, however, that they do not persist but are, by the end of the XIV century, superseded in all positions by the anapocopated forms normal for proclisis. The development of *os* for *vos* at a comparatively late date argues rather for the prevalence of enclisis. The later form may be due to the fact that *vos* was the most general *tratamiento* during the whole of the Old Spanish period and in consequence enclitic *-vos* (*os*) in imperatives and expressions like *digo vos* would be especially frequent.

The strongest proof of the proclitic character of the Old Spanish object pronoun in interpolation lies, I think, in the character of the words with which it commonly occurs. Castilian interpolations, as we have seen, are almost entirely confined to the three categories of negative particle *non*, adverbs, and subject pronouns. Now these are all words tending to weak stress in the sentence¹ and consequently

¹ The semi-weak character of *non* in sentence stress has already been discussed in Chapter VI. It may be objected that the pronoun subjects are

may stand between the pronoun object and verb without throwing the former into a different stress group, *i. e.*, the pronoun ceases to be proclitic to the simple verb and becomes proclitic to the stress group Interpolation—Verb.

We have seen that in Portuguese interpolation is mainly limited to cases where the pronoun object follows the exordium of a dependent clause and that in Castilian it is almost exclusively so limited. The exordium of a dependent clause, as has been explained, is a relational word, commonly with weak stress. In Spanish the conjunction *porque* by the side of the interrogative *¿por qué?* is an instance of this weakening. Leonese *se* for *si* also exhibits the same thing. Interpolation, it will have been observed, is much more common with the weakest exordiums, *que*, *si*, than with the longer ones which must necessarily carry more stress, *e. g.* in the text of the *Cid*, with a majority for interpolation in

full stressed words, as they are commonly omitted when they would not logically receive emphasis. I think that they, too, tended to weak stress from the very first. *Ego* should give in Castilian **yego*; if *yo* comes from a vulgar Latin **eo*, then we are obliged to assume weakening at a very early period. On the supposition of full stress we should expect Old Spanish *elle*, supported by the analogy of the demonstratives *ese*, *este*, *aqueste*, to prevail, but *el* is much more common even in the oldest texts, and finally supplants the disyllabic form altogether. Another evidence of the progressive weakening of the subject pronouns is afforded by the necessity for the reinvigoration of *nos* and *vos* in modern Spanish through the compounds *nosotros* (-as) and *vosotros* (-as). *Vos* was especially liable to weakening when it became general as a *tratamiento*.

With the adverbs, also, there are not wanting evidences of a tendency to weak stress. *Y* was a word with weak stress, and the proof of it is seen in that it has been driven out of use by stronger words. The monosyllabic adverbs, *bien*, *mal*, phonetically correct for stressed *bene*, *male*, would on account of their monosyllabic form have to give up a part of their stress to a following verb, *i. e.*, *bién háce* would have to be spoken *bièn háce* with only a secondary stress on the adverb. Apart from phonetic considerations, many adverbs are logically unemphatic. *Así*, for example, is merely relational like the exordiums discussed in Chapter VI. Still another evidence of the tendency of adverbs to weak stress is furnished by the formation of compounds like *maltratar*, *menospreciar*, etc.

the *yo* category with exordiums *que*, *si*, the cases of the type *quando yo lo* and not a single. If in some later manuscripts interpolation with type *quando* is nearly as dominant as that with types *que*, *si*, this is probably owing to the influence of the latter types. -gical

If the arguments of the foregoing paragraphs are sound, it follows that, in Castilian, interpolation is confined to the three categories *non*, *bien*, *yo*, in dependent clauses with the pronoun object following the exordium, precisely because the pronouns have not lost their proclitic character and because these syntactical categories, and no others, afford a succession of words having weak stress both before and after the pronoun object, thus permitting the latter to remain in proclitic position, no longer directly proclitic to the verb, it is true, but proclitic to the stress group dominated by the stressed syllable of the verb. Nominal and multiverbal interpolations, on the other hand, are shunned because they either interpose a strong stress between the object pronoun and its verb or else remove the pronoun too far from the verb for the former to be felt as a proclitic. It will have been noticed, besides, that many of the cases classed as multiverbal are combinations of the regular categories, that is, two weak words are interposed between pronoun object and verb, and in these cases, also, the pronoun may still be accounted a proclitic.

Similar reasoning applies to two other sorts of interpolation, not altogether common in Galician and Portuguese, but so extremely rare in Castilian that I class them as anomalous. The first is when interpolation occurs in a dependent clause but the object pronoun does not immediately follow the exordium; the second is when interpolation occurs in a principal clause. In both cases interpolation is avoided in Castilian because the sentence member preceding the pronoun

object is likely to have strong stress, and because with interpolated order the object would appear enclitic to it rather than proclitic to the verb not immediately following. In Galician-Portuguese we saw that examples of both of these classes are relatively numerous, and if they are not prevalent types, it is probably due to the disturbing influence of analogy.

There is, however, one class of principal clause to which the reasons adduced above do not apply. I refer to coördinate sentences introduced by *et*, *mas*, *pero*. In these clauses the conditions of stress are the same as in dependent clauses introduced by a weak exordium. If interpolation is not practised in coördinate clauses it is, I think, because there are lacking here the stereotyped word orders peculiar to dependent clauses. One may say in Old Spanish *e vió lo* or *e lo vió*, but one can say only *que lo vió*. This subject was touched upon in the preceding chapter, but will be discussed more in detail here.

The vast majority of dependent clauses begin with *que*, conjunction or relative. Next in frequency to *que* but far behind it comes *si*. Then follow the other exordiums. In unelaborated speech a majority of dependent clauses consist of only three members, subject, object, and verb. The subject may be either a noun, a relative pronoun (usually *que*), or a personal pronoun (usually omitted as sufficiently indicated by the ending of the verb). In the last two cases, and they are perhaps in a majority, if the object is a personal pronoun, since enclisis to the verb is not admitted in dependent clauses, the pronoun necessarily stands next to the exordium. In this way there develops a strong feeling for the order *Exordium-Pronoun*, especially in the case of the two most frequent exordiums *que*, *si*.¹ Most of the diplo-

¹ Examination of the text of Juan Ruiz : *Buen Amor* reveals two hundred and sixty-two cases of *que* followed immediately by object pronoun and verb, while there are only sixty-five cases (excluding the categories *que non*

matic editions, such as those of Don Juan Manuel and the Archpriest of Hita, write with considerable regularity the exordium *que* or *si* and the following pronoun object as one word, e. g. *quelo*, *quela*, *silo*, etc. Meyer-Lübke considers this an evidence of enclisis. It is rather an evidence of the feeling of connection between exordium and pronoun, and may be compared with the almost constant practice of writing two pronoun objects as one word, *gelo*, *gela*, *voslo*, etc.

Whether or not the analogy of this frequent word order could originate cases of interpolation in Castilian is doubtful, but that it could assist in extending and maintaining the phenomenon is hardly so. It is, moreover, the only way in which I can explain the confinement of interpolation to dependent clauses.

Still other analogies may have helped the progress of interpolation in Castilian. The negative particle is never separated from its verb except by object pronouns. Thus the universality of the order, *fulano non-dize*, working together with the frequency of *que-lo dize*, doubtless assisted the change of *que non lo dize* to *que-lo non-dize*. Still another possibility of analogic influence may be found in the pronouns *nos* and *vos*. The accented forms of these pronouns were originally used without the objective *á*, and this use is still frequent in Old Portuguese. Beside the construction *que non-vos-vió* stood the construction *que (a) vos non vió*, and the similarity of form between the stressed and unstressed forms of *vos* would facilitate the change of *que non-vos-vió* to the interpolated order *que-vos-non-vió*.

lo, etc.), in which the pronoun and verb are separated from the exordium by other words. Add to the latter one hundred and sixteen cases (seventy-nine normal and thirty-seven interpolated), in the categories *que non lo* (*lo non*), *que bien lo* (*lo bien*), *que yo lo* (*lo yo*), and we have in all one hundred and eighty-one cases in which there is, or without interpolation would have been, separation of exordium and object pronoun, against the two hundred and sixty-two cases of normal connection as stated above.

In a lesser degree the same sort of influence may have been at work in the adverb categories. Before the definite formation of the compounds, *bienquerer*, *maltratar*, *menospreciar*, etc., there must have been a period in which linguistic usage hesitated between separable adverb and inseparable prefix. While the compound verbs acquired a special shade of meaning, the simple verbs continued to be used with the same adverbs and consequently, whenever *que le malquiere* was used in a sense not very different from that of *que mal le quiere*, it had the appearance of an interpolation, and the frequency of *que-le* tended to generalize the order *que le malquiere* and extend it to other adverbs.

In the case of interpolated pronoun subjects, also, the same sort of analogy may have been at work. While *nos* and *vos* could still be used as stressed pronouns without the objective *á*, it was possible to say either *que vós yò digo* or *quo yò vós digo*. The former order, as removing the more emphatic word farther from the verb, would usually be preferred, unless the subject pronoun received special emphasis. In the latter case the object pronoun would fall nearly to the level of an ordinary proclitic, as both pronouns cannot have full stress at the same time, i. e., *que yó vòs digo*. The analogy of the order *que (a) vós yò digo* would facilitate the extension of the interpolated order *que vos-yo-digo*.

It is my belief that interpolation is a phenomenon arising first in western dialects and extending itself to the dialects of Old Castile, in which it undergoes considerable modification and restriction. It does not seem probable that it ever reached the popular dialects of New Castile¹ and Aragon, and to this fact I attribute its final fall in Castilian.

There are not wanting analogical forces which may have helped to restore the normal order to absolute dominion.

¹ Cf. discussion of text of Juan Ruiz, chap. II, above.

Chief among these I reckon the change of position of the verb in dependent clauses. The verb, which in early Castilian tends to stand at the end of a dependent clause, is in the course of the XIV and XV centuries pretty generally transferred to the second place, *i. e.*, it follows the exordium. The causes of this change of word order ought to be made the subject of a special investigation. I shall not attempt to discuss them here, but shall content myself with pointing out how this change of word order greatly reduces the number of occasions for interpolation. In the later word order *non* still continues to stand before the verb, but adverbs and pronoun subjects follow more often than they precede. It resulted from the above that *non* remained the only frequent interpolation category and, antagonized by the normal order constant in principal clauses, could not stand alone.

CONCLUDING NOTE.

In concluding, I wish to express my sense of deep obligation to Professor E. S. Sheldon, and to Professor C. H. Grandgent, editor-in-chief of this publication. To both of these gentlemen I am indebted for much helpful criticism and many valuable suggestions. To Professor Sheldon belongs the credit of having first suggested the investigation.

WINTHROP HOLT CHENERY.

APPENDIX.

Note.—The arrangement of the illustrative material, contained in this *Appendix*, is explained in the notes prefixed to *Part One*. The numbering of the texts is the same as that followed in the *List of Texts*. The page number of the beginning of each article is indicated in the *Table of Contents*.

1.

POEMA DEL CID.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** Que si non la quebrantas por fuerca, *que non gela abriese nadi*, v. 34; De noche lo lieuen, *que non lo vean christianos*, 93; Rachel et Vidas, amos me dat las manos, *Que non me descubrades a moros nin a christianos*, 107; Con grand iura meted y las fes amos, *Que non las catedes en todo aqueste año*, 121; Por aduzir las archas et meter las en uestro saluo, *Que non lo sepan moros nin christianos*, 145; Por tal lo faze myo Çid *que no io* (l. lo) ventasse nadi, 433; Todo gelo dize, *que nol en cubre* (l. encubre) nada, 922; Sonrrisos el caboso, *que non lo pudo en durar*, 946; A mi dedes C. caualleros, *que non uos pido mas*, 1129; Mas le vienien a myo Çid, sabet, *que nos le van*, 1207; Que presa es Valençia, *que non gela enparan*, 1223; Con el Mynayna Albarffanez *que nos le parte de so braço*, 1244; Las puertas del alcaçar *que non se abriessen de dia nin de noch*, 2002; Myo Çid selos gañara, *que non gelos dieran en don*, 2011; Mas bien sabet verdad *que non lo leuante yo*, 2199; De *que non me fallaren los yfantes de Carrion*, 2793; Vna cofia sobre los pelos dun escarin de pro, Con oro es obrada, fecha por Razon, *Que non le contalassen los pelos al buen Çid Canpeador*, 3096; En. prestan les delo ageno, *que non les cumple lo suyo*, 3248; El Rey alos de myo Çid de noche los en bio, *Que noles diessen salto nin ouïessen pauor*, 3699. 2) **Si:** Que *si non la quebrantas* por fuerca, *que non gela abriese nadi*, 34; Des fechos nos ha el Çid, sabet, *si no nos val*, 1433; *Si nolo dexas por myo Çid el de Biuar*, Tal cosa uos faria que por el mundo sonas, 2677. 3) **Quando, etc.** Asconden se de myo Çid, *ca nol osan dezir nada*, 30; Poso en la glera *quando nol coge nadi en casa*, 59; Vna des leatança *ca non la fizo alguandre*, 1081; Vos casades mis fijas, *ca non gelas do yo*, 2110; Ellos lo temen, *ca non lo piesso yo*, 2501; El caso mis fijas, *ca non gelas di yo*, 2908; *Ca non me priso aella fijo de mugier nada*, 3285.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** Non viene ala pueent, ca por el agua apassado, *Que gelo non ventanssen de Burgos oñe nado*, 151; Esto mando myo Çid, Minaya lo ouo conseiado: Que ningun oñe delos sos *ques le non spidies, onol besas la man[o]*, 1252. 2) **Si:** No example. 3)

Quando: *Quando las non queredes, ya canes traydores, ¿Por que las sacauades de Valençia sus honores?* 3263.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** Por miedo del Rey Alfonso, *que assi lo auien parado*, 33; *Pues que aqui uos veo, prendet de mi ospedado*, 247; *El Çid que bien nos quiera nada non perdera*, 1389; *Mager que mal le queramos, non gelo podremos fer*, 1524; *Por que assi las en bio dond ellas son pagadas*, 1812; *Vos con ellos sed, que assi uos lo mando yo*, 2179; *Dios, que bien los siruio atodo so sabor*, 2650; *Enemigo de myo Çid, que siempr el busco mal*, 2998; *Mas en nuestro iuizio assi lo mandamos nos, Que aqui lo entergedes dentro en la cort*, 3227; . . . *si non tenedes dineros, echad [A]la vnos peños, que bien vos lo dararan sobrelos*, 3735. 2) **Si:** *Que si antes las catassen que fuessen periurados*, 164; *Si bien las seruides, yo uos Rendre buen galardón*, 2582. 3) **Quando, etc.** *Ca assil dieran la fe et gelo auien iurado*, 163; *Legolas al coraçon, ca mucho las queria*, 276; *Salios le de sol espada, ca mucho andido el cauallo*, 1726; *Gradid melo, mis fijas, ca bien uos he casadas*, 2189.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que:** Por esso uos la do *que la bien curiedes uos*, 3196. 2) 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** *Fata que yo me page sobre mio buen cauallo*, 498; *Non de ranche ninguno fata que yo lo mande*, 703; *Mas vale que nos los vezcamos, que ellos coian el [p]an*, 1691; *Bien melo creades, que el uos casa, ca non yo*, 2204. 2) **Si:** *Sabet bien que si ellos le viessen, non escapara de muert*, 2774. 3) **Quando, etc.** *Non lo conpra, ca el selo auie consigo*, 67; *Do yo uos en bias (l. enbias) bien abria tal esperança*, 490; *Mas quando el melo busca, yr gelo he yo demandar*, 966; *Tornauas a Muruiedro, ca el se la a ganada*, 1196; *Saldrien del monesterio do elle las dexo*, 1353; *Quando uos los fueredes ferir, entrare yo del otra part*, 1696; *Mas pues bos lo queredes, en tremos en la Razon*, 1893; *Dad manero a qui las de, quando uos las tomades*, 2133; *Assi como yo las prendo daquent, como si fosse delant*, 2137; *Quando uos nos casaredes bien seremos Ricas*, 2195; *Quando el lo oyo pesol de coraçon*, 2815; *Al puno bien estan, ca el selo mando*, 3089; *Ca uos las casastes, Rey, sabredes que fer oy*, 3150; *Quando ellos los an apechar, non gelos quiero yo*, 3235.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** *Çid, beso uuestra mano, endon que la yo aya*, 179; *En esta heredad que uos yo he ganada*, 1607; *Fijas del Çid, por que las vos dexastes*, 3368. 2) **Si:** *Si les yo visquier, seran duenas Ricas*, 825. 3) **Quando, etc.** No example.

Anomalous example. *Qui lo fer non quisiesse, o no yr a mi cort, Quite myo Reino, cadel non he sabor*, 2993.

2.

VIDA DE SANTA MARIA EGIPCIACA.

1. a) **Que (si, cuando) non lo:**

Que non es pecado tan grande
Ni tan horrible

Que non le faga Dios,

Non le faga perdon, v. 32.

Que non sse deuien marauillar

De algun omne ssil veyen pecar 54.

Que non se pueden de ella toller, 175.

Non pudo estar *que non se hiria,* 317.

Que non lo sierua en los mios dias, 508.

Mas tanto lo tenie él por preñado

Que non lo darie por vn cauallo, 911.

Con él començó de ffablar,

Que non sse le quiso mas çelar, 981.

Ca ella non sabie ssu nombre

Si non gelo dixiesse algun homne, 993.

En tal guisa será contada

Que non sse çelará hi nada, 1139.

b) **Que lo non:**

Sus parientes quando la veyan

Por poco *que se non murien,* v. 103.

2. **Que (si, quando) lo bien:**

E dexaré aquesta vida

Que mucho la e mantenida, 510.

Bien puedes ffiar por el tu Senyor

Que siempre lo seruiste a onor, 1045.

Quando lo aurás soterrado

Ruega por ell *que asi te es acomendado,* 1367.

b) **Que bien lo.** No example.

3. a) **Que (si, quando) yo lo:**

Ffaz non perdon *que tu lo tienes,* 1075.

Quando ella lo vió asi andar

Luego comiença de llamar, 1112.

b) **Que lo yo.** No example.

3.

LIBRO DE APOLONIO.

Stzs. 1-328.

1. a) **Que non lo; si non lo; quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** Stz. 15, v. 4; 20, 3; 35, 1; 236, 3; 290, 4; 314, 4. 2) **Si:** 289, 4. 3) **Quando, etc.:** 13, 4; 95, 4; 158, 4.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** No examples.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** 18, 3; 246, 2; 302, 4. 2) **Si:** 319, 3. 3) **Quando, etc.:** 83, 1; 298, 3.

b) **Que, si quando lo bien.** No examples.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** 53, 4. 2) **Si:** 1, 2; 82, 1; 247, 1; 303, 4. 3) **Quando, etc.:** 206, 2; 230, 3; 232, 3; 237, 1; 238, 4.

b) *Que, si, quando lo yo.* No examples.

4. *Que lo* —: Fija, si vos queredes buscarme grant plaçer, *Que vos yo* siempre aya mucho que gradeçer, 166, 2.

6. Infinitive. *Por bien lo*: Diome enel mar salto *por mas me* desmentir, 118, 3.

b) *Por lo bien, etc.* No example.

4.

GONZALO DE BERCEO.

1. a) Type *que no lo*.

SILOS. Bien sabia al diablo tenerle la frontera, *Que non lo* engannasse por ninguna manera, stz. 48, v. 4. Cuntió gran negligencia a los que lo sopieron El lugar do estido, que *non lo* escribieron, 71, 2. O creo por ventura, que *non lo* entendieron, 71, 3. Por Dios que *non me* quieras tan mucho segudar, 176, 1. Lo que decir vos quiero, que *non lo* retrayades, 228, 4. Cata que *non las* pierdas, 238, 3. Sabet que *no* ovieron dos vezes a clamar, 726, 2.

MILLAN. Tienie bien sue memoria, *Que non lo* engannasse la vida transitoria, stz. 123, v. 4. Connoçerme deviedes tu e tu ermandat, *Que non me* levantassedes crimen de falsedat, 267, 4. Que ante los vengaron que *non lo* reçibieron, 446, 4.

MISSA. Por ent a los discípulos dió signo speçial *Que non se* acostassen a es hospital, 50, 4.

LAURENCIO. *Que non me* desempares, por Dios e caridat, 64, 2.

LOORES. Menester nos a, sennores, su merçed recadar, *Que non nos* desconoscan a la hora de entrar, 167, 4.

MILAGROS. Esto bien lo creades: Que avie de noblezas tantas diversidades, *Que non las* contarien priores nin abbades, 10, 4. Madre eres de fijo alcalde derecho, *Que no* plaçe la fuerza nin es end plaçentero, 90, 4. Dilis que *non lo* dexen y otro trentanario, 107, 3. Fueron mal rependidos que *non lo* degollaron, 153, 3. Dios el nuestro sennor alcalde derecho, Al que *non se* encubre bodega nin çello, 244, 2. Embiaron al bispo por su carta decir, *Que non las* visitaba, 511, 4. Por poco la gent loca que *non lo* adoraba, 724, 4. Veredes el diablo que trae mala manna, Los que *non se le* guardan, 839, 4.

ORIA. Sennor, dixo, e padre, peroque *non te* veo, 103, 1.

b) Type *que lo no*.

MISSA. Los que *lo non* entienden bien deben preguntar, 48, 1.

LAURENCIO. Los que *lo non* fçieren quierelos martiriar, 29, 4.

LOORES. Sennor merçé te pido de que tanto feçiste, *Que me non* aborrescas, 98, 4.

Doblaron su peccado los que *la non* creyeron, 128, 4.

Mandó de la çiudad que *se non* derramassen, 131, 3.

MILAGROS. Ubert, Ubert, por qué *me non* recudes? 293, 2.

Pusolo en porfazo porque *lo non* pagaba, 685, 2.

2. a) Type *si no lo*.

SILOS. Si *non los* amparare el padron del logar, 155, 3. Si *non vos lo* tollieron nuestros graves pecados, 283, 1. Ca si *non li* valiesse, a poca de sazón Serie ciego, 706, 3. Dixo : si *non me* saca Dios el nuestro sennor Desti qui me tiene non me fíçier amor, 712, 2.

MILLAN. Si *non se* meiorasse que serie destruida, 281, 3.

MISSA. Ca pesarie a Çesar si *non lo* acabassen, 243, 4.

LAURENCIO. Si *non me* llevas, padre, en tu soçiedat, 64, 3.

MILAGROS. Del mal si *non te* guardas, caerás en peor, 261, 4. Madre, si *non nos* vales, de ti non nos partremos, 393, 1. Todo es recabdado si *non te* repindieres, 728, 4.

ORIA. Si *non te lo* quitare conseio del pecado, El que hizo a Eva comer el mal bocado, 96, 3.

b) Type *si lo no*.

SILOS. So en fiero afruento con tal enfermedad, Si *me non* acorriere la tu grant piadat, 411, 4.

MILLAN. Dissolis por conceio una fuert profecía : Que *sis non* quisiessen quitar da la follia, Serien todos destructos, 283, 2.

Sennor, si *nos non* sanas, daqui nunca iztremos, 327, 1.

Si *los non* escuchasen non fíçieran locura, 408, 4.

LOORES. Si *nos non* vales, madre, podemosnos perder, 223, 2.

3. a) Type *quando no lo*.

SILOS. Quando *non lo* leyesse, deçir non lo querria, 73, 3.

MISSA. Quando *non lo* quisieron los diestros reçeber, 51, 1.

LOORES. Quando *non me* atrevo a essas, digome destas menores 85, 2.

b) Type *quando lo no*.

MILLAN. Por poco *se non* riso, tant ovo grant sabor, 222, 4.

4. a) Type *que bien lo*.

SILOS. Rey, dixo, mal façes, que *tanto me* denuestras, 148, 1. Desende adelante, porque *bien lo* partieron, Dióles Dios buen conseio, 461, 1. Terneme por pagado, que *bien me* soldades, 760, 3. En caridat vos ruego, que luego los digades, 760, 4.

MILLAN. Deste seet seguros que *bien vos* fallaredes, 480, 3.

LOORES. Porque la virtud podemos entender, Que *bien se* podia dellos sin arma defender, 59, 3.

MILAGROS. Benedicta sea ella que *bien gelo* cumplió, 130, 2. Lo que alli methieremos que *bien lo* empleamos, 498, 4. Tanto era grant cosa que *abes lo* creya, 837, 4.

ORIA. Fizonos esta gracia porque *bien lo* quisiemos, 68, 4.

b) Type *que lo bien*. No examples.5. a) Type *si bien lo*.

MILLAN. Si *bien lo* entendiessedes, sodes bien escapados, 276, 1. Deste seet seguros que bien vos fallaredes, Si *bien lis* enviaredes esto que lis deveades, 480, 4.

MILAGROS. Los que tuerto li tienen o que la desirvieron, Della merçed ganaron, si *bien gela* pidieron, 376, 2.

ORIA. Madre, si *bien me* quieres, e pro me quieres buscar, Manda llamar los clerigos, 193, 1.

b) Type *si lo bien*. No examples.

6. a) Type *quando bien lo*.

MILAGROS. Quando *bien la* catares, tuia es mas que mia, 669, 3.

ORIA. Serás fuerte embargada de enfermedat mortal, *Qual nunca la* oviste, terrasla bien por tal, 135, 4.

b) Type *quando lo bien*. No examples.

7. a) Type *que yo lo*.

SILOS. Porque viene aquesto, que *vos me lo* digades, 239, 2. Esto que *yo vos* digo todo lo probaredes, 448, 4. Empezó muy afirmer al Criador rogar, Que *elli les* dennasse conseio embiar, 450, 3. En gracia vos lo pido, que por Dios lo fagades, De sendos pater nostres, que *vos me* acorrades, 760, 2.

MISSA. En el su amor sancto que *él la* ençienda, 102, 3. Ruega a Dios por él e por sus encomendados, Que *él los* absuelva de todos los pecados, 269, 2.

LOORES. Tu ante estás presta que *nos te* demandemos, 217, 3.

MILAGROS. Verdat es, non mentira, esto que *io vos* digo, 276, 2. Quieren a Dios rogar, Que *elli lis* mostrase qual debiessen alzar, 307, 4. Buscó al omne bono que *ella li* mandara, 491, 2. Duenna, disso el bispo, porque *vos lo* neguedes, Non seredes creida, 550, 3. O que omne es esti que *vos me* presentades? 736, 3.

ORIA. Espertó ella luego que *ellas la* dexaron, 108, 4.

b) Type *que lo yo*.

MISSA. Merçet pido a todos por la ley que tenedes De sendos pater nostres que *me vos* ayudedes, 297, 3.

MILAGROS. Lo que *lis él* dĩa facieliolo probar, 725, 3.

8. a) Type *si yo lo*.

SILOS. Todo es tu provecho, si *tu lo* entiendieses, 431, 1.

MILLAN. Bien me ten por babeiça si *yo te lo* consiento, 116, 4.

MISSA. Si *vos me* esperassedes por vuestro bien seer, Oyriedes razones que vos faran plaçer, 107, 3.

MILAGROS. Si *vos me* escuchasedes por vuestro consiment, Querriavos contar un buen aveniment, 1, 2. Mas si *tu me* quissiesses del tuio acreer, Bien te lo cuidaba a un plazo render, 640, 3. Si *él te* enfiare, io por el su amor Acreerté lo mio sin otro fiador, 644, 1. Mas si *tu me* fallieres, a ellos reptaré, 652, 3. Mas si *tu me* falleçes non me tengo a nada, 818, 2.

b) Type *si lo yo*. No examples.

9. a) Type *quando yo lo*.

SILOS. Commo *él lo* asmaba, todo assi avino, 162, 1.

b) Type *quando lo yo*. No example.

10. Anomalous example.

MILLAN. Si me lo la tu *gracia* quisiesse condonar, Sennor, aqui querria de mi grado finar, 60, 3.

11. Infinitive.

a) Type por no lo, etc.

MILLAN. Metiose por los montes por *mas se* esconder, 47, 3. Cantó la sancta missa por *salut li* ganar 179, 3. Yban al omne bueno por *con él se* morar, 253, 2.

MISSA. El caliz a la diestra por *meyor le* membrar, 66, 3.

LOORES. Bien te curieste, madre, de *non lo* fazer, 20, 4.

b) Type por lo no, etc.

MILLAN. Sobraba bien un palmo por a (*pora?*) *vos non* mentir, 234, 4.

5.

LIBRO DE ALEXANDRE.

1. a) *Que, si, quando no lo.* 1) *Que*: En Asia iaz Affrica que es mucho acabada, Frigia e Pamfilia *que non ge* deuen nada, stz. 267, v. 2; Tant auie grant coraçon e firme uoluntat *Que nos le* retenfe castiello nin çudat, 285, 2; Juraronlle al rey en ambas las sus manos *Que non le* fallirian nin enfermos nin sanos, 379, 3; Tant grant era la reuelta *que no la* podien cuntar, 403, 3; Quando uio Eneas *que nol* podie golpar, 511, 1; Bien se cuedaua Eneas *que nol* podrie erger, 512, 4; Assy *que non les* pudo can nin omne uentar, 579, 4; Membról quel dixiera que encantado era, *Que nol* farie mal fierro por ninguna manera, 601, 2; Dixo *que nol* preçiaua quanto un gurrion, 624, 4; Sópo *que nol* ualdrie lança nin espada, 639, 3; Cuemo Achilles auie el cuerpo encantado *Que nol* entrarie fierro, andaua esforcado, 678, 2; Mentrie qui uos dixies *que nol* auie grant sanna, 775, 2; De fronte ua Sagarius *que nol* saben fondon, 784, 3; Aun fizo al Dário por las huestes saluar, E *que non los* podiessen los griegos desbaratar, 820, 2; Las *que non se* rendieron fueron todas ardidias, 867, 2; Puso ennos primeros un muro de peones, *Que no lo* romperien picos nin açadones, 930, 2; Quando uío Gozeas *que nol* podie mouer, 1016, 1; Por tal *que nol* podiessen los griegos perçebir, 1028, 4; Aun uos quiero dezir otra soluçion, *Porque non* uos temades do nulla occasion, 1180, 2; Somos mucho fallidos en el Criador *Que nol* obedeçiemos cuemo a tal sennor, 1282, 2; El quebranto de Dário sabet *que nol* plazia, 1402, 2; Se fuesse por uentura Dário en las compannas, *Que nol* ualiesse nada su sauer nen sus mannas, 1434, 4; Luego lo ouieran morto, asmaron al fazer, Quando anocheçiesse de uiuo lo prender, Darlo a Alexandre por mejor lo auer, *Que non se les* podies otra miente defender, 1538, 4; Veíe *que nol* ficaua nenguna guarnizon, 1540, 3; El omne cobdicioso *que non se* sabe guardar, 1763, 1; Dixol *que nol* duldasse de fer su mestría, 2088, 1; Pero tan fieras cosas tu quieres ensayar, *Que non te* podrie nengun omne aguardar, 2112, 2; Fizo Dios grant cosa en tal omne criar,

Que no lo podien ondas esmedrir nen espantar, 2138, 4; *Paróesse a la puerta so rostro emboçado* *Que no la embargasse el infierno enconado*, 2261, 4.

2) **Si**: *Pesarmá, se nol fago*, que sobre sy lo sienta, 771, 4; *Sy no nos das conseio todos somos fynados*, 1157, 4; *Se non se meiorasse morir se dexaria*, 2411, 4.

3) **Quando, etc.** *Quien non lo ouies uisto tener-lo ye en locura*, 284, 3; *Sennor, dixieron ellos, se Dário falleçia* *Non era marauija, ca non te connoçia*, 751, 2; *Solamente de la uista quienquier que lo uiesse* *Lo podrie conoçer magar nol conoçiesse*, 896, 2; *Vío quel auie fecho Dios grant piadat, Ca no la ganara menos de grant mortandat*, 1372, 4; *Pora qui non lo uío semeiarie follía*, 1801, 2.

b) **Que, si, quando lo no.** 1) **Que**: *Diies que se non quieran por nada desordir* *Ffasta que uenga lora que ies mandes ferir*, 59, 3; *Veo que se non gabará ella deste mercado*, 215, 3; *Non ha réy enno mundo nen tal emperador* *Que tal fijo ouies, ques non touies por mejor*, 334, 4; *Dizen que se non fuesse por la su arteria, Non salíra Achilles enton de la freyria*, 389, 3; *Ferió Ector en ellos que les non daua uagar*, 525, 3; *Lidiaron un gran dia ques non podien uençer, Non podien un a otro en carne se prender*, 600, 1; *Muchos pueblos y ouo de que uos non dixiemos*, 1144, 1; *Quierenlas en uerano los que andan carrera, Que les non faga mal el sol enna mollera*, 1318, 4; *Del que las non uiesse creydos non seriemos*, 1363, 4; *Sennor, dixo, que sabes todas las uoluntades, Al que se non encubren ningunas poridades*, 1541, 2; *Bien se que te non fiz derecho nin leal seruicio* *Segund que deuie, non compli mi officio*, 1542, 1; *La carrera de Dário fallar no la podian, Porque la non fallauan grant duelo fazian*, 1603, 3; *Los que mays te cuidas en tu mano tener, Solo que te non uean te an de falleçer* 1764, 4; *Ally está el rey enemigo de la paz* *Faziendo a las almas iogos que lles non plaz*, 2248, 4; *Non serie omne biuo que sse non fus doliendo*, 2480, 4.

2) **Si**: *Dixo: yo non ternia que soe fijo darssamario* *Sil non fago que prenda de mi vn mal escarnio*, 133, 4; *Ca me terné por malo e por fijo de uieia* *Sil non fago espoluorar otra-miente la peleia* 205, 4; *Oytme, mis amigos, naçí en ora dura, Terné se me non uengo, por de mala uentura*, 377, 4; *Diz a ti, Alexandre, nouo guerreador, Que se te non tornares, prenderás mal honor*, 735, 4; *Dizerté que te contrá se me non quisieres crear*, 1764, 1.

3) **Quando, etc.** *Ternan-se por fallidos quando te non uieren*, 73, 3; *Mas se lo tu mandasses, empieço ty açia* *Que non prisiess mal quien lo non mereçia*, 751, 4; *Querie que al bono la uerdad le ualisse, Non leuasse soldada qui la non mereçisse*, 1391, 2; *Da nos tu omnes, nos daremos las guardas, Quando se non cataren dentro serán entradas*, 1409, 4; *Qui los non entendiesse aurie fiera pauura* 2309, 4; *Quien le non obedeçiesse farie trayçion*, 2471, 4.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que**: *Dixo vn escudero que bien lo connoçia*, 135, 3; *El rey Agamenon porque bien lle pareçie, Toliola a Achilles que mal non mereçie*, 393, 3; *Antes darne grãcias porque assy lo*

he cumplido, 1112, 4; Conseiólos el rey *que assy lo feziessen*, 1477, 1; Mas *que mucho lo digamos*, en fado lo ouieste, 1487, 4; Los *que mays te cuydas en tu mano tener*, Solo que te non uean te an de falleçer, 1764, 4; Mas tan bien se sabia la atalaya componer *Que nunca lo podieron amar nen connoçer*, 1872, 4; Mas merçed te pedimos los *que bien te queremos*, Que salgas contra fuera, nos te reçibremos, 2062, 2; Quien no la ha prouada deue a Dios rogar *Que nunca ge la dexe en este mundo prouar*, 2097, 4; Prometioles grant promessa ante *que ende se partiesse*, 2198, 1; Mas deuemos a Dios la su merçed pedir *Que nunca uos dexe ensayarlo nen sentir*, 2259, 4; Los *que bien lo amauan auien gran sabor*, 2372, 3; Dios lo eche en lugar *que nunca lo desate*, 2453, 4; Greçia do a Perdicas, ca sey *que bien la embrego*, 2470, 2.

2) **Si**: Muchas uezes uos dixi, *se bien uos acordades*, De can que mucho ladra nunca uos del temades, 742, 3; *Si assy nos estorçieren* estos esta uegada, Quantos esto oyeren non darán por nos nada, 1060, 1; *Se mas te contendieres* serás por fol tenido, 2330, 2.

3) **Quando, etc.** Dexó al rey por muerto, *ca tanto se valia*, 155, 1; No lo creyó el rey, *ca bien lo conoçie*, 857, 3; Por fé a mi non pesa, *ca bien lo mereçieron*, 1067, 4; Exió luego a él, *ca mucho lo temie*, 1298, 3; Quando es contra mi *ca bien se mantouieron*, 2477, 3; La gloria deste mundo *quien bien la quisier amar*, 2506, 1.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que**: Su amo Aristotil que lo auie criado, Era muy alegre porque *lo assi ueya onrrado*, 177, 4.

2) **Si**: Sertán mas leales *si lo assy fezieres*, 48, 3; Ca *si lo bien entendiesses*, mucho te escarneçen, 360, 4.

3) **Quando, etc.** Sennor, çiegos se uean *quantos uos mal çegaron*, 2488, 2.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que**: Dixieron ellos: plaznos porque uos lo mandades, 293, 4; Faré de uoluntat lo *que uos me mandades*, 330, 4; A esto, dixo Páris, iudgo *que tu la lieues*, 362, 4; Dezie quel touiessen lo que fue narrado, Se non *quelles* (i. e. que él les) caye muy mal e diguisado, 470, 4; Dirán, se nos tornamos, *que ellos nos uençieron*, 687, 4; Sol *que tu nos uiuas por ricos nos tenemos*, 748, 3; *Que yo uos quiera mucho todos los niçios dezir*, 2247, 1; Sennor, por estas nouas *que nos les leuaremos* Ne nos darán aluistra, nen grado non auremos, 2489, 1.

2) **Si**: Aquí te merçed pedir *si tu lo destruyeres*, 219, 1; *Si tu lo otorgares* que esto es derecho, Fallar-tas ende bien, auras end grant prouecho, 345, 1; *Si él me cometies*, él leuará el prez 649, 3; Mas *se uos nos guiardes a essas santidades*, Daruos emos offerendas que mannas uos querades, 2321, 3.

3) **Quando, etc.** Siempre lo quiso bien, *ca él lo mereçie*, 857, 4.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que**: Se quisierdes fazer esto *que uos yo ruego*, 329, 4; Que quier *que nos el da*, nos essol gradeçimos, 1771, 4; Porque *me uos querades encara falleçer*, Lo que yo non cuydo oyr nen ueer, 2130, 1.

2) **Si**: Mas *se lo tu mandasses*, empieço ty açia Que non prisiones mal quien lo non mereçia, 751, 3; Todos dezien : sennor, ualer non te podemos ; Mas merçed te pedimos los que bien te queremos, Que salgas contra fuera, nos te regibremos : Sennor *se te tu pierdes* nos todos nos perdemos, 2062, 4 ; Por un mal castello que non ual un figo, Mal es *se te tu pierdes* e quantos son contigo, 2063, 2.

3) **Quando, etc.** Quando sopo el rey las nouas del caualllo tan fiere, Dixo : nol prenda ombre *se lo yo non presiere* : Creet que será manso *quando lo yo ouiere* : Perderá toda braueza quando yo en él souiere, 102, 3 ; En grant cueta uisquieron, nunqua den se quitaron, *Qval la ellos ouieron* a uos tal la dexaron, 186, 4.

4. **Que, si, quando lo —**. 1) **Que**: No example. 2) **Si**: *Si lo yo* saber puedo non me lo podrá lograr, 34, 3 ; Quando sopo el rey las nouas del caualllo tan fiere, Dixo : nol prenda ombre *se lo yo non presiere*, 102, 2 ; Mas segunt nuestro seso, *si lo por bien touiesses*, Vna cosa de nueuo querriemos que feziesses, 291, 1 ; Darté yo casamiento muger qual tu quisieres, Por casar o casada qual tu por bien touieres, Nunca te falliré *si me tu non falleçieres*, 362, 3. 3) **Quando, etc.** Al sennor enna bataia muy bien lo aiudaua, Non tornarie rienda *quien se a él llegaua*, 113, 4 ; *Quando se omnes uien* catan uassallos e sennores, Caualleros e clerigos, a buelta lauradores, Abbades e obispos e los otros pastores, En todos ha achaques de diuersas colores, 1666, 1 ; Pero Galter el bono en su uersificar Seya ende cansado, do querie destaiar, Dixo de la materia mucho en este logar *Quando la el rey* dixo quierolo yo cuntar, 1935, 4 ; Las bonas calagrannas que se quieren alçar, Las otras moleias que fazen las uieias trotar, La torronts amorosa bona poral lagar, *Quanto uos omne non* podrie dezir nen cuntar, 1967, 4.

5. **Que, si . . . lo no**. 1) **Que**: Ferió entre los reys que a Dário guardauan, Pocos auie hy dellos *que dél se non* duldauan, 959, 4 ; Yo te sabré dos aruoles en este monte mostrar, Que non puedes tal cosa entre to cuer asmar : *Quellos te non* digan en que puede finir, 2318, 3.

2) **Si**: Mas conseiarte quiero a toda mi cordura, *Se de nos te non* partes aurás mala uentura, 120, 4.

6. **Anomalous examples.** Ouol por uentura el infante a ueer, *Desde que lo uisto* ouo nos le pudo asconder, 160, 2 ; *Aqui te merçed* pedir si tu lo destruyeres, Nunca acabarás todo lo que quisieres, 219, 1 ; Fijos e mugieres por mi los oluidestes, E lo que yo quis *nunca lo uos* contradixiestes, 2120, 4.

7. **Infinitive.** a) **Por bien lo**: Dieronie dos bondades *por bien la* acabar, 89, 2 ; Pero dubdaua Ector *en bien se* meter, 600, 3 ; Apeós el bon ombre *por meior se* encobrir, 1028, 3 ; *Por uerdad uos* dezir de tal golpe me pago, 1211, 4 ; Fizo cara fremosa *por meior se* encobrir, 1489, 2 ; Darlo a Alexandre *por meior lo* auer, 1538, 3.

b) **Por lo bien** : Mas preste fue Filotas *por lo luego* uengar, 971, 3.

6.

POEMA DE FERNAN GONÇALEZ.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** *Que non le* (M. nol) pudieron (ellas) danno ninguno fazer (M. fer), stz. 111, v. 2; *Que non se podrryan deso los ffranceses alabar*, 129, 3; *Dezit le que non le mejorare valia de vna meaja*, 291, 4; *Ovyeron a tomar* (su) acuerdo *que non gelo consejasen* (M. departyessen), 337, 1; Estos e otros muchos *que (non) vos he nonbrado(s)*, 353, 1; Por *que non los* podia vencer andava muy cuytado, 364, 2; Pedimos te por merçed *que non nos fagas traydores*, 420, 2; Dixo *que non le* (M. nol) daria valia de vn (M. dun) dinero, 744, 3. 2) **Si:** *Sy non te do yo a Espan(n)a non coma yo mas pan*, 44, 3. 3) **Quando:** *Ca non se tovo del por byen aconsejado*, 207, 2; *Ca non lo fueron nunca nuestros antegesoers*, 420, 3; *Avye sabor de ver le el que* (M. quien) *non le avya vysto* (M. vydo), 606, 4.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** No example. 2) **Si:** *Sy los non acorryan* que eran desbaratados, 530, 4. 3) **Quando:** No example.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** stz. 129, v. 4: 144, 1; 231, 2; 553, 4; 750, 3. 2) **Si:** No example. 3) **Quando:** (3, 1); 748, 2.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** Por esto ha menester *que nos los acometamos*, 305, 1; *Que ¿por que avya miedo pues que el me ayvdava?* 427, 4; *Que el les deria que querye la serpyente demost(r)ar*, 472, 3; (Ca) de lo *que ellos se pagan tyenen lo por mejor*, 629, 4. 2) **Si:** *E sy vos (lo) quisyessedes el podrrya escapar*, 624, 4; 3) **Quando:** *Ca el les daria ayuda por que la anparasen*, 115, 4.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** Quanto *que te yo digo ten lo por aseguurança*, 238, 3. 2) 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —.** No examples.

5. **Anomalous examples.** Por conquerryr a Espanna segunt que ellos cuydavan, *Que ge la conquerryan mas non lo byen asmavan*, 132, 4; Sennor, dicho te he lo que *te dezir queria*, 344, 1.

6. **Infinitive. Por non lo.** *Por non vos detener en otrras ledanias*, 267, 1.

7.

EL CANTAR DE LOS CANTARES.

1. a) **Si non lo.** *Si non te connoces tu fermosa entre las mugieres*, Cap. I, v. 7.

2. b) **Que lo bien.** ¿Qual es el to omado del amor por *que nos assi coniuarest?* Cap. V, v. 9.

8a.

POEME D'AMOUR.—Romania, XVI, 368 ff.

1. a) **Que no lo.**

Que nom fiziese mal la siesta, v. 34.

Que nom fizies mal la calentura, 36.

Pero se *que no me* conoçia, 100.

b) *Que lo no*. No example.

2. a) *Que (si, etc.) yo lo*.

Mas *si (i) o te vies* una vegada,

A plan me queryes por amada, 96.

Yo conoçi luego las alfayas

Que yo ielas avia embiadas, 123.

Ela connoçio una mi çì(n)ta man a mano

Qu'ela la fiziera con la su mano, 125.

b) *Que lo yo*. No example.

8b.

DÉBAT DU VIN ET DE L'EAU.—*Romania*, XVI, 375 ff.

1. *Que no lo*.

Que no a homne *que no lo* sepa

Que fillo sodes de la çepa, v. 34.

2. *Que bien lo*.

E contar t'e otras mis manas,

Mas temo, *que luego te* asanas, 81.

3. *Que yo lo*.

Don vino, si vos de Dios salut,

Que vos me fagades agora una virtud, 56.

8c.

DE LOS DIEZ MANDAMIENTOS.—*Romania*, XVI, 379 ff.

1. *Que no lo*.

E demande del perdimento del bien, que muitas vezes poria el omne façer bien *que non lo* façe, p. 381, l. 37.

2. *Si no lo*.

En este peca qui fiere padre o madre o qui los façe irados por paraulas o por feitos o *si no los* socorre de lo que an mester, 380, 11.

Pero qual pecado a feito tal pena deve sofrir e levar, que, *si non se* escarmentasen los omnes del mal que façen, 381, 25.

9.

DOCUMENTOS DE ALFONSO X.

1. a) *Que non lo*: et si non el *que non los* ayudase, p. 9, l. 16 (Privilegio de Alfonso X del año 1253). é el aldea *que non les* ayudase, 9, 17 (Ibid.). Et aquellos privilegios que han los de Córdova *que non le* embargen, 22, 3 (Carta de Alfonso X del año 1254). ó por que diga que es su pariente, *que nonle* vala ni se excuse por ende, 42, 13 (Ordenanza de Alfonso X del año 1254).

b) **Que lo non** : de guisa que quando el otro á qui demandaba avie meester bocero *que lo non* podie aver, 42, 7 (Ordenanza de Alfonso X del año 1254).

2. a) **Que bien lo** : *que assi lo* usaron de grand tienpo (aca), 44, 19 (Fuero de Alfonso X del año 1254). mando *que assi lo* tomen, 45, 1 (Ibid.).

3. a) **Que yo lo**. No examples.

b) **Que lo yo**. en razon de los molinos del azeyte *que les yo dy*, 16, 3 (Privilegio de Alfonso X del año 1253). é en los castiellos *que les yo di*, 32, 25 (Carta de Alfonso X del año 1254). Vos sabedes bien *que vos yo* embié una mi carta, 38, 3 (Carta de Alfonso X del año 1254). por este heredamiento *que vos yo do*, 11, 22 (Privilegio de Alfonso X del año 1253).

10.

LEYENDA DE LOS INFANTES DE LARA.

(De la Crónica General que mandó componer el Rey Don Alfonso X.)

Cáps. I-VII.

1. a) **Que, si quando non lo**. 1) **Que** : et por *que non me* puedo dellos uengar (que yo YTZ), 218, 24 ; bien uos digo uerdad, *que non me* plaze por que esta carrera queredes yr, 222, 26 ; mas tantos eran muchos los moros *que no les* podien dar cabo, 230, 1. 2) **Si**. No example. 3) **Quando** : *ca non uos* es mester, 222, 15.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non**. 2) **Que** : mas pero tanto uos ruego *que me non* firades otra uez, 211, 10 ; desuio la cabeça del golpe, *assi quel non* alcanço sinon poco por ell onbro, 211, 14 ; bien cuedo *que lo non* faze por al sinon por que nos enamoremos dell (q. n. lo IBYT), 213, 21 ; yo non querria uiuir un día mas fasta *quel non* uengasse, 214, 23 ; et demientre que el fuere en mio poder, conseiuous *quel non* fagades ningun mal (que nol T, q. n. le G), 215, 19 ; *assi quel non* pudo ella defender (que nol T, q. n. le B, q. n. lo I), 215, 22 ; pesoles tanto que non pudiera mas, *assi que se non* sopieron y dar conseio, 216, 22 ; por tal *que se non* guardassen dell (non se Z), 217, 23 ; por *que lo non* descrubiesse, 219, 15 ; pues *que me non* queredes creer de conseio (pues non me I), 223, 12 ; et *que lo non* deuie fazer por ninguna manera, 223, 21 ; Çertas uos digo *que lo non* tengo por bien (non lo all MSS. exc. EA), 226, 11 ; non uos incal tomar ganancias *que uos non* seran prouechosas, 227, 18. 2) **Si**. No example. 3) **Quando** : *ca vos lo non* podría soffrir (non uos lo I), 211, 11.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo**. 1) **Que** : *que bien me* semeia que non fablan de otro cauallero tanto como de uos, 210, 16 ; de guisa *que luego* fizo crebar la sangre por las narizes, 211, 21. 2) **Si** : *si bien me* queredes, 219, 2. 3) **Quando** : a esse logar mismo, *ca y uos* atendre yo, 219, 7 ; *ca mucho* nos tienen los moros en grand quexa, 231, 8.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien**. No examples.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** que cuedaríen los omnes *que el les basteciera la muerte*, 224, 4. 2) **Si:** et *si uos lo touieredes por bien de yr comigo, plazer me a ende mucho (lo uos I)*, 221, 11. 3) **Quando:** et non ayas miedo, *ca yo te amparare*, 214, 7; et sofrirí uos, *ca yo vos prometo que tal derecho uos de ende*, 217, 10; *ca el los atendrie en la uega de Febros*, 222, 5; *fijos, non ayades miedo, ca yo uos dire lo que es*, 228, 2.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** et si assi fuere, non nos escape a uida, *aunque ella quiera amparar (aunque ella lo q. IB, mager que lo e. (quellal T) q. YT, maguer q. e. l. q. GZ)*, 215, 11; et enuia uos rogar quel enuiedes recabdo de lo *que uos ell enuia dezir*, 220, 10; de cosa *que uos yo diga (yo only in EA)*, 223, 13; mas todo esto *que les el mandaua fazer*, 227, 15; ca los agueros, *que uos yo dixen que nos eran contrallos*, 229, 4; el espada con *que los el descabeçava*, 235, 9. 2) **Si:** et si lo uos touieredes por bien, gradescer vos lo ya mucho (uos lo YGZ), 218, 8. 3) **Quando:** muy rico verna de Cordoua don Gonçaluo, si Dios quisiere, *dol yo enuio*, 219, 19.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —** 1) **Que:** este *que uos esta mi carta aduze*, 218, 23; pues *que lo a fazer auedes (q. de (a I) fazerlo au. YTGI)*, 219, 22; pora yr fazer aquello *que les el tio mandara (el t. les IB, les mandaua su tio YTZ)*, 227, 17; Pues *que les esto ouo dicho (esto les all except EA)*, 228, 10. 2) **Si:** et si uos alguna cosa fizo (si alg. EIBG), 215, 18. 3) **Quando:** Roy Blasquez *quando les aquello oyo (les lacking in YTZGA)*, 224, 18; *Quando le aquello oyo dezir (q. le aq. E, q. aq. le I, q. aq. all the others)*, 228, 18; et Munno Salido assi *cuemo le esto ouo dicho (como le o. d. e. I, como esto dixo YTZ)*, 228, 22.

5. **Anomalous.** par Dios, tio, nunca uos yo meresci porque uos tan grand golpe me diessedes (yo nunca uos I, n. u. lo yo B), 211, 7; mas si fuxiere contra donna Llanbla, *yl ella acogiere (e o ela coller A, e ella lo ac. all exc. E)*, 215, 10; en mal ora uos yo crie (yo uos cr. I), 223, 12; que mucho mas *la non deuie el temer (non la G)*, 223, 25; don Munno Salido, siempre *me uos fustes contrallo en quanto pudiestes (uos lacking in YTZAB)*, 225, 5; en mal dia uos yo do soldadas (do yo TB), 225, 18; pues que uos veedes a Munno Salido assi me desondrar, et *me non dades derecho dell (non me all exc. EA)*, 225, 19.

11.

GRAN CONQUISTA DE ULTRAMAR.

Cáps. I-XX.

1. a) 1) **Que non lo:** e pues que *no! falló, tornóse*, pág. 505, col. 1, l. 37; porque *non se aseguraba en el Soldan*, 506, 2, 35; que non era home que las viese *que non se maravillase ende mucho*, 507, 1, 15; el rio es de guisa . . . *que non lo pueden sacar contra á aquella parte*, 510, 1, 37; habian de ir en pos los enemigos, *que non les tomaba sabor de folgar*, 510, 2, 18; así *que non los osaron cometer*, 511, 2, 5; é dijol *que no! semejava que era su honra*, 514, 1, 8. 2) **Si non lo:** si *non les diese sos quitaciones*, 506, 2, 4.

b) **Que lo non** : é por destorbar aquel fecho en cuanto él pudiese *que se non cumpliese*, 505, 1, 10 ; é agua tanta, *que les non fалlesciese á homes nin á bestias*, 505, 1, 29 ; *porque los non levase el viento*, 506, 1, 38 ; é aquellos *que se non pagaren ende*, 508, 1, 8 ; *porque lo non entendiese Siracon*, 509, 2, 11 ; é que si todos hí fíncafen *que les non abundaria*, 512, 12 ; E pora facer atal fecho, *que se non debiera trabajar tan buen home como él*, 513, 2, 50 ; en tal manera que me segure *que me non fagan mal sus yentes*, 513, 2, 55.

3. a) **Que yo lo** : non porque *él se connosciese nin se toviese por heredero de Mafomat*, 508, 2, 33.

b) **Que lo yo** : do quier *que les él mandase*, 505, 1, 4 ; é faced aquello *que vos él dirá*, 508, 1, 31.

4. **Quando lo** — estonces dijieron los mandaderos del Rey que lo firmase él, *así como lo el Rey fíciera*, 507, 2, 18.

12a.

DON JUAN MANUEL : EL LIBRO DE LA CAZA.

1. a) **Que non lo**. assi *que non se falla* que del Rey tolomeo aca ningún Rey nin otro omne tanto fiziesse por ello commo el, p. 1, l. 4 ; Et como quiera *que non los tienen por tan nobles*, 10, 10 ; Pero *que non se atraviessen las peñolas*, 10, 24 ; *que non se despante nin dexe de comer por ellos*, 22, 8 ; en guisa *que non le pueda morder*, 30, 19 ; Et quando los falcones fueren bien tenprados por aventura *que non la fallaren*, 34, 4 ; que guarde *que non le de acomer*, 35, 11 ; Pero non lo quiere el aquí nonbrar por *que non lo tengan por muy chufador*, 43, 20 ; Et que sea guardado *que non les de el sereno enla cabeça*, 51, 15 ; dize Don iohan *que non se atreuio el a fablar enella ninguna cosa*, 54, 29 ; Et la mejor maestria para esto es *que non los dexen estar tanto*, 64, 16 ; Et dize don iohan *que non se acuerda delos nonbres*, 89, 5 ; mas dize *que non sele açerto de çaçar en ellas*, 89, 20.

b) **Que lo non**. Otrosi quando los canes llegan ala grua que esta derribada quanto bien la toman en guardar los falcones *queles non fazen ningun mal*, p. 8, l. 1 ; que los azores *quelo non pueden fazer*, 8, 7 ; Delos bornis non quiso Don iohan fablar mucho porque *se non paga mucho dela su çaça*, 14, 8 ; en guisa *queles non fagan mal*, 17, 23 ; en guisa *que la non pierda y*, 25, 10 ; avn que algunas cosas menguen *que se non pueden fazer*, 27, 15 ; e que guarde *quel non de acomer nunca de vna carne sobre otra*, 35, 8 ; e deuen los guardar *que los non pongan en ningun lugar*, 35, 24 ; guardandol toda bía *quel non fagan enojo*, 36, 8 ; Otro si si quisiere çaçar garça ese atreuire enel falcon que traen, *quel non pierda por alto deuen poner gentes enlos lugares do entendiere que se Rendra* 38, 24 ; Pero el *quela non puede matar*, 39, 20 ; Et por que muchas otras cosas puede acaesçer en esta çaça *que se non podrian escriuir*, 41, 5 ; Et si oviere vn torniello cerca delas piuelas por *que se non pueda Reuoluer el falcon sera mejor*, 49, 11 ; Et quando alguna

cosa se errasse *que se non* pudiese conplir. 49, 14; ca muchas cosas contesçe alos falcones enlas mudas *que se non* puede poner en escripto, 49, 17; Pero *quel non* deuen dar grant papo, 58, 29; Otrosi le deuen guardar *quel non* tengan en casa muy fria, 60, 24; e quando los caçadores las dizen los *quelo non* son tan caçadores que son chufadores (1. *quelo non* son tanto dizen que), 80, 20; mas los *quelo non* quieren creer lo tienen por mentira, 80, 25.

2. a) **Si non lo.** mas *si non se* vafía non deue consentir que se eche de noche, 17, 11; Et *si non gelo* pudieren fazer tragar deuen le meter vn pedaço del por la garganta, 63, 5; Et *si non lo* fazen caçarian con otro omne mas non commo pertenesçe caçar al grant señor, 67, 15.

b) **Si lo non.** ca *si lo non* fuessen mas seria la su caça enojosa que sabrosa, 19, 17; e *si la non* quisiere tomar volando deuen le tirar por el cordel, 24, 29; Et *sila non* matare dar le muy grant fanbre, 26, 5.

3. a) **Quando non lo.** Pero si el falconero fuere bueno el porna Recabdo atodo *ca non se* podria poner en escripto todas las maneras, 30, 7; Et alo en otro lugar *do non lo* solia auer, 83, 6.

b) **Quando lo non.** No example.

4. a) **Que bien lo.** Et dize Don iohan quelos que estos dos omes fazen en caça de açores *que mas lo* tienne el por marauilla que por sabiduria de caça, 8, 19; Et dize Don iohan *que yal* contesçio ael esto, 16, 13; por que es vna delas cosas *que mas le* enbraueçe, 17, 7; Et dize *que ya lo* fizo el muchas vezes, 43, 10; Et dize don iohan que avn el fasta que don Remon durche vino *que asi las* via caçar, 44, 13; *que asi lo* fare escriuir, 46, 28; Et commo fueren cresçiendo las tiseras, *que asi les* deuen menguar la quantia, 50, 20; Et dize don iohan *que ya la* mato y con falcones, 79, 24.

b) **Que lo bien.** e *desque la assi* matare deuen gela montar, 26, 12; ca por que esten magros e fanbrientos comerian tanto *quelo nunca* podrian toller, 47, 23; saluo ende quanto tañe alo que se allega la teorica alo *que se agora* vsa enlas enfermedades delos falcones, 55, 1.

5. **Si bien lo and Si lo bien.** No examples.

6. **Quando bien lo.** *quando bien se* ayudan los vnos alos otros, 7, 24.

7. a) **Que (si, etc.) yo lo.** Et la mejor maestria para esto es que non los dexen estar tanto los picos por fazer fasta *quel seles* comience aquebrar e adesgajar, 64, 17.

b) **Que (si, etc.) lo yo.** Et quien pudiesse vsar dela caça *commo la el* ordeno non erraria en ninguna cosa, 3, 7; e *mientras lo el* comiere, 29, 27; Et el falconero deue caualgar *mientras lo el* come, 37, 26.

8. **Que lo — —.** los girifaltes de *que se agora mas* pagan, 9, 4; Los escuros de *que se agora mas* pagan, 11, 9; Los neblis de *que se agora mas* pagan, 12, 21; Los baharis de *que se agora mas* pagan, 13, 22; que es la cosa del mundo de *que se ellos mas* espantan, 16, 17; e vn açor torçuelo perdiguero de *que se omne non* duela mucho, 67, 4.

DON JUAN MANUEL: EL LIBRO DEL CAVALLERO ET DEL ESCUDERO.

1. a) **Que, si, quando no lo.** 1) **Que:** Et el çapatero, *que non se guardaua de aquello*, 443, 20; por razon *que non se* podra escusar, 444, 26; et tan aprouechosa cosa es para los buenos et para los entendudos el saber, *que non lo* pueden olvidar por los bienes corporales, 464, 22; que quando uiniere, que falle *que non le* enpeço la su partida dende, 465, 6; et que han nobres (l. nombres) señalados *que non se* entiendan en otra arte, 468, 16; por *que non le* oyo nin fablo enello tantas vegadas, por que complida mente lo pudiesse entender, 471, 7; Et para que esten las otras *que non se* mueben et que lieuen los otros çiellos, 478, 8; Ca sin dubda non ha omne que bien pare mientes en los fechos que nuestro señor dios faze en el çielo et en la tierra, *que non le* deua mucho amar et loar, 479, 11; *que non le* deua mucho temer, 479, 15; fara quanto pudiere por *que non lo* acabe, 495, 1; Todas estas aves biuen enlos yermos et enla tierra seca, *que non se* aprouechan del agua, 503, 21; o que vsan non por la arte dela estreleria mas por los juyzios *que non se* pueden saber verdadera mente, 511, 24; deuenos crer que lo lieua por *que non le* quiere dexar en este mundo, 514, 27; Ca çierto es que los que son malos et fazen malas obras et non se arepienten nin se quieren partir dellas, que si alguna buena andança an, *que non les* puede durar mucho, 515, 26.

2) **Si:** Et *si non lo* guardare, todo su fecho traera errado, 486, 29; *si non vos lo* (l. si non vos) diere la repuesta tan complida, non uos marabilledes, 505, 15; Ca *si non lo* fiziessen, venir les ya ende dos daños muy grandes, 513, 26; Et por esta Razon *si non uos* pudiere responder complida mente, 516, 1.

3) **Quando, etc.** Et *do non las* fallare fechas, fazer las el buenas et derechas, 451, 14; Ca vnos toman muy grant pesar *quando non seles* faze lo que ellos quieren, 459, 21.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** Et faziendose estas cosas commo deuen, conplido es el sacramento, avn *que se non* fagan y otros conplimientos et noblezas, 453, 18; Et alas otras *que vos non* respondi, 461, 27; por que cuydo *que vos non* fazen tan grant mengua delas saber, 461, 28; Quiero vos agora dezir vnas cosas *que vos non* dixen entonçe, 475, 16; et da a entender alos suyos *que lo non* ha, 476, 26; Ca non a cosa por bien dicha que sea, que, sy muchas vegadas se dize vna en por (l. pos) otra, *que se non* enoje della el que la oye, 482, 22; Mas las otras estrellas (que) lieua el çielo, segund que de suso es dicho, son las *que se non* mueuen et son puestas asemejanza, 485, 25; Et en las cosas *quel non* cumplen mucho non fazen grant fuerça enle ayudar enellas, 494, 26; Et avn yo tengo *que vos non* podria responder complida mente, 512, 24; la otro (*sic*) es que las cosas que el a de librar *que las non* acomiende a otri, 519, 29; Ay muchas otras tierras *enque las non* conosçen nin se podrian criar, 520, 13; y que non son muy

aprouechosas nin de muy buen recabdo, *que me non pongades culpa nin vos marabilledes ende*, 520, 32; Et alo que me rogastes *que vos non fiziesse mas preguntas*, 521, 23; Capitulo L^o primo, commo el cauallero ançiano Rogo al cauallero nouel *que se non partiesse del ante de su finamiento*, 522, 8; Et Rogo al cauallero mançebo *que se non partiesse del fasta que el nuestro señor cumpliesse la su voluntad enel*, 522, 20.

2) **Si:** o por que el (l. quel) seria daño o verguença, *si lo non dicsse*, 457, 8; non vos deuedes marabillar, *si uos non respondiēre por aquellas palabras mismas que son de aquella arte*, 468, 18; non uos deuedes marabillar, *si uos non respondiēre aesta pregunta tan complida mente commo avia mester*, 471, 11; Et por ende non vos marabilledes, *si uos non Respondiēre aesto complida mente*, 485, 17.

3) **Quando, etc.** Et como deue fazer enel tiempo dela guerra o dela paz, si fue (l. fuesse) muy Rico o abon(d)ado, Et commo *quando lo non fuesse tanto*, 458, 4.

2. a) **Que bien lo:** Et por que todas las cosas se fazen por lo que omne oye o por lo que dize, segunt *que ya vos he dicho de suso*, 481, 24; commo quier *que nunca le puede fablar*, 487, 17; Ca non ha cosa *que mas se allegue con las maneras del cauallero que ser montero*, 498, 25; *que asaz le faze dios merçed complida*, si enesto açierta commo deue, 507, 3; Et deuen ser çiertos que mucho bien que fagan *que nunca les sera olvidado*, 519, 12.

b) **Que lo bien:** Et lo *que se agora alongo*, tengo que non fue si non por mi peccado, 447, 10; Et otrosi tiene(n) que vna delas cosas *que la mas acresçenta*, es meter en scripto las cosas que fallan, 449, 4; Et asi es la caualleria conplida, ca todas las otras cosas *que se y fazen son por bendiciones*, 454, 1; Et aesta pregunta *que me agora fazedes*, que cosa son los angeles, 470, 9: vos deuedes saber que vna delas cosas *que se mas vsa enla caualleria*, 475, 17; et por que los omnes se aprouechen et se siruan dellas en aquellas cosas *quele(s) mas cumplieren*, 507, 22.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** Et quando faldades algunas (l. alguna) que non ay muy buen recado, tened por çierto *que yo la fiz poner en este libro*, 447, 21; Pero ala pregunta *que uos me feziestes*, commo quier que en pocas palabras non uos podria conplida mente responder, 451, 8; Et cred *que yo me tengo por muy tenuto de vos seruir*, 462, 18; Que muchas delas preguntas *que vos me feziestes son de artes et de sciencias çiertas*, 467, 28; el fara en guisa que en qual quier manera que ayades cuydo (l. caydo) en qual quier destos pecados, *que el vos dara consejo*, 491, 27; Por que dios quiso dar galardon al alma del cauallero ançiano por los seruicios *que el le avia fechos*, 522, 15. 2) **Si:** Pero deue omne auer buena sperança que, *si el se aripiēte*, quel abra dios merçet, 493, 11; Et pues veo que vos tantas bue(n)as cosas me auedes mostrado, que *si yo las pudiesse aprender*, que me cu(m)plian asaz, 521, 27.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** Mas de *que lo vos vierdes*, si me enviades dezir que vos pagardes ende, 448, 12; Pero si atodas estas pre-

guntas *que me vos fazedes* non vos pudiere yo responder por aquellas palabras mismas, 467, 26 ; Et por ende, por que las preguntas *que me vos fazedes* son de sciencias señaladas, 468, 15 ; Et pues qui (l. que) en estas cosas *que me vos preguntades* yo he pensado quanto el mi flaco entendimiento alcançar (sic) puede, 472, 27 ; así como otras uegadas vos dixere, todas vuestras preguntas *que me vos fazedes* son dobladas, 486, 11 ; Et bien cred, fijo, que el que esto dixere et lo entendiere es (l. en) esta guisa que el (l. quel) sería muy graue del dar Respuesta a todas preguntas *que me vos feziestes*, 488, 16 ; Mas la manera en que omne semeja al mundo et es todas las cosas, es en esta manera *que vos yo dire*, 488, 17 ; Fijo, fasta aqui todas las preguntas *que me vos feziestes* fueron senziellas et dobladas, 494, 1 ; Fijo, como quier que yo tengo que tantas preguntas et tan estrañas *que me vos feziestes*, que yo non vos podría responder, 520, 25 ; Otrosi vos ruego que, pues a estas preguntas *que me vos feziestes* uos he respondido en la manera que yo pude, 520, 33 ; para enmendar alguna cosa a nuestro señor dios de muchos yerros et pecados *quel yo fiz*, 521, 5 ; non se como pudiesse gradescer adios et a vos quanto bien tengo que me ha venido en estas cosas *que me vos mostrastes*, 521, 19 ; Et cierto seed que yo tengo que todas estas cosas *que me vos avedes* mostrado son todas muy buenas, 521, 22. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando, etc.** Et *pues vos yo* reprehendo por que mudastes la manera et las preguntas, 495, 10 ; Et ruego vos que, *pues vos yo* respondi a todas las preguntas, 521, 8.

4. **Que, si lo —:** Mas todas estas crianças et labores, quanto a aprouechamiento del alma pueden ser apouechamiento (l. aprouechosas) et puede(n) ser dañosas, et todo es segund la entencion a que el omne lo faze, Ca tan bien del criar delos fijos delos omnes buenos como delas labores dichas, *si las omne faze* a entencion que dios sea ende seruido, 511, 11.

5. **Anomalous examples:** Et alo que cosa son los angeles, fijo, *ya vos yo* dixere que las preguntas que me fazedes son de muchas sciencias, 470, 6 ; Ca la razon le da entender que por quantas mercedes *le dios fizo* et por el poder que ha de acaloñar, 510, 20.

6. **Infinitive.** a) **Por non lo.** No example.

b) **Por lo non:** Bien veo, dixo el cauallero ançiano, que non puedo escusar *de uos non* responder, 467, 18 ; Por ende, *por vos non* detener, Responder vos he en pocas palabras, 468, 21 ; et *por vos non* alongar mucho el libro, et por que non fazen grant mengua, non vos los quiero y poner todos nombrada mente, 506, 18 ; que lo dexare *por vos non* fazer enojo, 521, 26.

12c.

JUAN MANUEL : LIBRO DE PATRONIO.

Exemplos I-XXV.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** p. 4, l. 2 ; 6, 11 ; 11, 21 ; 14, 18 ; 17, 23 ; 19, 19 ; 22, 1 ; 29, 27 ; 35, 4 ; 35, 11 ; 41, 2 ; 42, 20 ; 47, 3 ; 47, 14 ; 48, 9 ; 50, 8 ; 54, 17 ; 59, 11 ; 62, 1 ; 62, 12 ; 64, 17 ; 66, 16 ; 75,

9; 76, 5; 79, 13; 80, 23; 83, 16, 2) **Si**: 12, 20; 17, 20; 65, 8. 3) **Quando**: 54, 21; 65, 3; 94, 13.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que**: 7, 4; 8, 6; 9, 10; 17, 9; 18, 1; 18, 4; 18, 6; 19, 13; 20, 22; 27, 10; 28, 6; 31, 2; 34, 16; 41, 17; 43, 18; 55, 27; 56, 2; 57, 6; 59, 21; 70, 8; 72, 16; 72, 24; 73, 1; 76, 2; 76, 7; 77, 21; 78, 5; 79, 7; 80, 14; 86, 11; 93, 1; 94, 7. 2, 3) **Si, quando.** No examples.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que**: 19, 5; 22, 16; 40, 11; 42, 7; 66, 24; 79, 13. 2) **Si**: 50, 16. 3) **Quando**: 68, 26.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que**: 3, 24; 3, 25; 34, 9; 72, 10. 2) **Si**: 72, 13. 3) **Quando.** No example.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que**: 27, 3; 47, 15; 28, 21; 74, 23; 95, 19. 2) **Si**: 76, 1. 3) **Quando**: 47, 3; 80, 5.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que**: 5, 2; 25, 2; 43, 7; 94, 12; 94, 15. 2) **Si**: No example. 3) **Quando**: 35, 20; 73, 3.

4. **Que, si, quando lo** —. 1) **Que**: et aun los *que lo* tambien non entendieren, 4, 23. 2, 3) **Si, quando.** No examples.

5. **Anomalous.** et non paredes mientes a quanto floxa mente *voslo* el rruega, 69, 9. (Nota: *el* eingeschoben, indem das vorhergehende *el* ausfällt MEAGg.)

6. a) **Por non lo**: 52, 27.

13.

JUAN RUIZ DE HITA.

1. a) **Type que non lo.**

Si algunos, lo *que non los* conssejo, quisieren vsar del loco amor, p. 6, l. 18. rrespondieron los griegos *que non las* merescien, stz. 47, v. 3.

achaque le leuanta por *que non le* de del pan, 93, 2.

vete, dil que me non quiera, *que nol* quiero níl amo, 101, 4.

mas, por *que non me* tengades por dezidor medroso, 161, 3.

que nol debatas luego, por mucho que se enforce, 187, 4.

pero *que non la* asueluo del furto tan ayna, 366, 2.

ella diz *que nonlo* tenie, 366, 4.

mucho mas te diria Saluo *que non me* atrevo, 421, 4.

Non puede ser quien mal casa *que non se* arrepienta, 436, 4.

¡cuytado yo que fare *que non la* puedo yo catar! 590, 2.

non puede ser *que non se* mueva canpana que se tañe, 623, 4.

rreçelo he *que non me* oydes esto que uos he fablado, 663, 1.

fablad tanto E tal cosa *que non vos* a Repintades (*i. e.*, arrepintades), 721, 2.

que fablar lo *que nonle* cuple, 722, 3.

grand amor e grand ssaña non puede ssar *que non se* mueva, 731, 4.

fasta *que non vos* dexen en las puertas llumasos, 744, 4.

¿por que amas la dueña *que non te* preçia nada? 786, 3.

en dueña *que non vos quiere nin catar, nin ver?* 788, 2.
 esta lleno de doblas, falcas *que non lo entyendo*, 826, 4.
 pues el amor lo quiere ¿por *que non vos juntades?* 843, 4.
 E lechiga buena *que nol coste nada*, 1033, 5.
 leuantose byen alegre de lo *que non me pesa*, 1078, 2.
 e los de santa eulalya, por *que non se ensanen*, 1239, 2.
 ally Responden todos *que non gelo conssejauan*, 1256, 1.
que non les ponen onrra la qual deujan aver, 1390, 4.
 nin desir nin cometer lo *que non le es dado*, 1407, 2 (ms. T lo *que le non es*).

. . . . non me mates, *que non te podre fartar*, 1426, 3.
 vino ael vn diablo por *que nonlo perrdiese*, 1456, 2.
 ¿por *que non me acorres?* 1465, 2.
 e dil *que non me diga de aquestas tus fasanas*, 1493, 4.
 quanto ha *que non vos vy!* 1509, 2.
que non gelo desdeñedes, pues que mas traher non pud, 1511, 2 (G. non gelo desdeñedes pues mas traer non pud ; T. *que non gela*).
 de tu memoria amarga non es *que non se espante*, 1520, 4.
 Contra los tres prinçipales *que non se ayunten de consuno*, 1603, 1.
 e, Señor, vos veredes, maguer *que non me alabo*, 1624, 3.

b) Type *que lo non*.

Ante viene de la fraqueza dela natura humana que es enel oñe, *que se non puede escapar de pecado*, p. 4, l. 26.
 E viene otrosi dela mengua del buen entendimiento, *que lo non ha estonce*, por que ome piensa vanidades de pecado, p. 4, l. 30.
 vete, dil *que me non quiera*, que nol quiero ñil amo, stz. 101, v. 4.
 pero mayor poder rretuvo en sy *que les non dio*, 148, 4.
 los *que te non prouaron en buen dya nascieron*, 198, 1.
 E maguer te presiese, crey *que te non matarya*, 214, 2.
 Responde, ¿que te fiz? ¿por *que me non diste dichā* en quantas que ame? 215, 2.
 Por cobdiçia feciste atroya destroyr, por la mançana escripta, *quese non deuiera escreuir*, 223, 2.
 rruegal *que te non mienta*, muestral buen amor, 443, 2.
 ¿qual carrera tomare *que me non vaya matar?* 590, 1.
 atodos dy por rrespuesta *quela non queria non*, de aquella feria mi cuerpo que tiene mi coraçon, 658, 3.
 ella diz : “pues fue casada creed *que se non arrepienta*, 711, 3 (G. . . . cret ya que ella cons ienta (*sic*)).
 por *que me non es agradeçido nin me es gualardonado*, 717, 4 (G. por *que non me es*).
 por que quieres departyr con dueña *que te non quiere nin escuchar nin oyr?* 789, 3.
 fago *que me non acuerdo ella va começallo*, 808, 3 (G. fago *que non me*).

mas que lo non tenia e por end veniera, 903, 4 (G. *mas que non lo . . .*).
pasaron byen dos dias que me non pud leuantar, 944, 3.
de la que te non pagares, *veyla e Rye e calla*, 1021, 4.
 E yo, desde que saly de todo aqueste Roydo torne Rogar adios *que me non*
diese aoluido, 1043, 4 (G. *que non me . . .*).
creo que se me non detenga en las carneçerias, 1072, 3 (G. *tengo que non*
senos tenga . . .).
aty, carnal goloso, que te non coydas fartar, 1075, 3 (G. *que non te cuydas*
. . .).
rrespondiole el flayre quel non serian perdonados, çerca desto le dixo muchos
buenos ditados, 1129, 3.
 En esto yerran mucho, *que lo non pueden faser*, 1145, 1.
 diz: "vos que me guardades *creo que me non tomedes*, 1208, 3 (G. . . .
que non me tenedes).

al que gela non besa, *tenian lo por villano*, 1246, 3.
pocos ally falle que me non llamasen padrasto, 1311, 4.

2. a) Type *si non lo*.

synon lo ençendian dentro en la natura de la muger mesquina, otro non les
atura, stz. 263, v. 3.

sy non se faze lo tuyo tomas yra E saña, 304, 3.
dar te ha lo que non coydas sy non te das vagar, 629, 4.
asy nol dan delas espuelas al cauallo faron, 641, 1.
los plaseres de la vyda perdedes si non se amata, 857, 4.

b) Type *si lo non*.

si la non sigo, *non vso*, *el amor se perdera*, 689, 1.
ella, si me non engaña, *paresçe que ama ami*, 706, 2.
sy me non mesturades, *dire vos vna pastija*, 916, 4.

3. Type *quando non lo*.

dexose de amenazar do non gelo preçian nada, 63, 4.
 dix: "querer *do non me quieren fïaria vna nada*," 106, 2.
rresponder do non me llaman es vanidad prouada, 106, 3.
pues Sea te soldada, pues non te quise matar, 254, 4.
el diablo lo lieua quando non se rrecabda, 275, 4, etc.

b) Type *quando lo non*.

algun triste ditado que podiese ella saber, que cantase con tristeza, pues la
non podia aver, 91, 4.
erre todo el camino como quien lo non sabia, 974, 4 (G. . . *quien non sabia*).

4. a) Type *que bien lo*.

que siempre lo loemos en prosa E en canto, stz. 11, v. 3.
que ante les convenia con sus sabios disputar, 48, 2.
que nunca lo diste avno, pidiendo telo çiento, 248, 4.
 . . . *aqual quier que ally se atienē*, 385, 3.
que mas la ençendia . . ., 522, 3.
lo que mas le defienden . . ., 523, 2.

que nuncalo beuiera, prouolo por su daño, 529, 2 (G. *que lo non veujera* . . .).

Al *que demas lo beue* . . . , 548, 3.

ca el *que mucho se alaba* . . . , 557, 4.

. . . ¡quiera dios *que bien me* Responda ! 650, 2.

. . . *que asas vos* he fablado, 717, 1.

que mal se laua la cara . . . , 741, 4.

. . . *que mal le plaçe*, 778, 4.

. . . *maguer que sienpre vos* encargo, 832, 2.

lo *que nunca se* pude Reparar . . . , 887, 3.

. . . Ruego te *que bien las* mires, 908, 4.

desque *bien la* guarde . . . , 933, 3.

. . . *que byen te* dare que yantes, 967, 3.

. . . *que ansy te* conbidas, 976, 1.

. . . delo *que mas me* asañó, 1070, 4.

Por *que tanto me* tardo . . . , 1382, 1.

. . . de lo *que ayer me* fableste, 1140, 2.

. . . Segund *que ya te* digo, 1481, 1.

lo *que cras le* fablades . . . , 1496, 2.

. . . *que antes me* era abierta, 1519, 4.

. . . *que luego la* vayan asoterrar, 1539, 1.

. . . *que ansy nos* de vallen, 1601, 1.

b) Type *que lo bien*.

mas arde e mas se quema qual quier *que te mas* ama, 197, 2.

quando su muger dalyda los cabellos le corto enque avia la fuerça, E desde *que la byen* cobro, asy mesmo con yra e aotros muchos mato, 308, 3.

El *que la mucho* sygue, 519, 1.

El *quela mucho* vsa, enel coraçon lo tyene, maguer se le escusa, 519, 1.

enlo *quel mucho* piden anda muy ençendida, 525, 4 (G. . . *que mucho* piden).

la *que te oy* defama, cras te querra Amigo, 573, 3.

desque vy *que me mal* yua, fuy me dende sañudo, 1310, 4 (G, T, . . . *que mal me* yua . . .).

con ellas estas cantigas *que vos aqui* Robre, 1319, 2.

los mas nobles presenta la dueña *ques mas* preçia, 1338, 3 (G, T, . . . *que mas* se preçia).

5. a) Type *si bien lo*.

cantas : "letatus sum"—*sy ally* se detiene, 385, 2.

sy mucho la amades mas vos tyene amado, 798, 4.

b) Type *si lo bien*. No example.

6. a) Type *quando bien lo*.

del miedo que he auido ; *quando bien me lo* cato, 1382, 2.

b) Type *quando lo bien*.

amor, *quien te mas* sygue, quemas le cuerpo e alma, 197, 3.

cras te dara la puerta *quien te oy* çierra el postigo, 573, 2.

7. a) Type *que yo lo*.

que yo le quebrantaria, 62, 1.

el rrey que tu nos diste, por nuestras bozes vanas, 203, 3.

luego que tu la vieres, 647, 2.

. . . . *aquesto que yo vos he hablado*, 732, 4.

ella verdat me dixo, quiere lo que vos queredes; perdet esa tristesa, *que vos lo prouaredes*, 802, 4.

lo que yo vos promety, 822, 2.

lo que tu me dema(n)das, 844, 1.

. . . . *que yo la guardare byen*, 851, 1.

ami non retebdes, fija, *que vos lo merescedes*, 878, 3.

desseda son las cuerdas con que ella se tyraua, 1268, 4.

de lo que yo te dixes, luego me arrepenty, 1368, 3.

enlo que tu me dises, en(e)llo penssare, 1395, 2 (G. en lo que me tu dises).

que yo te ayudare coño lo suelo far, 1467, 4.

. . . . *por que tu me sopesas*, 1470, 4.

Cada dia le dises que tu le fartaras, 1530, 1.

b) Type *que lo yo*.

segund quelo yo deseo vos e yo nos abraçemos, 684, 3.

abiuo la culebra, ante *quela el asa*, 1350, 3.

que lieues esta carta ante que gelo yo diga, 1497, 2.

8. a) Type *si yo lo*.

¡*Sy el vos de la su gloria!* 1659, 3.

E si tu me tyrares coyta e pesares, 1688, 1.

b) Type *si lo yo*.

sy las yo dexiese començarien a rreyr, 447, 4.

sy vos yo engañare, el ami lo demande, 817, 4 (G. sy yo a uos engañare).

9. a) Type *quando yo lo*.

de quanto yo te digo, tu sabes que non miento, 185, 4.

anda todo el mundo quando tu lo rretientas, 212, 2. .

b) Type *quando lo yo*.

mas quanto esta mañana del camino non he cura, *pues vos yo tengo*, hermana, aqui enesta verdura, 989, 4.

10. Type *que lo dios*.

Segund le dios le demostrase fazer señas con la mano, 51, 3 (G. quales dios les mostrase fazer signos).

de lo quel pertenesçe non sea des deñoso; con lo *quel dios diere*, paselo bien fermoso, 780, 4.

Señora, non querades tan horafia ser, *quered salyr al mundo aque vos dios fizo nasçer*, 917, 4.

11. Anomalous examples.

non se fluerte nin rreçio que se contigo tope, 187, 3.

ssy vos lo bien sopiesedes qual es e quan pregiado, vos queriades aquesto que yo vos he fablado, 732, 3 (G. si vos bien lo).

de eso que vos rresçelades ya vos yo asseguro, 1482, 2 (G. . . . yo uos asseguro).

12. Infinitive.

a) Type *por non lo*.

en suma vos lo cuento por non vos detener, 1269, 1 (G. . . . por vos non detener).

vy muchas en la tienda ; mas por non vos detener, e por que enojo soso non vos querria ser, 1301, 2 (G. . . . por uos non detener enojoso non vos quiero seer ; T. . . . por vos non demeter enojo non vos queria faser).

b) Type *por lo non*.

E por las non dezir se fazen des amigos, 165, 2.

14.

POEMA DE ALFONSO ONCENO.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** *Dise me mi voluntad Que non me dexe regnar, stz. 179, v. 4.* 2, 3) **Si, quando, etc.** No examples.

b) **Que, si quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** *A los moros pases dió, Que les non fesiesen guerra, 2, 2 ; Sy uos queredes valer E que uos non mengue cossa, 117, 2 ; Muchas vegadas afrontar Que gelos non detouiesse, 309, 4 ; Que les non fincase cossa Por oro ni por auer, 551, 1 ; Por tal de la guardar, Que se non boluiesen, 1000, 3 ; E por tienpos de la vuestra vida, Que vos non fflagan mas guerra, 1128, 4 ; Ssus vassallos sse farán, Por que uos non quieren bien, 1139, 4 ; Sodes rey de grand bondad, Quel non ssaben otro tal, 1160, 2 ; Vos tenedes vna armada, Que los non puedan fuir, 1245, 2 ; Mas que nos non aueredes, Que yo tengo grant poder, 1246, 3 ; Nunca pasaré el puerto, Fasta que los non vengar, 1402, 4 ; Por mi e por mi conpanna, Que uos non dexes perder, 1507, 2 ; E otros fueron finados, De que me non biene emiente, 2183, 2 ; Que le non dedes mas guerra, 2392, 1.* 2) **Si:** *O que luego lo matassen Ssi lo non podiessen prender, 262, 2 ; E sse ge lo non tomassen, Que la villa rrenderian, 354, 3 ; E será grand marauilla, Ssi nos non desçercar luego, 1091, 4 ; E vos si vos non quexardes. 1107, 1.* 3) **Quando:** No example.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** *E que bien sse ayudasen Por sienpre de la ssu vida, 164, 3 ; Que ayna sse guissase, E a Toro fuese ssu via, 201, 1 ; O que luego lo matassen, Ssi lo non podiessen prender, 262, 1 ; Enbiaron menssageria. . . . Que luego lo enbiasse, 303, 4 ; Con fijos dalgo omenaje, Que nunca vos faga danno, 591, 4 ; Vos sodes el rrey mejor, Que nunca se bió en Seuilla, 1212, 4 ; Que alli los fallaredes, 1414, 4 ; E sepades sin dubdança Que luego las quitarán, 2206, 2.* 2, 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que:** Por *que lo mucho* amó, 382, 1; La honrra fue del rrey de Benamarin, *Que se y* perdió aquel día, 1840, 4; Poderio e altura *Que te sienpre* ennoblecíó, 1881, 2; *Que te sienpre* ayudó, 1882, 3. 2) **Si:** El caualllo vos matarán *Sy vos mucho* quexaredes, 36, 2; Don Iohan, *sy me bien* quier, 180, 1; Que muy mester lo auemos, *Ssi nos la luego* enbiar, 1012, 3; Reyna, *si bos bien* ama, Yo sse que verná luego, 1171, 3; El rrey de Castiella quier Prouar *si me bien* queredes, 1181, 4; Vos, *si me bien* queredes, 1246, 1; *Si lo asi* fesieras, sennor, 1379, 1; *Si vos bien* quisier seruir, 1452, 2. 3) **Quando:** *Quien lo mucho* desea, 854, 4; E *pues me bien* comensastes, 1185, 3.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** *Que él los* queria heredar, 947, 3; *Que uos me dedes* sin falla, Esta honrra, si uos ploguier, 1285, 1; El que se a ti tornase, *Que tu lo* rreçibirias, 1505, 4. 2, 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** Ssy quisier *que lo yo* uea, 205, 4. 2, 3) **Si, Quando, etc.** No examples.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —.** 1) **Que:** *Que le* de Dios parte venga, 7, 1; El rrey cobró ssu tierra, *Que le* forçada tenia, 322, 4; E perdemos buen ssennor, *Que nos* mucho bien fasia, 880, 4; Pues que te quebró la lança, *Que te* muy bien defendia, 900, 4; Brunnuelos con manteca, *Que le* el grand ssennor enbia, 926, 4; E nos non ssomos joglares, *Que vos* algo demandemos, 1113, 4; *Que bos* muy grand los dará, E por sienpre bien querria, 1469, 1; El *que se* a ti tornase, 1505, 3; *Que los* muy bien rrescebió, 2199, 4; E la costa desta guerra, *Que bos la* muy bien pagasen, 2339, 2. 2) **Si:** *Si le* en tuerto yoguierdes, 136, 3; *Sy vos* otro rey fíaser Mal tuerto sin derecho, 137, 1; *Si la* por muger tomaredes, 186, 2; *Ssi lo*, ssennor, non matades, 240, 3; *Ssi le* Dios non acorrier, 561, 4; E *sy le* desto ploguier, 568, 1; *Si le* uos non acorredes, 632, 4; *Se me la* el rrey pedia, 1027, 1; *Si lo* del mundo non echo, 1104, 3; Amos tomaredes muerte, *Ssi uos* en campo fallades, 1109, 4; *Si le* bos non acorredes, 1198, 4; *Si nos él* non falleçier, 1298, 4; E *si lo* esto proguier, 1299, 1; *Si le* bos non fallesçedes, 1350, 4; *Si lo* en campo fallar, 1628, 1; E *si la* el buen rrey ganar, 2052, 1; *Si le* Dios non acorrier, 2293, 4; *Si le* Dios non acorrier, 2328, 4; E *si le* esto progier, 2374, 1; *Si me* Dios dexar beuir, 2402, 2. 3) **Quando:** Todo el mundo fablará De *commo lo* Dios conplio, 320, 2; De la lid fue fablar, En *commo la* Dios vençió, 836, 2; *Quando me* Tarifa nenbra, 2382, 1.

5. **Anomalous examples.** ¡Ya nunca vos yo mas veré! 893, 4; Que todos *se* bien guissasen, 945, 1; Por esto *vos* mucho amo, 1253, 1; Todos *se* muy bien guisaron, 1261, 1; Ayna *se* bien guisasen, 1268, 2; Luego *se* bien guisaron, 1292, 1; Sienpre *bos lo* a bien ternán, 1393, 4; Que todos *se* bien perçiban, 1454, 1; El fijo de Santa Maria, *Le* non mostró atal plaser, 1588, 4; Todos *se* luego ayuntaron, 1653, 1; Todos *se* luego ferieron A muy grandes espadadas, 2276, 3.

6. **Infinitive.** 1) **Por lo bien.** *Para sse bien ayudar*, 179, 2; *Por sse mejor conosçer*, 788, 4; *Por se mejor esforçar*, 2436, 3. 2) **Por lo —** *Para se con él benir*, 1225, 4; *Por nos todos defender*, 1921, 4.

Note: Add to § 3b 1) **Que lo yo** the following: *Si lo en canpo fallar A tanto que lo yo bea*, *Non podrá escapar*, 1628, 2.

15.

RIMADO DE PALACIO.

(Stzs. 1-500.)

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** *Que son siete por cuenta, aquí porné yo quales, Que non las conplir omne son pecados mortales*, 174, 4; . . . *cuydan que non lo vemos*, 209, 3; *Porque non se les pueda el pobre defender*, 262, 3; . . . *que non me sienta el viento*, 431, 4; *E farán vuestra cuenta que non vos finque nada*, 458, 2; *Pero vn ruego vos fago, que non vos cueste nada*, 458, 3. 2) **Si:** *Si non le costó quarenta ayer de vn omne estranno*, 299, 4; *Si non gelas atienpra aquel Sennor justo e santo*, 407, 2. 3) **Quando, etc.:** *Ca non nos emendamos nin avemos mejoría*, 189, 3.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** *Con aqueste pecado Adam fue mal fadado, Que lo que lo non cunplia quiso auer prouado*, 165, 4. 2) **Si:** *E pénalo gravemente, si se non arrepienta*, 87, 4; *Sy me non acorriere la tu noble bondat*, 127, 3. 2) **Quando:** No example.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** . . . *que nunca te seruy*, 17, 1; *El que así lo fase*, 31, 2; . . . *que siempre se ençiende*, 58, 4; . . . *que mal les gradescí*, 84, 4; . . . *que asás me ha dannado*, 92, 4; *Que nunca lo dexara*, 159, 4; *Porque así lo guarde de yr a mal logar*, 176, 4; . . . *que así lo puedas fer*, 278, 4; *¿Que plaser es al tal quando bien me lo comido?* 483, 4. 2) **Si:** *Los físicos lo disen, si bien me viene miente*, 191, 1; *Sy así se engannaren, ellos son los culpados*, 288, 4. 2) **Quando, etc.:** *E quien mal lo fisiere auer sa de perder*, 4, 4; *Ca quien así lo fase quierese egualar*, 36, 2; *Quantos mal se fallaron por mal gusto seguir*, 167, 2.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que:** *Será de grant ventura el que lo bien entiende*, 58, 2; *Por lo que te mal fiso, deues a Dios tener*, 181, 2; *Si los que las bien saben, las touiesen en cura*, 291, 2. 2) **Si:** No example. 3) **Quando, etc.:** *A Josep, su hermano, quando le así vendieron*, 96, 2; *Quien lo así fisiere, que Dios non lo defienda*, 141, 4; *E quien lo bien fisier*, 175, 4.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** *Non sé, Sennor, otra arma que tomé en tal sason, Con que yo me defienda de aquesta tribulaçion*, 400, 2. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando, etc.:** *De como él lo fiso enxiemplo tomarás*, 179, 2; *E como nos las regimos Dios nos quiera defender*, 353, 3.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** *Otórgame, Sennor, que la yo pueda aver*, 13, 3; *Amaban a las gentes que les él defendió*, 46, 4; *E que lo él perdiese, yo poco curaria*, 56, 3; *Segunt que lo yo entiendo mucho es*

menester, 239, 3; Bien sabe *que les él pone e tómales la verdat*, 369, 2. 2) **Si**. No example. 3) **Quando**: Ca Dios me ayudara por *quien lo yo partiera*, 140, 4; Ca *como lo tu fisieres asy serás judgado*, 183, 4; A *quien les tu açotas*, por los tu bien faser, 393, 2.

4. **Que, si, quando lo** — —. 1) **Que**: *Que les yo aquí diré*, ca los he bien usados, 63, 4; Saluo obediencia *que les leal deuemos*, 236, 4. 2) **Si**: *Sy te saluar cobdiçias*, dello te guardarás, 50, 4. 3) **Quando**: No example.

5. **Anomalous**. Asi *les Dios aluengue los dias de las vidas*, E despues deste mundo las almas an perdidas, 229, 3; Por ende non se quexe quien a Dios va rogar Alguna petiçion e *la non* va recabdar, 412, 2; Yo nunca vi tal ome e tan descomunal, O *vos yo* tiraré dende asy Dios me val, 432, 4.

6. **Infinitive**. a) **Por non lo**: *Por non le* ver de enojo, 135, 3.

b) **Por lo bien**: Al próximo ynoçente *por a le* (l. pora) *mas* dannar, 53, 4; Mas tibio e muy frio *para se mal* perder, 120, 2; Fablan vnos con otros *por las siempre* abaxar, 363, 3. **Por lo** — —: A quien les tu açotas, *por los* tu bien faser, 393, 2. **Anomalous**: Devemos perdonarle e *le non* tener rencura, 408, 2.

16.

POEMA DE JOSÉ.

1. **Que, si, quando non lo**. 1) **Que**: Stz. 28, v. 4; 51, 2; 56, 2; 119, 3; 151, 3; 152, 1; 155, 4; 162, 2; 217, 1; 260, 2. 2) **Si**: 1, 4; 2, 4; 198, 4; 269, 3; 271, 4. 3) **Quando, etc.**: 196, 3; 244, 3.

2. **Que, si, quando yo lo**. 1) **Que**: 3, 3; 31, 2; 50, 1; 64, 3; 64, 4; 65, 4; 84, 3; 93, 4; 99, 2; 122, 4; 143, 1; 190, 3; 208, 3; 209, 2. 2) **Si**: 172, 4; 189, 3; 261, 3. 3) **Quando**: 280, 3.

17.

VISION DE FILIBERTO.

1. a) **Que no lo**: ¿por *que non me* rrespondes? p. 52, l. 3; bien creo *que non te* huele agora tan bien, 52, 16; non te conuiene dizer ya rruegos nin oraçiones *que non te valdera* aquí ninguna cosa, 58, 28.

b) **Que lo no**. No example.

2. **Quando no lo**. *pues nõ me* quisiste rregir, 54, 26.

3. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo**: *que bien te lo* puedo dezir, 55, 22; et *sy nunca* te llegaras alas costumbres, 56, 21; que tanta es la su cluedat *que todavia se* ensanna mas, 57, 24; non ayas della rregelo *que aqui tela* mudaremos, 58, 33; ansy como *sy nunca lo* uiesen conoçido, 59, 35.

b) **Que lo bien**. dime quien es el *que te asy* ha quebrantado, 51, 12; nin tyenes otrosy carnes mortesyas de *que te mucho* pagauas, 52, 13.

4. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo**: *quando yo te* pedia gallynas dauas me tu gallynas e capones, 54, 39; quando yo vey a *que tu me* demandauas las cosas, 55, 27; *que yo te* queria dar carne, 55, 37.

b) **Que lo yo:** el dote *que le tu mandaste*, 52, 32; nin vna delas mejores *que les tu dexaste*, 52, 41.

5. a) **Que dios lo:** que tu agora dixiste *que dios te auia criado*, 53, 35; et tu non quisiste vsar deste sennorio *que dios te dio sobre mi*, 54, 8.

b) **Que lo dios:** pues *sy te dios crió* para que touieses sennorio sobre mi, 53, 42.

18.

PEDRO DE LUNA : DE LAS CONSOLACIONES DE LA VIDA HUMANA.

LIBROS I-X.

1. **Que no lo:** p. 565, col. 1, l. 58; 565, 1, 60; 566, 1, 16; 566, 2, 25; 571, 1, 3; 573, 2, 29; 575, 2, 55; 578, 1, 9; 578, 1, 54; 588, 2, 6; 588, 2, 9.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** *porque despues los pueda desamparar*, 570, 1, 44. 3) **Quando:** *ca mucho te aprovecha*, 581, 2, 1.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que:** *comme dice san Gregorio en una homelia: "Los males que nos aquí comprimen, á Dios ir nos costringen,"* 564, 2, 32; Onde en otro lugar (San Gregorio) dice: "Los males *que nos aquí apremien*," 572, 2, 5.

3. a) **Que, si yo lo.** No example.

b) **Que, si lo yo:** ca Dios dijo á Abraham: "Sal de la tu tierra é de la tu generacion, é ven á la tierra *que te yo mostraré*," 573, 2, 15; Et eso mesmo dijo á Isaque: "Fuelga en la tierra *que te yo diré*," 573, 2, 17.

19a.

EL LIBRO DE EXENPLOR POR A. B. C. DE CLIMENTE SANCHEZ,

ARCHIDIACRE DE VALDERAS, MS. DE PARIS.

Romania, VII. 481 ff.

1. a) **Que non lo.** No. 2. *por que non los vea*, p. 485, l. 35. No. 11. *porque non se le cayese el quesso*, 490, 10. No. 19. *e dixo que non le aplazia ninguna dellas*, 494, 34; *que si por ventura por non le conoscer que non le resceberia en su cassa*, 495, 6; *pues assy es, porque non me (de) mas duras penas*, 495, 29. No. 23. *e el encantador le dixo que non lo podria fazer*, 497, 33; *E el veyendo que non sse podria encobrir*, 499, 2. No. 28. *ca la justicia de Dios lo fazia durar que non se desatasse*, 502, 15. No. 49. *mas algunos son que non se pueden domar*, 512, 24. No. 61. *e descubriole vn secreto que non le avia rreuelado*, 518, 36; *El dixo que non le preguntaua quien fuesse*, 519, 1. No. 65. *dixo que non la podia dezir*, 523, 2.

b) **Que lo non.** No. 33. *e desde que lo non fezieron*, p. 504, l. 34. No. 48. *en manera que lo non podian enpesçer*, 511, 42.

2. a) **Si non lo.** No. 62. *Sy me non consientes, yo degollare vn sieruo tuyo*, 520, 3.

b) **Si lo non.** No. 23. *e si lo non fazeys, de aquí a poco me vereys*

muerta, 498, 23. No. 30. deuenos ser rreprehendidos de ser desagrauiados (*sic*) *si los non amamos e los non honrramos*, 503, 19.

3. a) *Que (si) yo lo*. No. 8. mando a vno que tenia su forno que a qualquier *que el le enbiase*, 488, 36. No. 19. e con todas las otras cosas *que el le avia de dar*, 494, 39. No. 20. *lo que tu me cuentas*, 496, 14; *lo que tu me cuentas*, 496, 16; e *sy tu me fueses agradescido*, 496, 38.

b) *Que lo yo*. No. 23. e ssi fezieres *lo que te el dixiere*, tu averas lo que deseas, 497, 35.

4. *Et lo non*. No. 30. *si los non amamos e los non honrramos*, 503, 19.

19b.

EL LIBRO DE LOS ENXEMPLOS, MS. DE MADRID.

I-C.

1. a) *Que, si, quando non lo*. 1) *Que*: pág. 448, col. 1, l. 12; 449, 1, 13; 453, 2, 29; 454, 1, 3; 457, 1, 19; 457, 1, 30; 457, 2, 12; 458, 1, 14; 462, 1, 23; 465, 1, 45; 466, 2, 48; 468, 2, 50; 469, 1, 9; 470, 1, 46; 470, 2, 37; 471, 1, 4. 2) *Si*: 460, 1, 51. 3) *Quando*: 461, 2, 11.

b) *Que, si, quando lo non*. 1) *Que*: El monje respondi6: "Si estonce ansí te lo mand6, agora manda *que lo non fagas*," 456, 2, 37; Estonce ellos con vergüenza luego fueron é trayeron el cuerpo de Dios, é cognosci6lo, é veyendo *que lo non* podie tomar, 467, 1, 35. 2, 3) No example.

2. a) *Que, si, quando bien lo*. 1) *Que*: 452, 1, 21; 458, 2, 29; 462, 1, 28; 462, 2, 24; 462, 2, 36; 469, 1, 47; 469, 2, 19. 2) *Si*: 459, 1, 36; 461, 1, 23. 3) *Quando*: No example.

3. a) *Que, si, quando yo lo*. 1) *Que*: é lo *que él te dijo*, 448, 2, 15; E de *que ella se* vi6 luego ansí menospreciada, 468, 1, 40; segun *que ella les* mandara, 468, 1, 53; jur6 *que él lo oyera*, 471, 1, 6. 2) *Si*: *si tú lo viste*, 451, 1, 39. 3) *Quando*: No example.

b) *Que, si, quando lo yo*. 1) *Que*: El viejo parti6 los panes segun *que le él* pedi6, é nunca ces6 de dar limosna, 465, 2, 43. 2, 3) *Si, quando, etc.* No example.

20a.

LA ESTORIA DE LOS QUATRO DOTORES DE LA SANTA EGLESIA CAPITULOS I-C.

1. a) *Que, si, quando non lo*. 1) *Que*: tan alto en el ayre *que non las* podia ver omne, p. 9, l. 13; por *que non se* ordenase, 11, 23; deues temer *que non te* venga, 12, 3; e *que non se* queria conuerter a la fe, 13, 3; veamos *que non la* demos, 22, 12; por que non vesitas a Jesu Christo, e por *que non le* fablas, 24, 14; e por *que non le* oyes? 24, 15; el *que non lo* dio a si mismo, 28, 15; las cosas *que non se* conpran, 30, 11; por *que non se* torne, 30, 18; e commo sepan *que non lo* daua (l. deuan) prometer, 33, 1; por *que non lo* tomara, 35, 8; *que non lo* afrontase, 35, 23; e fazes *que non se* faga mala

cosa, 44, 15; lo *que non se* podia conplir, 46, 32; por *que non se* quiso enmendar, 48, 27; e *que non me* pier(r)es la puerta, 52, 4; Veo muchos *que non se* pueden partir, 66, 29; *que non te* enseñes tu mismo, 68, 34; *que non se* desgastase el frayre, 71, 16; *que non lo* dexases, 72, 14; mas faze engaño *que non lo* sufre, 73, 20; por *que non me* demandes demandas de moços, 77, 10; por *que non nos* fartemos del pan, 82, 26; E gran cosa es *que non lo* semejas, 91, 7; Tien mientes, hermano, *que non te* conuiene auer, 96, 9; por *que non lo* pudo fallar, 112, 12; non te amonesto *que non te* glories, 114, 10; e *que non te* alabes de la nobleza del linage, 114, 11; e *que non se* rroyan los cabellos, 115, 17; mas enfañiendo (l. enfiñiendo) *que non lo* saben, 120, 28; por *que non lo* conuiene, 120, 30; Nunca oyas palabra desonesta, *que non te* ensañes, 127, 12; *que non te* diga el saluador, 156, 21; lo *que non se* cubre, 160, 15; temer *que non lo* pierda, 163, 23; Por *que non te* oya, 172, 30; por *que non me* preenda, 173, 1; ca puede ser *que non me* muerda, 173, 15; e foyr *que non los* vea ninguno, 173, 20; por *que non se* enseñoree a mi, 174, 6; por *que non te* sientes muerto, 175, 26; *que non la* espriman, 176, 26; mas por *que non la* he, 178, 12; enfiñe *que non lo* sabe, 182, 25; lo *que non te* pueda tirar, 184, 17; e defindiole *que non se* fuese, 193, 3; por *que non te* pueden rescibir? 196, 2; o por *que non me* enpeescesse, 198, 11; de los *que non me* fazian bien, 200, 27; veed *que non vos* engañe ninguno, 210, 1; del manjar *que non se* corronpe, 213, 13; *que non lo* sopiese yo, 222, 1; por *que non me* paresçia, 222, 16. 2) **Si:** com(m)o si non lo ayas dicho a ninguno, 75, 13; si non lo as, librado eres de gran carga, 76, 1; si non se grauase por non fialdat, 140, 15; sy non te guardares, 148, 28; si non lo fizieres (l. fueres) por obra, 152, 28; mas aun sy non la dixieres, 170, 26; e sy non lo faga, te ensañes a mi, 196, 29; E malo so yo, sy non te ame, 196, 30; si non las sostouieses, 198, 22; si non la aborresçiese, 218, 3. 3) **Quando, etc.** e *commo non lo* fallase, 16, 24; las *quales non me* acuerdo, 64, 11; a la *qual non nos* seria mandado poner ningund talante, 154, 14; *commo non te* mengue ninguna cosa, 196, 13; Ca non se mueue el oydor a correr, 208, 9; el *qual non se* pierde, 215, 2.

b) **Que lo non:** Por tanto la biuda mançebiella, *que se non* puede detener o non quiere, ante tome marido que al diablo, 149, 26.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** No example. 2) **Si:** e non se si así se diga segund nos, 82, 19. 3) **Quando, etc.** por los *quales luego se* quebrantan los cuerpos delicados, 126, 22; *quando aun se* escalentaua la sangre de nuestro señor, 128, 5; *quando mas se* delecta por las cosas falladas, 230, 2.

b) **Que lo bien:** e *commo lo* quisiese tirar a la parte de las mogeres, por *que lo mal* trayesen ellas e lo echasen de la iglesia, 11, 27.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** enpero non *que ellos se* fagan peores, por *que tu les* puedes dar, 25, 16; al *que yo me* quiero dar, 28, 14; dizen *que el lo* tiro, 137, 22; si non lo *que tu nos* fazes, 198, 17; *que tu le* desplugieses, 226, 13. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando, etc.** E *commo el*

le dixiese esto, 39, 8; *la qual tu te dueles*, 155, 10; *commo yo te demandase*, 210, 28; *quando tu la pegas con engludo*, 213, 18.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que**: por letras de los de Cartaina, que dexasen en pastor de la egleſia de Bona a sant Agustin, maguer *que lo el non quisiese*, 47, 5. 2) **Si**. No example. 3) **Quando, etc.** El tu talante pone nonbre a la tu obra, e *commo lo tu fazes*, asi es estimado, 25, 3.

4. **Que lo — —**: See above, *que lo el non*, 47, 5.

20b.

LA ESTORIA DEL REY ANEMUR E DE IOSAPHAT E DE BARLAAM.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que**: sabe *que non te consintire*, p. 336, l. 18; e fuy de los mis ojos *que non te vea de aqui adelante*, 336, 29; mandandoles *que non le feziesen manifesta*, 337, 19, mandando nos *que non te feziesemos manifesta*, 340, 2; queriendo encobrir *que non los viesse*, 340, 31; Non te dixe *que non te dulieses*, 345, 40; la cosa perdida *que non se puede cobrar*, 345, 41; tomar las cosas *que non se pueden tomar*, 345, 42; mas aun guardando los *que non los furten*, 346, 3; maguer *que non te aproueche*, 350, 24; semejame *que non las podrias fazer*, 356, 3; E por *que non le quiso obedescer*, 359, 15; que guardan deligentemente *que non los furten los ladrones*, 368, 36; E por que conoscas, rey, *que non lo digo de mi mismo*, 371, 26; quiero *que non me preçies cosa*, 376, 12; Mas por *que non me dexas*, 384, 4; e llorando jurauan *que non lo dexarian yr*, 388, 18; fasta *que non lo podiesen ver*, 390, 8; Ca yo mucho he rogado a dios *que non nos partiesemos de en vno*, 393, 28. 2) **Si**: nin podre auer en otra manera estas cosas, *sy non me faga christiano*, 338, 15; yo esta tomare *sy non me la negares*, 354, 24; asy *commo sy non le ouiese acaesçido ninguna cosa triste*, 362, 18. 3) **Quando**: el *qual non te engañara commo cuydo*, 344, 3; *¿ commo non la siguen oy muchos?* 352, 33; *ca non me podedes auer por rrey de aqui adelante*, 389, 3.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que**: Ruegote *que te non enperezes en dezir me tales señales*, 349, 45. 2) **Si**: enpero *sy me non rrefusare commo a non digno por las mis maldades*, 346, 22; E *sylo non quieres fazer*, 358, 14. 3) **Quando**. No example.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que**: por *que ya me esta a las puertas*, 393, 8. 2) **Si**. No example. 3) **Quando**: *ca nunca me podras rreuocar de la buena confesion*, 364, 36.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que**: sy non yo mismo *que te asy ordene e tales cosas te fize*, 365, 6; E despues sacaron lo dende los *que lo y pusieron*, 379, 39. 2, 3) **Si, quando**. No examples.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1, 2) **Que, si**. No examples. 3) **Quando**: *commo tu me echaste en tristeza*, 363, 41.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que**: fizo segund *que le el dixo*, 339, 6; las cosas *que te yo dixe*, 345, 39; *¿ por qual rrazon la carga que te tu apresuras tirar, la quieres a mi poner?* 388, 30. 2, 3) **Si, quando**. No examples.

21a.

AMADIS DE GAULA.

Libro I, Capítulos I-XX.

1. a) **Que, si, quando no lo.** 1) **Que:** é ruégovos *que no se os olvide este lugar*, p. 4, col. 1, l. 51; *porque no la viese llorar*, 5, 1, 41; Y mandándolos apartar, *que no se hablasen*, 6, 1, 27; *porque no lo viesen*, 8, 1, 26; Bien há quince annos, dijo el Rey, *que no la hobo*, 11, 1, 39, miraba mucho al rey Perion, no por padre, *que no lo sabia*, 11, 2, 22; y el *que no la amparare* piérdala, 16, 2, 24; comenzó de fuir por la plaza acá é allá entre la espada del Doncel del Mar, *que no lo dejaba holgar*, 16, 2, 58; é jurar *que no me llamase* sino el su vencido, 17, 1, 61; E contó cuanto con él le aviniera en la floresta, sino el duelo, *que no lo osó decir*, 19, 2, 41; é á él digo *que no vos quite el don*, 26, 2, 27; no sé por qué me acometistes, *que no vos lo merecí*, 29, 2, 41; Mucho os ruego, dijo él, *que no me detengais*, 30, 1, 3; Dígovos *que no os precio nada*, 32, 2, 40; No ha eso menester; *que no os dejaré si no jurais que . . .*, 32, 2, 54; *aunque no me paresce que caballero debe . . .*, 34, 2, 38; heríalo de muy grandes golpes é muy á menudo, *que no le dejaba holgar*, 34, 2, 46; entendió él en el talante del otro *que no le hobiera merced*, 35, 2, 13; é si por aventura este caballero su hermano, que veis á caballo, fuese vencido, *que no se pudiese sobre esta razon mas combatir*, 46, 2, 22; faz callar aquella cativa gente, *que no nos dejan holgar en nuestro sueño*, 48, 1, 53; é haré *que no os trabajeis*, 49, 2, 34; é vayamos de aquí antes que el diablo acá lo torne; *que no me puedo sufrir sobre esta pierna*, 51, 2, 48; Podria ser, dijo Amadís, *que no os vernia bien dello*, 52, 1, 43; *que no le hizo Dios tan sin ventura*, 53, 2, 36; pero fué acorrido de dos doncellas, *que no lo debieran amar poco*, 54, 1, 34.

2) **Si:** que ninguno lo podria creer *si no la viese*, 49, 2, 53; demandándole perdon *si no lo habia tanto honrado*, 54, 2, 23.

3) **Quando, etc.** é no de venir con gran soberbia á hacer tanto mal á *quien no te lo merece*, 22, 2, 5; é maravillase cómo *no lo halla*, 36, 2, 19; que vos tengo por loco en dar consejo á *quien no os lo demanda*, 52, 1, 42.

b) **Que, si, quando lo no.** 1) **Que:** si me vos prometeis como rey en todo guardar la verdad, á que mas que ningun otro *que lo no sea obligado sois*, 2, 2, 42; quiso sin vuestra sabiduría entrar por la puerta de *que te no catabas*, 6, 2, 13; Eso, Señor, dijo él, no lo quieras saber; *que te no tiene pro alguno*, 6, 2, 18; E fuése, *que la no pudo detener*, 6, 2, 50; Gandáles, *que lo no entendia*, dijo, 7, 1, 7; Creo, Señor, dijo Gandáles, que los habréis de llevar ambos, *que se no quieren partir*, 8, 2, 16; La Reina era tan agradada de como él servia, *que lo no dejaba quitar delante su presencia*, 8, 2, 57; El hombre bueno, temiendo *que se le no fuese*, envió á decir, 15, 1, 55; es tanto el mal, *que vos lo no puedo decir*, 15, 2, 58; Yo vos digo . . . *que me no dejéis en ningun lugar de los mas guardados*, 16, 2, 17; y él todo armado, *que le no fallrescia nada*, 16, 2, 20; yo vos quiero decir un secreto,

que le no diria sino á mi corazon, 18, 2, 15; la Reina os ruega *que os no desarmeis sino en vuestra posada*, 21, 2, 35; mas de te yo preciar no te tiene pro, *que te no haga mal*, 22, 1, 61; é la espada entró tan dentro por él, *que la no pudo sacar*, 22, 2, 40; pero bien sabia *que lo no hobiera el otro dél si mas pudiera*, 22, 2, 53; ni el trabajo pasado ni las llagas presentes no le quitaron *que se no levantase*, 23, 2, 15; hablando siempre con la doncella, que por él era detenida, *que se no partiese hasta que pudiese tomar armas*, 23, 2, 17; é aun no há siete dias *que os lo no supiera decir*, 30, 1, 31; que aunque la no viese, 32, 1, 10; é las doncellas le rogaron . . . *que se no partiese de su compañía*, 32, 1, 53; yo creo que no hay tan buena ni tan hermosa que á vuestra bondad igual sea y *que la no hayais*, 33, 1, 58; pero no de manera *que se no defendiese tan bien*, que no estaba allí tan ardid que con él se osase combatir, 34, 2, 20; Locura demandó Dardan cuando quiso descender á pié con el caballero, *que se no podia á él llegar en su caballo*, 34, 2, 50; E tomando la espada por la punta, la metió por sí, *que lo no pudieron acorrer*, 35, 1, 42; su soberbia é mala condicion facian *que lo no emplease sino en injuria de muchos*, 35, 1, 48; así que, nada quedó *que le no dijese*, 37, 1, 1; mas que sea con aquella medida *que os no dejeis así parescer ante los hombres*, 37, 2, 31; é bien sabeis vos *que lo no puede hacer*, 38, 1, 21; é no habia hombre que lo viese *que se no maravillase*, 40, 1, 36; mas los dos se tovieron tan bien, *que los no pudieron mover de las sillas*, 43, 2, 37; Señora, sé, aunque lo no conozco, 44, 2, 19; Porque no pasará por aquí ninguno que suyo sea, *que lo no mate*, 45, 1, 24; é dígoos, señor caballero, *que lo no tomo por mengua*, 47, 2, 17; é Gandalin llevaba el Enano porque le no fuyese, 48, 1, 16; é los otros que los miraban dieron voces *que lo no matase*, 48, 2, 29; é así este como el otro que lo querian herir demandáronle merced *que los no matase*, 48, 2, 40; Lo que será de todos los malos *que se no emiendan*, 48, 2, 61; é agora punad de dar cima á la batalla; *que vos no dejaré mas folgar*, 50, 1, 4; justo es lo que demandais, *é que lo no fuese*, conociendo vuestra medida, lo haria de grado, 51, 2, 32; aunque la no tenga con él, la terné con vos, que lo mereceis, 51, 2, 57; é fué tan mal trecho, *que se no pudo levantar*, 52, 1, 56; cómo Oriana no se osaba apartar de Mabilia porque se no matase, 54, 1, 13.

2) Si: mas yo no le quitaré *si me no decís* por qué dejistes que guardaba muerte de muchos altos hombres, 7, 1, 51; mas la batalla no le quito *si se no otorga por vencido*, 7, 1, 48; é *si lo no hacian*, descabezábalas, 15, 2, 32; Muerto eres, rey Abies, *si te no otorgas por vencido*, 22, 2, 45, é cayera *si se no abrazara al cuello del caballo*, 26, 1, 7; Cortadle la cabeza *si vos no diere mi amigo*, que allá tiene preso en el castillo, 26, 1, 29; é *si me no metiere en mano la doncella que le hizo tener*, 26, 1, 30; ¡Ay señor caballero, *si me no amparais de aquella doncella*, muerto soy! 26, 1, 25; Pues llegad á él, dijo el gigante, é *si lo no hiciere*, será por su daño, 26, 2, 1; muerto soy *si me no vengo deste traidor de enano*, 30, 2, 8; que jamas le haria amor *si la no llevase á casa del rey Lisuarte*, 32, 1, 24; é *si os no*

diere derecho, otra vez no fagais compañía á caballero extraño, 38, 1, 15; *é si lo no ficiere*, decilde que me venga á ver ante que se parta, 39, 1, 11; *é si lo no hiciese*, con razon podriamos decir ser mas corto de crianza que largo de esfuerzo, 39, 1, 18; *é Mabilia le vino á abrazar como si lo no hobiera visto*, 39, 1, 39; *é servirá agora cuando caballero, si le no falta mesura*, 39, 1, 42; Que la quemaria mañana, dijo el Duque, *si me no dijese á qué metiese al caballero en mi palacio*, 43, 1, 1; Ciertó, *si me no vengase de vos*, dijo el caballero, nunca traeria armas, 52, 2, 11.

3) **Quando, etc.** No example.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** como quiera *que mucho le dolia*, 4, 2, 5; pues *que así te place*, 6, 2, 20; aquella *que tanto te ama*, 6, 2, 22; contra la voluntad de aquella *que agora vos fará el primero perder*, 6, 2, 29; *que así le pusieron nombre*, 6, 2, 54; sé *que mas me desama*, 7, 2, 17; temiendo *que así lo faria*, 10, 2, 51; *que mucho me son menester parientes é amigos*, 11, 2, 8; y *que mucho vos ama*, 13, 2, 29; Cabalgad, Señor, *que poco me contento deste lugar*, 14, 2, 28; del Rey, *que tanto lo desea*, 14, 2, 45; de los buenos *que agora se saben*, 16, 1, 1; el caballero *que allí los hiciera venir*, 17, 2, 30; *que mucho me haréis alegre*, 18, 1, 19; No, dijo ella, *que nunca lo vi*, 19, 1, 46; ¡*que mucho os deseaba ver!* 19, 2, 32; donde hallaron á Agrájes, *que mucho se aquejaba*, 20, 2, 4; así como aquellos *que mucho los desamaban*, 20, 2, 20; *que nunca se pudo conocer en ellos flaqueza ni cobardía*, 22, 1, 52; Pues es el anillo del mundo *que mas le parece*, 23, 2, 43; porque *así le habia sacado de tantos peligros*, 24, 1, 45; Matarla, dijo Urganda, *que mucho la sufrí*, 26, 1, 44; así como lo hará vuestra gran valentía *que aquí vos vi hacer*, 26, 2, 15; Que no te verá mas el *que acá te envió*, 28, 1, 54; *é á la alevosa que aquí os trajo*, 30, 2, 2; del *que agora os partistes*, 32, 1, 18; pues *que tanto se lo habian loado*, 32, 1, 47; porque *así le loaban*, 33, 1, 5; *que así me ayude Dios*, yo creo que no hay, 33, 1, 56; sé *que antes me consejarias muerte*, 33, 1, 53; *é Dardan, que mejor se cuidaba combatir de pié*, 34, 2, 29; aquel caballero *que aquí se combatió*, 35, 2, 16; mas no puedo estar de no facer lo que quisierdes, *que mucho vos amo é precio*, 38, 1, 29; *é Galaor, que así lo vió caer*, 40, 1, 43; *é mandó que así lo ficiere*, 41, 1, 54; Y esto decia Amadís por le traer, *que mucho lo deseaba*, 44, 2, 43; El le respondió que por *qué tanto le desamaba*, 45, 1, 27; como quiera *que así me veais*, 49, 1, 6; la mayor *é mas cruel venganza que nunca se hizo*, 49, 1, 45; La doncella, *que así la vió*, 53, 1, 42; ¡Ay Señora! qué poco seso este, *que así os dejais morir*, 53, 2, 31; *é falló allí al rey Arban de Norgales, que mucho la amaba*, 54, 2, 9.

2) **Si:** *é parescia muy hermosa, é tan fresca como si entonces se pusiera*, 26, 2, 47; pues bien creo yo que entendió él en el talante del otro que no le hobiera merced *si así lo tuviera*, 35, 2, 13.

8) **Quando, etc.** *é la doncella de Denamarca, que de parte de Oriana á él venia, como ya se vos dijo*, 23, 1, 7.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que:** *é por aquel que te mas ama*, 6, 1,

51 ; que dijo que ya era fecho por aquel *que te mas ama*, 6, 2, 5 ; y preció al caballero *que lo tan bien guardara*, 8, 2, 41 ; é si fué bien recebido no es de contar, é por al semejante ella del ; *que se mucho* amaban, 9, 1, 21 ; Agrájes, *que se mucho* maravillaba quién seria el caballero, 19, 2, 25 ; de aquella *que os mucho ama*, 23, 1, 25 ; bien há diez annos que allí está, *que la nunca* vió ninguno, 26, 2, 44 ; que le dijese quién era su señora, *que la allí* habia enviado, 29, 1, 25 ; E la doncella *que lo allí* guió dijo, 30, 1, 46 ; con grande angustia de Aldeva, *que la mucho* amaba, 30, 2, 60 ; Así me ayude Dios, dijo ella, no sé, *que le nunca* vi que me miembre, 34, 1, 7 ; diciéndome las cosas *que vos mas* agradaren, 37, 2, 37 ; La dueña, *que lo mucho* desamaba, 46, 2, 13 ; é luego se fueron ambos é tomaron sendas lanzas, las *que les mas* contentaron, 47, 1, 37 ; Cierto, amigo, no te preciaba tanto como yo, el *que te aquí* puso, 49, 1, 55 ; Lo que yo mando, dijo Amadís, es que hagas lo que *te mas* pluguiere, 52, 1, 19.

2) **Si:** ambos sois hijos de reyes é muy fermosos ; *si vos mucho* amais, no vos lo terná ninguno á mal, 30, 1, 52.

3) **Quando, etc.** Haced, Señor, en ello *como vos mas* pluguiere, 3, 1, 46 ; é las gentes de la villa estaban por las torres é por el muro é por los lugares *donde los mejor* podian ver combatir, 34, 1, 50.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** **Que :** Eso, dijo la doncella, dejad á mí ; *que yo lo* remediaré, 3, 1, 17 ; que allá os queda otro corazon *que yo vos* tomaré, 3, 2, 28 ; les fizo jurar que en lo *que él les* preguntase verdad le dijese, 6, 1, 15 ; Sabe, Rey, que de lo *que yo me* reia fué de aquellas palabras, 6, 2, 3 ; haria yo *que él vos* venciese, 7, 1, 50 ; Creed *que yo la* guardaré como su madre lo haria, 10, 1, 53 ; é vió otra doncella con *que ella se* juntó, 13, 2, 2 ; ¡ Ay Señor ! que ese traidor que matastes me ha tenido año y medio muerto y escarnido que no tome armas ; *que él me* hizo perder mi nombre, 17, 1, 60 ; Aguardad un poco, dijo el Doncel del Mar ; *que yo vos* diré dél, 19, 1, 34 ; veis aquí el muy buen caballero de *que yo os* hablé, 20, 1, 4 ; Por tu mal haces este ardimento ; *que él te* pone en este lago, 22, 2, 16 ; *que ella os* ama tanto, que de ligero no se podria contar, 23, 1, 33 ; vos me negastes siempre el anillo *que yo os* diera, 24, 1, 2 ; de manera *que ella se* iba tremiendo, 26, 1, 45 ; Pues pedildo, dijo él ; *que yo lo* otorgo, 27, 1, 46 ; mucho debeis amar á Dios, *que él vos* ama, 29, 1, 9 ; Ni por eso, dijo él, no quedaré de lo saber ; *que yo os* seguiré, 29, 1, 28 ; en mal punto acá entrastes, *que yo os* faré morir, 30, 2, 2 ; Si sé, dijo él, *que él me lo* dijo, 31, 2, 56 ; Haced lo que debeis si lo amais ; *que él os* ama sobre todas las cosas que hoy son amadas, 36, 1, 55 ; porque *ella lo* amaba mas que otro anillo que tuviese, 36, 2, 4 ; é ayudadme á rogar todas lo *que yo le* pidiere, 39, 1, 43 ; Pues mandaldo, *que yo lo* compliré fasta la muerte, 46, 2, 12 ; No ninguno, dijo Amadís ; *que yo me* entré, 48, 1, 61 ; Agora me dejad con él, *que yo le* porné con aquellos que allí yacen, 48, 2, 8 ; é bien vos digo que la espada *que él me* lleva querria mas que todo esto, 51, 2, 31.

2) **Si:** *Si ellos* mas cometen, yo me defenderé, 46, 2, 47.

3) **Quando, etc.** que no conocia ni sabia nada de *cómo ella le amaba*, 10, 2, 19; Así será *como yo lo digo*, dijo ella, 13, 2, 8; que así *acaecerá como yo lo digo*, 13, 2, 15.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** que otro por ti nunca lo sabrá *fasta que te lo yo mande*, 7, 1, 57; Señor, mas quiero *que me vos hiraís*, 8, 1, 51; Señores, sabed la verdad deste Doncel que lleváis, *que lo yo fallé en la mar*, 8, 2, 35; é pune de vivir con mi padre *fasta que le yo mande lo que faga*, 18, 2, 30; é como quier *que te yo desame mucho*, te precio mas que á ningun caballero con quien me yo combatiese, 22, 1, 59; é procureís de morar con su padre *fasta que os ella mande*, 23, 1, 37; é por las palabras *que te yo dije le tomaste é le has criado*, 27, 2, 7; que en qualquiera parte *que os yo viesse era obligado á os querer é amar*, 37, 2, 46.

2) **Si:** *Si me vos prometeís*, dijo el Rey, como leal doncella, de lo no descubrir sino allí donde es razon, 2, 2, 30; *si me vos prometeís como rey en todo guardar la verdad*, 2, 2, 41; Yo vos digo, dijo el Doncel del Mar, *si vos yo de aquí fuyere*, que me no dejeis en ningun lugar de los mas guardados, 16, 2, 17; *é si le yo viere decirle he mas de mi hacienda*, 29, 1, 21; *Si los vos quereís saber*, dijo ella, seguidme é mostrar vos la he de aquí á cinco dias, 29, 1, 26; Vedes la doncella, *é si la yo forzara no me atendiera*, 29, 2, 46; ¡Ay traidor! dijo el caballero, en mal punto me hizo acá venir, *si lo yo hallo*, 29, 2, 50; Amigas, dijo él, *si me vos prometeís*, como leales doncellas, de me tener poridad de á ninguno lo decir, yo os lo diré de grado, 32, 1, 41; *Si me tú amas*, sé que antes me consejarias muerte que vivir en tan gran cuita, deseando lo que no veo, 33, 1, 52.

3) **Quando, etc.** é como quier que te yo desame mucho, te precio mas que á ningun caballero con *quien me yo combatiese*, 22, 1, 60; gran desvarío fariades en dejar para tal honra el mejor rey del mundo é tomar á un pobre caballero *como lo yo soy*, 26, 2, 13; *Pues te tú crees mejor te defender de pié que de caballo*, apeémonos é defiéndete, 34, 2, 36; Yo bien sentí *cundo me él desarmó*, mas todo me parecia como en sueños, 50, 2, 53.

4. **Que, si, quando lo dios.** 1) **Que:** No example. 2) **Si:** E á vos dé honra, dijo ella, que alegría tengo agora mucho alongada, *si me Dios remedio no pone*, 33, 2, 11; *si me Dios salve*, Señor, dijo ella, yo he mucho placer, 39, 1, 30. 3) **Quando, etc.** No example.

5. **Que, si, quando lo — —.** 1) **Que:** Señora, en buena hora nació el caballero *que vos esta noche habrá*, 3, 2, 11; que no habia hombre que lo viesse *que se dél no espantase*, 9, 2, 24; que no salirá hombre ni entrará *que le yo no mate*, si puedo, 28, 1, 24; é ahí albergaron con una dueña *que les mucha honra fizo*, 33, 1, 8; E tomando la espada por la punta, la metió por sí, que lo no pudieron acorrer, *aunque se en ello trabajaron*, 35, 1, 42.

2) **Si:** Yo vos digo, dijo el Doncel del Mar, *si vos yo de aquí fuyere*, que me no dejeis en ningun lugar de los mas guardados, 16, 2, 17; y esto probaré yo al mejor caballero del mundo, *si me della fuese otorgado*, 33, 1, 35.

3) **Quando, etc.** No example.

6. **Anomalous examples.** Dios no me ayude, dijo el Doncel, si á mi grado *lo vos* sabreis, ni de otro por mi mandado, 19, 1, 21; No llevareis, dijo él, en tanto *que las defender* pueda, 32, 2, 32; Agora *me no* pesa de cosa que me digais, dijo Amadís, 34, 1, 14; Galaor metió mano á su espada por le poner miedo, é dijo: "O *me tu* guiarás, ó dejarás aquí la cabeza, 39, 2, 33.

7. **Infinitive.** a) **Por no lo, por bien lo.** 1) **Por no lo:** que *por no se* guardar de lo ya dicho, 4, 1, 31; y dejése caer *por no le* atender otro golpe, 13, 1, 35; no vos lo otorgara *por no me* loar dello, 46, 1, 24.

2) **Por bien lo.** No example.

b) **Por lo no, por lo bien.** 1) **Por lo no:** é *por vos no* dar enojo, tengo por bien que quedeis solo en la cámara, 3, 1, 44; atapando los ojos *por le no* ver, 9, 2, 27; é yo pensé que errara en su palabra *en me no* decir que mi padre era, 11, 1, 47; é fuése yendo contra su castillo *por lo no* ver matar, 42, 2, 37; é aquel que me ama *en me no* ver ni saber de mí, 49, 2, 16; ¡ Ay Dios! que mal haces *en me no* responder! 51, 1, 13.

2) **Por lo bien:** no tuvo acuerdo *de lo allí* tornar, 2, 1, 38; que por alguna parte dél te entrará alguno *para te algo* tomar, 6, 1, 39; y mas vos digo, que *de la vos* amar, no podríades dello ganar ningun buen fruto, 19, 1, 10; mas *de te yo* preciar no te tiene pro, 22, 1, 61.

21b.

LAS SERGAS DE ESPLANDIAN.

Capítulos I-X.

1. **Que no lo:** Pag. 404, col. 2, 1, 40; 407, 1, 23; 407, 1, 51; 410, 2, 53; 411, 1, 8; 411, 1, 33; 414, 2, 61; 415, 1, 54; 415, 2, 16; 416, 1, 55; 416, 1, 60; 417, 1, 9; 419, 1, 23.

2) **Que bien lo:** 404, 1, 32; 404, 2, 15; 405, 1, 60; 406, 2, 53; 407, 1, 50; 409, 2, 6; 412, 1, 38; 412, 2, 32; 414, 1, 48; 415, 1, 21; 415, 1, 39; 416, 2, 14; 417, 2, 55; 418, 2, 27. **Si bien lo:** 418, 1, 54. **Quando bien lo:** 404, 2, 32; 410, 2, 19; 414, 1, 1; 419, 1, 50.

3. **Que yo lo:** 408, 2, 20; 409, 1, 42; 412, 1, 4; 415, 2, 30; 418, 2, 37; 419, 1, 48. **Quando yo lo:** 404, 1, 25; 405, 1, 55; 413, 2, 17.

5. **Anomalous example.** en tanto salid de esta prisión, dando gracias al poderoso Señor, *que nos*, por bien y reparo de los suyos, suele dar semejantes azotes, 412, 2, 41.

6. **Infinitive.** **Por non lo:** 411, 1, 18; 412, 2, 46; 419, 1, 24.

22.

LEYENDA DEL ABAD DON JUAN DE MONTEMAYOR.

- I. Diego Rodríguez de Alnola: Compendio Historial, Cap. cclxxxvij.
- II. Historia del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor.

I.

Almela: Compendio Historial.

1. a) **Que, si no lo.** 1) **Que:** criador de todas las cosas que se pueden ver, commo de las *que non se pueden ver*, p. 11, 1, 8; E si tan santo sois *que non me* queredes creer de cosa que vos digo, 11, 27; sabe *que non me* quiere dar el castillo el abad don Johan, 12, 16; diziéndole *que non lo avía* ferido, 16, 11. 2) **Si:** sabe que non me quiere dar el castillo el abad don Johan, *si non lo* tomamos por fuerça, 12, 16.

b) **Que, si lo no.** 1) **Que:** El abad don Johan estorbávagelo *que lo non* fiziese, 6, 30; e rogávale que le diese la muerte e *que lo non* dexase bevir, 9, 14; Mas pues que te alabas que entrarás el castillo, yo te digo *que te non* çerrarán las puertas por miedo tuyo, 12, 9; Entonce Almonzor bolvióle el rostro, diziéndole que non lo (*que lo non*, UFG) avía ferido, 16, 11. 2) **Si:** No example.

2. a) **Que yo lo.** No example.

b) **Que lo yo:** porque yo ffo en Dios que lo fará mejor *que lo tú* dizes, 12, 10.

3. a) **Por bien lo.** No example.

b) **Por lo bien:** e *por lo mas* honrrar, enbiolo al dicho rey don Ramiro de León, 6, 6.

II.

Historia del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor.

1. **Que, si, quando no lo.** 1) **Que:** *que no se* pagasse dél, 24, 31; y el *que no la* tuviere, 26, 24; *que no se* aprovechasse de los caminos, 27, 25; y rogava mucho a Dios que le diese ya la muerte y *que no le* dexasse vivir más en el mundo, 32, 27; *que no se* podría contar, 33, 8; *que no se* entendían unos a otros, 34, 1; *que no se* podrían contar, 34, 7; porque *no me* quesistes creer, 38, 4; y mucho más *que no se* puede contar, 43, 24; *que no lo* vea, 44, 1; *que no le* quebrasse el coraçón, 45, 11; *que no se le* quebrantasse el coraçón, 46, 22; tanto *que no se* davan lugar, 51, 15; Y dixo *que no lo* quería más atender, 52, 1; *que no se* esperavan, 52, 9; *que no le* alcanço en la carne, 52, 26. 2) **Si:** sabed que el abbad don Juan no quiere dar el castillo, *si no lo* ganais por fuerça, 38, 30. 3) **Quando:** *quando no le* veía, 25, 2; y *como no se* abría la tierra, 31, 14.

2. **Que, si yo lo.** 1) **Que:** de lo *que yo* vos diré, 26, 22; *que ellos se lo* tuvieron en poridad, 27, 8; *que yo os* crié, 28, 14; *que yo os* daré, 28, 17; hasta *que yo* vos vea venir, 29, 10; *que yo me* quiero tornar moro, 30, 20; aunque *tú te* alabas, 38, 8; *que ellos lo* huvieron a gran maravilla, 42, 13; lo *que yo os* dixere, 48, 12; *que tú te* alabas, 52, 20. 2) **Si:** *si yo se la* cortasse, 49, 32.

23.

SOUHAITS DE BIENVENUE ADDRESSÉS À FERDINAND LE CATHOLIQUE
PAR UN POÈTE BARCELONAIS EN 1473.

1. *Que non lo.*

Con mal, con fortuna *que no le falese*, v. 31.

Que no te contientes del ombre qu'es viejo, v. 174.

2. *Que bien lo.*

Ffengir *que le plaze lo que mas le pesa*, v. 158.

24.

COMEDIA DE CALISTO Y MELIBEA.

Actos I-VII.

1. *Que, si no lo.* 1) *Que*: p. 12, 1, 16; 14, 15; 17, 2; 18, 29; 19, 33; 20, 2; 20, 13; 26, 2; 27, 33; 30, 3; 42, 3; 45, 3; 46, 20; 53, 17; 54, 2; 54, 3; 56, 26; 58, 2; 59, 33; 60, 27; 63, 7; 64, 10; 74, 9; 79, 12; 80, 25; 80, 32; 85, 20; 88, 22; 94, 11; 96, 12; 99, 21; 99, 33; 100, 8; 102, 6. 2) *Si*: 52, 3; 64, 1; 82, 32; 87, 21.

2. *Que, si bien lo.* 1) *que mas* . . . , 8, 23; 50, 1; 55, 26; 79, 13; *que assi*, 21, 22; *que mucho*, 74, 31; *que bien*, 96, 12; 97, 6. 2) *si aqui*, 20, 3; *si bien*, 64, 16.

3. *Que yo lo, si yo lo.* 1) *que yo*, 26, 30; 37, 21; 41, 5; *que tu*, 11, 24; 53, 21; 55, 22; *que el*, 100, 1; *que ella*, 23, 4; 46, 32. 2) *si tu*, 58, 20.

25.

JUAN DE VALDÉS: DIÁLOGO DE LA LENGUA.

1. *Que, si, quando no lo.* 1) *Que*: p. 343, l. 24; 345, 5; 346, 2; 346, 32; 348, 21; 352, 8; 352, 30; 354, 10; 355, 34; 360, 45; 360, 46; 361, 5; 363, 21; 376, 2; 367, 17; 368, 6; 368, 29; 369, 36; 371, 31; 371, 38; 371, 38 bis; 376, 22; 377, 1; 377, 21; 379, 22; 380, 10; 380, 31; 380, 31 bis; 382, 13; 382, 30; 382, 40; 390, 20; 390, 35; 390, 37; 391, 10; 398, 17; 398, 28; 402, 10; 403, 24; 405, 30; 410, 20; 411, 11; 411, 14; 411, 26; 411, 32; 413, 19; 416, 37; 417, 20; 418, 12; 418, 33; 419, 1. 2) *Si*: 343, 14; 348, 18; 350, 12; 361, 1; 364, 20; 370, 18; 370, 34; 376, 32; 382, 8; 394, 15; 406, 3; 407, 6; 418, 24; 419, 3. 3) *Quando*: 354, 2; 354, 4; 358, 34; 369, 9; 390, 39; 411, 14.

2. *Que, si, quando bien lo.* 1) *Que*: 339, 14; 345, 26; 346, 7; 346, 25; 347, 13; 350, 19; 361, 7; 362, 18; 362, 23; 362, 34; 369, 32; 369, 44; 377, 12; 398, 15; 411, 12; 417, 6. 2) *Si*: 343, 26; 381, 20; 384, 14; 397, 7; 417, 24. 3) *Quando*: 353, 7; 372, 20; 411, 17.

3. *Que, si, quando yo lo.* 1) *Que*: 339, 16; 345, 21; 345, 23; 345, 28; 349, 14; 368, 8; 373, 36; 387, 36; 391, 6; 409, 4; 408, 10. 2)

Si: 350, 9; 375, 28; 383, 20. 3) **Quando:** 369, 18; 399, 32; 410, 13; 418, 15.

26.

LAZARILLO DE TORMES.

1. **Que no lo:** p. 6, l. 5; 19, 27; 22, 7; 28, 20; 33, 9; 42, 12; 42, 13; 43, 4; 57, 21; 59, 9; 66, 3.

2. **Que yo lo:** *que yo la*, 37, 27; *que el lo*, 43, 17.

3. **Por no lo:** *por no lo*, 12, 8; 13, 24; *en no se las*, 15, 9; *por no me*, 21, 20.

27.

LUIS DE LEÓN: LA PERFECTA CASADA.

1. **Que no lo:** p. 8, l. 2; 10, 5; 11, 23; 15, 29; 19, 3; 20, 25; 22, 28; 23, 9; 31, 24; 46, 23; 47, 11; 51, 27; 51, 30; 53, 30; 53, 30 bis; 56, 21; 57, 11. **Si no lo:** 42, 22.

2. **Que bien lo:** 3, 28; 7, 15; 32, 21; 34, 28; 35, 28; 38, 6.

3. **Que yo lo:** 4, 2; 6, 24; 31, 23; 32, 3; 37, 30; 38, 13.

28.

CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA.

Nos. I-XV.

1. a) **Que non lo.** A emperadriz, *que non vos era de coraçon rafez*, Cant. v, stz. 21, v. 4. Assim *que non es' afogov*, XIII, 3, 8.

b) **Que lo non.** Por no mar deital-a, *que a non deitasse*, IX, 12, 1. **Si lo non:** *Ca se o non fezermos*, en mal ponto uimos seu solaz, v, 17, 4. **Quando lo non:** *Ca esse non deteueron nenllur*, xv, 18, 6.

2. b) **Que lo bien:** De *que vos iú diss'*, v, 4, 2; Quero servir, *que me nunca á de falecer*, v, 26, 6; Et de *que esse máis pagaua*, VI, 4, 3; Tod' aquesto *que uos ora dito*, xv, 13, 1. **Quando lo bien:** *Como x'ante uiolaua*, VIII, 7, 3.

3. a) **Quando yo lo:** *ca nos lo guardamos de malfeitoría*, IX, 9, 5.

4. **Que lo — —** Do ángeo, *que lle falar foy*, et disse "Coytada," I, 5, 6; *Que l'aquel gaffo traëdor fora bastecer*, v, 22, 6; Per nulla ren *que l'o Emperador dissesse*, nunca, quis, v, 26, 1; *Ca porque lles non sofrer quería de mal fazer*, VII, 2, 3; En o dia *que a Deus foi corôar*, XII, 1, 5; *Que me nas sas mãos sofre*, XIII, 5, 7; *Que m'o laço non matov*, XIII, 5, 8; *Que lles este feito foi contando*, xv, 18, 5; *Que l'un caualeiro branco dev*, xv, 19, 2.

Si lo — — *Se esse d'algun mal sentia*, IV, 10, 4; Et *se l'aqueste pan non refeiro*, xv, 6, 7.

Quando lo — — *Pois l'este don tan estranyo ouue dad' e tan fremoso*, II, 5, 1; Mas o Emperador, *quando o atan mal parado uyú*, v, 7, 4; E *quando a no monte teueron*, *falaron ontre sí*, v, 10, 3; O marynnheiro, *poil-a*

en a barca meteu, ben come fol, v, 16, 1; Ant' o Apostólog' e ante ués, como os feitos á, v, 24, 3; Pois s'a dona espertou, vii, 2, 3; E é l'a alma saýa log' o demo a prendía, xi, 4, 1; fazer quanto l' en prazer for, xv, 1, 8.

5. **Anomalous examples.** Mayor miragre do mundo l'ant' esta Sennor mostrára, ii, 3, 2; Et se guarida achou, vii, 4, 2; Esto vos non sofreremos, viii, 7, 8; Por quanto mal nos ele buscaua, xv, 11, 4.

29.

DOM DINIZ DE PORTUGAL: CANTIGAS D'AMOR, I-L.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo.** 1) **Que:** . . . se soubesse que nom lh' era tam grave, Deus foss' em loado, v. 970. 2, 3) **Si, quando, etc.** No example.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non.** 1) **Que:** *Que me nom quer' end' eu doer, 25; . . . que vos nom mereci outro mal, 63; des entom morte que mi nom quer dar, 143; que vos nom posso nem sei dizer qual, 274; que se nom perdess' ant' o sem, 491; ca sei eu bem que mi nom falára, 507; des que a nom vi, nom er vi pesar, 527; que me nom julgue por seu traedor, 637; que thi nom ouve Flores tal amor, 700; que me nom ajam d'entender, 714; des que se nom guisou de a veer, 980.* 2) **Si:** e se mi nom fosse maior prazer, 271; se a nom vir, nom me posso guardar, 755. 3) **Quando:** ca me nom pod' escacer, 740; pois me nom queredes tolher, 746.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** *que nunca vos mereci por que tal, 79; que nunca vos dissesse rem, 104; Ca tal é que ante se matára, 521; ca sabedes que nunca vos falei, 575; e que me nembra que bem a oi, 750; desi sabem que nunca vos erreí, 823.* 2) **Si:** No example. 3) **Quando:** E nom sei quando vos ar veerei, 213.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que:** *O que vos nunca cuidei a dizer, 572; o que vos ja perguntei outra vez, 810; que mi nunca fezo nenhum prazer, 967.* 2) **Si:** *se lh' o assi guisasse Deus, 494; ca mi falar se o sol cuidára, 522; se m' agora quizesseis dizer, 809.* 3) **Quando:** *quando m' agora ouver d'alongar, 43; de quanto lh' ante cuidára dizer, 150.*

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1, 2) **Que, si.** No examples. 3) **Quando:** *quant' eu vos amo, esto certo sei eu, 706.*

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** *aquel maior que vo-l' eu poss' aver, 65; por muito mal que me lh' eu mereci, 132; Assi nom er quis que m' eu percebesse, 138; o demo lev' a rem que lh' eu falei, 149; que mi vos poderdes fazer, 466; em que vo-l' eu podesse merecer, 619; que vos eu podesse contar, 732; que vos eu vi, 960.* 2) **Si:** *se nom se mi vos fezessedes bem, 676.* 3) **Quando:** *que vos viss' eu, u m' el fez desejar, 142; se de qual bem lh' eu quero cuidára, 509; qual vos eu ei, 701.*

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —** 1) **Que:** *Mais tanto que me d'ant' ela quitei, 151; Senhor, pois que m' agora Deus guisou, 201; Quant' a, senhor, que m' eu*

de vos parti, 424 ; E des *que m'* eu, senhor, per bõa fe, de vos parti, 429 ; *que m'* eu de vos parti, no coração, 436 ; Pois *que vos* Deus, amigo, quer guisar, 541 ; E pois *que vos* Deus aguisa d' ir i, 551 ; *que vos* gram bem nom ouuess' a querer, 631 ; com *que m'* oj' eu vejo morrer, 739 ; d'omem *que lhi* par pozesse, 788 ; se nom o bem *que vos* Deus deu, 802 ; quando nom quis *que lh'* outra foss' igual, 841 ; *que vos* em grave dia vi, 851. 2) **Si**: *se o* eu a vos nom disser, 111 ; *se o a* vos nom fôr dizer, 119 ; *se vos* grav' é de vos eu bem querer, 290 ; *se o* Deus quizesse guisar, 322 ; Ca sabedes *que se m'* end' eu quitar, 627 ; *se me* Deus ant' os seus olhos lavar, 635 ; *se mh a* sa mui gram mesura nom val, 648 ; por vos, *se vos* est' é loor ou prez, 813. 3) **Quando**: *qual vos* sol nom posso dizer, 98 ; e *pois me* Deus nom val, 190 ; *pois vos* Deus atal foi fazer, 316 ; E *pois vos* Deus nunca fez par, 318 ; *Quem vos* mui bem visse, senhor, 482 ; E *quem vos* bem com estes meus olhos visse, 489 ; *como mh a* mi o foi guisar, 495 ; por *quanto m'* oje mha senhor falou, 504 ; d'aver eu mal d'u o Deus nom pos, nom, 612 ; Senhor fremosa, por *qual vos* Deus fez, 807 ; mal, *pois vo-l'* eu, senhor, nom mereci, 827 ; *qual m'* eu por mha senhor vejo levar, 914.

5. **Anomalous**. ca sei que sentiredes qual mingua *vos* pois ei-de fazer, 4 ; desi nom o er podedes enganar, 70 ; ca el sabe bem quam de coração *vos* eu am' e *que* nunca *vos* errei, 72 ; ca logo *m'* el guisou *que* *vos* oi falar, 126 ; e tod' aquesto *m'* el foi aguisar, 129 ; a lh'o dizer, e *me* bem esforcei, 155 ; com quaes olhos *vos* eu vi, 483 ; d'al, ca nunca *me* d'al pudi nembrar, 528 ; pero *mi* tod' este mal faz sofrer, 532 ; pero *m'* este mal fez e mais fará, 538 ; seu mandado oi e a nom vi, 639 ; Cedo ; ca pero *mi* nunca faz bem, 754 ; e por quam boa *vos* el fez, 790 ; *que* nunca *vo-l'* eu mereci, 857 ; e *m'* el nom fôr ajudador, 866.

6. **Infinitive**. a) **Por bien lo**: *de nunca mi* fazedes bem, 932.

b) **Por lo non**: *de mh a* nom querer, 40. **Por lo bien**: *de m'* agora guardar *que* nom, 85 ; *sem vo-lo* nunca merecer, 871. **Por lo** — — : e *pela* mais ca mim amar, 172 ; . . . *de vos* eu bem querer, 290.

30.

ESTORIA TROYÃA.

Págs. 95-113.

1. a) **Que, si, quando non lo**. No examples.

b) **Que, si, quando lo non**. 1 **Que**: en gisa *que a* nõ vissen, p. 96, l. 19 ; et peço *vos* merçé *que vos* nõ pese nêmo tefiades por mal, 101, 29 ; como *quer que vos* nõ plaz de falar en este pleito, 103, 16 ; mays chegavãse ja tão tãdas *quelle* nõ podia falar assua vóontade, 103, 29 ; mays Achilles *aque sse* nõ olvidava oque afazer avia, 109, 24 ; Outrossy tã grã covardiçe tomava enssy *quelle* nõ ousava dizer nada, 111, 26 ; gardarlo ey eu omellor *que* poder *que o* nõ partirey de mĩ, 113, 5. 2) **Si**: No example. 3) **Quando**: fiaçãoe maravillada *como seme* nõ parte este coraçõ per mille lugares, 96, 7 ; et fazelles sofrer tã graves coytas *que* son par de morte *caos* nõ leixa dormir, 111, 9.

2. a) **Que, si, quando bien lo.** 1) **Que:** Ca moytas vezes oy falar de moytos *que nũa sse virã nẽ sse cofioscerã*, 101, 18; *que aduro sse poden encobrir*, 103, 2. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando.** No example.

b) **Que, si, quando lo bien.** 1) **Que.** No example. 2) **Si:** *que eu faria torto selle mal* quisesse, 108, 7. 3) **Quando.** No example.

3. a) **Que, si, quando yo lo.** 1) **Que:** Et porque desamades tãto vossa vida, *que eu vos faço çertos que . . .*, 95, 6; et dy a Breçayda, *que y acharas, que eulle enbio este cavalo*, 107, 13. 2) **Si.** No example. 3) **Quando.** No example.

b) **Que, si, quando lo yo.** 1) **Que:** Et ja deus nũa queyra *queme eu traballe de amar nẽ de servir outra*, 101, 36; nẽ entendades *que vos eu leixo por outra rrazõ*, 103, 9; desto *quelle eu envio dizer*, 107, 16. 2) **Si:** et dille *que se me el quer ben, que eu faria torto*, 108, 6. 3) **Quando:** Talera omãto da donzela *qual vos eu dixes*, 98, 24; Et *quandosse ela* ouvo a partir de Troylos, 100, 12.

4. **Que, si, quando lo — —** 1) **Que:** Ca seu falla nũa ãno mũdo sera cousa *que vos tãto de coraçõ ame como eu*, 97, 10; Como aqueles *quesse* moy de coraçõ amavã, 98, 3; Et *porque vos* eu todo tẽpo sera rretraida et posfaçada, 104, 6; pero aynda tamañio ben nõlle quero por *quelle* ael mellor vãã do que ante lle ya, 108, 8; por este cavalo *que me* ã outro dia destes, 112, 11. 2) **Si:** et *seme* algẽ pregũtar quaes erã, 100, 8; vay et dy ateu seõior *que se me el ben quer como diz, quemmo demostra moy mal*, 107, 30; sabade (*sic*) *que selle* este pleito moyto durara, cõvéralle de morrer, 111, 13; Et *seo* ben nõ gardardes, taste vos lo poderã tomar, 112, 28. 3) **Quando:** Et *quando sse* anbos ouveron apartir, 101, 2; Et vos sodes . . . tã pããção per *como me* amĩ semella, 103, 5; Et *poys vos* ja aco cõ migo tẽfio, nõ averey que temer, 105, 28.

5. **Anomalous.** Et *seme* rreçberdes por vosso amigo nũa *vos* ende verra seõ onrra, 101, 31; Et *se el* esto fezesse senpre *lle* ende ben verria, 107, 33.

3labc.

VIDA DE EUFROSINA, VIDA DE MARIA EGIPCIA, EXTRAITS D'UN
TRAITÉ DE DÉVOTION (Textes portugais du XIV^e Siècle).

1. a) **Que no lo.** No example.

b) **Que lo no.** EUFROSINA. Depois que viram *que se nom* demostrava, p. 362, l. 21; E ella cobrio assua face por tal *quea nom* conheçesse, 363, 6; *que te nom* despreçara Nosso Senhor, 363, 18; Rogote *que me nom* leixes, 364, 28; *porquete nom* mostraste? 365, 11. EGIPCIA. Eute Rogey, padre *queme nom* costringesses, 373, 8; mais assi como aaz de cavaleyros estava contra mĩ *que me nom* leixava êtrar, 374, 16; e *porque me nom* achou tornousse, 378, 29; defendendolhe *queo nom* fezesse, 379, 4; Gloria seia aty Nosso Ssenhor Deus *que me nom* fezeste minguido, 379, 10; e creco *quelhe nom* farya mal, 380, 30; TRAITÉ. e dãme tam grã tormento (seu) e espanto

queo nã sey dizer, 382, 23 ; *que se nom* podya del partir, 386, 6 ; e disselhe que se fosse, *quelhe nom* querya dar sua filha, 388, 20 ; desque vio *quelhe* nã prestava nada, 390, 8.

2. a) **Si no lo.** No example.

b) **Si lo no.** EGIPCIA. Quem onunca vira nẽ houvira *sse*lhe nã ffosse demonstrado, p. 370, l. 8.

3. a) **Quando no lo.** EGIPCIA. *Ca nom* vos sserey ssem proveyto, 373, 21.

b) **Quando lo no.** EGIPCIA. *como me nom* sorveo byva, 373, 33. EUFROSINA. e *quando anom* achou, 361, 27.

4. a) **Que, (si, quando, etc.) bien lo.** EGIPCIA. *que nunca sse* ajuntavam, 368, 27. TRAITÉ. ora me dam tam grande quentura *que todo me* fazem tremer, 382, 23 ; cuydando *que-nũca* lhe felleceryã, 385, 20 ; *que tanto se* asenhorava dell, 386, 5.

b) **Que lo bien.** EGIPCIA. porque sse vyo chamar per sseu nome, *quem onunca* vira nẽ houvira, 370, 8 ; *que me nunca* viste, 370, 25 ; e torneyne aaquella *queme ally* trouvera per fle, 375, 9 ; E assy *como te ante* Rogey, 377, 21. TRAITÉ. Assy que poucos som os que, se atal tenpo lenbrã do quelhes cõpre, *queo cõpridamẽte* ajam, 382, 8 ; desque virom *que se tanto* detinha, 382, 36.

5. a) **Que (si, etc.) yo lo.** EGIPCIA. *que tu me* flosses demonstrada, 372, 1 ; Quando ho santo homẽ vyo *que ella* lhe fallava de Regla, 377, 34.

b) **Que (si, etc.) lo yo.** as quaes sse as tu quiseses seguir, 336, 27 ; Eu sey, *sete eu* comegar acontar, 372, 12 ; e hir me ey *hu me tu* mandares, 374, 38. TRAITÉ. E el indo pera veer se era ja morto em hũu forno *ondeo ell* mandara meter, 382, 15 ; nada *doquelhe ell* dizia, 390, 8.

6. a) **Que (si, etc.) dios lo.** TRAITÉ. *que Deus* lhe perdõu, 383, 17 ; *que Deus* lhe avia perdoado, 388, 24.

b) **Que (si, etc.) lo dios.** EGIPCIA. Depois *que me esto* aconteço, 374, 17. TRAITÉ. aquello *quelhe Deus* mãdara, 386, 30 ; emna cidade de Ninive *comoa Deus* queria destroyr, 386, 25 ; pera véer *comoa Deus* querya destroyr, 386, 31.

7. **Que lo — —.** EGIPCIA. Ssenhora minha, no leixes nẽhũa cousa *que me todo nom* descubras, 376, 11. TRAITÉ. Esta arvor senifica este mũdo *c que seho* homẽ deleyta, 384, 7 ; por aquello *quelhe oydollo* avia dicto, 388, 21.

8. **Anomalous.** TRAITÉ. Ay, amigos, *que mal me ora* julgastes ! 382, 37.

32.

VIAGGIO FANTASTICO IN PORTOGHESE.

1. a) **Que, si, quando no lo.** No example.

b) **Que, si, quando lo no:** E por *que o nom* fez visorei, p. 291, l. 8 ; nem os filhos dos senhorios dos teus reinos *que se nom* casem, 292, 33 ; e temeraas *que te nam* aconteça outro, 293, 2 ; et lhes parecia *que se nom* emtemdiaõ hũs aos outros, 295, 20.

2. a) *Que, si, quando yo lo.* No example.

b) *Que, si, quando lo yo.* et estauam em duuida se era aquillo que viam así *como o elles* viam, 294, 44.

3. *Que lo* — —: por hũ agraúo *que me el Rei meu pai fez*, 290, 10; per consentimento de algũs da cidade *que o na alfandega meteram*, 290, 23; tornaram a zerca por certas frechas *que lhes nella* ficaram, 295, 14; et ha quatro annos *que se delle nom* sabe parte, 296, 16.

4. a) *Que* — — *no lo*: por que tempo vira *que teus filhos nom se* achara(m), 292, 11.

b) *Que* — — *lo no*: tuas novas será ouvidas por todo o momdo, ate *que as pessoas as nam* queiraõ ouvir, 292, 2.

33.

CONTRIBUÇÕES PARA UM ROMANCEIRO E CANCIONEIRO POPULAR PORTUGUEZ.

1. a) *Que no lo.* *Que não se* pôdem cantar, p. 115, No. 4, b, v. 4.

b) *Que lo no.* *Que ha* muito *que a não* vi, p. 105, col. 1, l. 2.

2. a) *Que yo lo.* *Que eu lheí* porei os hotões, p. 108, No. 4, b, v. 4.

b) *Que lo yo.* Neste leito em *que me eu* deito, p. 105, No. 7, b, v. 9.

3. Anomalous. *Que a minh'alma se não* perca, p. 105, No. 5, v. 9.

34.

ROMANCES SACROS. ORAÇÕES E ENSALMOS POPULARES DO MINHO.

1. *Que no lo.* Permitti *que não me* engane, p. 266, col. 2, l. 33.

2. a) *Que (si) yo lo.* *Que eu vos* darei boas novas, p. 265, l. 6; *Se elles* se derem bem, p. 267, col. 2, l. 26; *Que ella lhe* sararia, p. 275, No. 25, col. 2.

b) *Que lo yo:* *Que me eu* fôr deitar, p. 268, col. 1, l. 2.

3. *Que lo* — —. *Se te agora não* convertes, p. 267, col. 1, l. 7.

4. Anomalous. *Para que o diabo me não* esqueça, p. 266, col. 2, l. 5.

35.

CANTIGAS POPULARES AÇORIANAS.

1. a) *Que no lo.* Para falar ao meu amor Já *que não o* vi de dia, No. 39, v. 4.

b) *Que lo no.* Só para contar as horas No tempo *que te não* vejo, 78, 4; Você diz *que me não* quer, 141, 1; Mil trabalhos te persigam, *Que te não* possas valer, 147, 2.

2. b) *Si lo no.* Se me lavo, sou doidinha, *Se me não* lavo, sou porca, 19, 4.

3. a) *Que yo lo.* As penas *que vós me* dais Deus as sabe, eu as sinto, 41, 3.

- b) *Que (quando, etc.) lo yo.* Vai-te lenço, *onde te eu mando*, 74, 1.
4. a) *Que (si, etc.) — — no lo.* Cresça-me elle na ventura *Que no mais não se me da*, 22, 4.
- b) *Que (si, etc.) — — lo no.* *Se os meus olhos te não vissem*, 95, 1 ; *Se tu me não enganasses*, 98, 3.
5. a) — — *no lo:* Quem morre do mal de amores, *Não se enterra em sagrado*, 23, 2 ; Quem eu quero *não me dão*, 20, 3 ; Você passa, *não me fala*, 48, 1 ; Os olhos que d'aqui vejo *Não me armem falsidade*, 60, 2 ; O meu peito *não se abria*, 95, 3 ; Meu coração *não te amava*, 95, 4 ; A demora que tiveram *Foi não me verem mais cedo*, 129, 4.
- b) — — *lo no:* Quem me dão *me não contenta*, 20, 4 ; Você passa, *me não fala*, 49, 1 ; Sou tão triste, *me não lembra se fui alegre algum dia*, 55, 3 ; Você se vae, *me não deixa Dinheiro para gastar*, 110, 1.

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II.—TYDOREL AND SIR GOWTHER.

Attention has often been called to the extraordinary parallelism which exists between *Sir Gowther*, a fifteenth century English version of *Robert the Devil*, and the so-called Breton Lay of *Tydorel*.¹ The latter is one of five anonymous romances published by Gaston Paris² according to the manuscript in the National Library, which includes also the lays of Marie de France.³

A cursory examination of these anonymous lays, all of which claim a Breton origin, shows them to be strikingly deficient in originality of conception and unity of structure. Not only in the above-mentioned collection, but in all the others that have appeared, the plagiarisms from the works of Marie de France can scarcely escape even the superficial reader. The lay of *Graelent*, for example, published by Crapelet,⁴ in which some scholars have seen a primitive form of Celtic legend, is found upon examination to be a mere *pastiche*, an awkward combination of the plots of three of Marie's Lays—*Eliduc*, *Lanval*, and *Guingamor*.⁵

But in *Tydorel* we have, it would appear, a theme, or several themes, not directly traceable to Marie, but bearing a decided resemblance to the Christian legend of *Robert the*

¹ Kittredge's *Sir Orfeo*, *American Journal of Philology*, VII, pp. 178-9.

² *Lais Inédits, Romania*, VIII, pp. 32-74.

³ Three of the Lays are missing in this ms.: *Laustic*, *Chaitivel* and *Eliduc*.

⁴ *Poètes Français depuis le XIII^{ème} Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours*, Paris, 1824.

⁵ For the complete demonstration of this theory, I will refer to an article by Prof. Lucien Foulet of Bryn Mawr College, soon to appear.

The whole framework of the story is borrowed from *Lanval*, while the Queen's love for Graelent, her consultation with the Seneschal, and her interview with the hero, reproduce a similar scene in *Eliduc*. The fairy mistress belonged originally to *Guingamor* (now attributed to Marie).

Devil. The analysis of these elements in *Tydorel*, and an investigation of their sources, are the main objects of this study, which, however, includes necessarily a somewhat detailed comparison of the latter with *Sir Gowther*.

The points of contact between *Sir Gowther* and *Tydorel* are too numerous to be the result of chance. That they may be evident to the reader at a glance, I have arranged the parallel episodes in corresponding sections below.

Tydorel.

1) The King and Queen of Britany, after ten years of happy married life, find themselves still without an heir.

2) The queen, while sitting in her garden, is approached by a handsome stranger, who requests her love, threatening at the same time that, if she reject him, she will never more know joy. He declines to reveal his name or lineage, but, catching the queen up before him on his steed, he rides away with her to the shores of a neighboring lake, and, leaving her there, plunges beneath the waters and disappears. On his reappearance, he tells her that his home is beneath the forest, and that he comes and goes through the waters of the lake. He then forbids her to question him further.

The queen, captivated by his mysterious charm, yields to his request, and, at parting, the stranger foretells the birth of their son, Tydorel, who shall be endowed with all gifts of nature and fortune, but who shall be marked by one strange characteristic—he shall never sleep.

The love of the Queen and the stranger shall endure many years, etc.

Sir Gowther.

1) The Duke and Duchess of Austria live happily together until finally, the duke, despairing of an heir, threatens to divorce the childless wife.

2) The duchess, in despair, prays Heaven to send her a child, she cares not whence it may come.

Soon afterwards she is approached, while sitting in her orchard, by a stranger disguised as her husband, who demands her love.

At parting, however, he reveals himself as the arch-fiend in person, and prophesies the birth of their son and his unruly character. Having uttered this prophecy, the stranger departs, and is seen no more.

3) The King knows nothing of this episode, and welcomes the advent of Tydorel with delight.

From the beginning, the child is marked by extraordinary beauty and strength.

He grows to manhood, beloved by his friends, feared by his foes, and, in due time, succeeds to the throne of his supposed father. His sleepless nights are spent in hearing tales of adventure.

4) On one occasion the king sends for a young man of the people, a goldsmith by trade, to beguile his sleeplessness by the telling of stories.

The young man declares that he knows no tales to tell; but when threatened by the king, retorts that one thing at least he does know—that the man who does not sleep is not of mortal birth.

5) Stung by this speech, Tydorel begins to reflect, and finally, overwhelmed with suspicion and foreboding, he rushes to his mother's chamber, and with a threatening countenance and drawn sword, forces her to reveal the secret of his birth.

She repeats the knight's prophecy, and gives the history of their relations from beginning to end.

6) Tydorel, on learning of his supernatural birth, immediately orders his horse, and, without explanation or farewell, rides away to the shore of the lake. There, still mounted on his steed, he plunges beneath the waters and is seen no more.

3) The duke, knowing nothing of these events, welcomes the child as his own, and surrounds him with every attention. Gowther from his birth is of wonderful strength and precocity, but violent and cruel beyond the measure of humanity. His rule is a reign of terror and vice.

4) As Sir Gowther grows older, his wickedness increases apace. Finally an old earl, outraged by his deeds of sacrilege and rapine, dares to inform him that his subjects are convinced that one so fiendish and inhuman cannot have been begotten by a mortal father.

5) This accusation brings the young man to reflexion, followed by remorse and despair. He goes at once to his mother's chamber, awakens her, and, with great violence, demands to know his father's name. The duchess, with shame, reveals all, and mother and son weep tears of grief and repentance.

6) Gowther then recommends his mother to a life of penance, and himself sets out without delay to seek counsel and pardon from the Pope at Rome.

Part second gives the story of his long and bitter expiation, of his final forgiveness, his marriage with the Emperor's daughter, and accession to the throne of the empire.

To sum up: The points of contact between *Tydorel* and *Sir Gowther* are the following:—

1) The long and happy union of the married pair. The desire for an heir is implied in *Tydorel*, emphasized in *Sir Gowther*.

2) In both, the father is a supernatural being, who appears to the wife in her orchard and who, at parting, prophesies the extraordinary character of the son to be born of their union.

3) In both, the husband is unaware of the stranger's visit, and welcomes the child as his own.

4) The child is of uncommon mental and physical vigor in both stories, and is distinguished from other children by some marked characteristic. He succeeds to the throne of the realm.

5) The hero is made aware of his supernatural origin by a remark, thrown out almost at random, by a person necessarily ignorant of the real state of affairs.

6) *Tydorel* and *Sir Gowther* both force an avowal from their mother, by threats of violence, and both proceed to act immediately upon the information which they receive from her concerning their origin.

The legend of *Robert the Devil* has been studied in great detail, and with most interesting results, by Karl Breul.¹ He gives us a careful edition of *Sir Gowther*, a late offshoot of the old saga, but in his long and exhaustive discussion of the sources and the various versions of the Robert legend, *Sir Gowther* has been dismissed with a summary and, perhaps, inadequate treatment. The legend, according to Breul, has no historical foundation, but, traced to its ultimate source, is found to be a clerical redaction of two old folk-lore themes, the first of which has been generalized under the name of the

¹ *Sir Gowther, Eine Englische Romanze aus dem XVten Jahrhundert*, von Karl Breul, Oppeln, 1886.

Kinder-Wunsch motive, while the second (and by far the more important element) is the motive of the male Cinderella, or, in other words, the story of the prince who lives for long years at the Emperor's court, disguised as a beggar or scullion, who in time of war, rescues the empire from its enemies (still in disguise), but who finally reveals his true rank, and receives the hand of the princess as his reward.

It is with the former theme, however, that we are here concerned—with the *Kinder-Wunsch* stories. In all of these (and there are many in many languages) the birth of a child long desired by its parents is due to extra-human powers, the intervention of which is made subject to certain conditions—usually that the child is to be delivered up to the demon or fairy at the expiration of a certain time. Almost always the child gives evidence of his strange origin by his beauty and precocity, and when at last he is apprised of the vow which binds his parents, he succeeds in freeing himself from the dominion of the powers of evil, sometimes by his own cunning and skill, sometimes by the direct assistance of the Virgin. Often through his exceptional cleverness, we find him rising to positions of wealth and eminence.¹ Often, too, the boy's adventures include a sojourn at the demon's home, not necessarily in Hades, often in some enchanted region on or under the earth.²

According to Breul, the monkish theorizers of the Middle Ages have made of this story a sort of test case. Always musing over the problem of sin and the possibility of atonement, they saw in Robert, or in his prototype, an example of the extreme measure of depravity, of wickedness both inherited and actual. For such a sinner, they ask, what expiation is possible in this world or the next? The first

¹ Breul, Introduction, pp. 115–117.

² Cosquin's *Contes Populaires de Lorraine, Romania*, VII: *Le Fils du Diable*.

part of the story propounds the question, the second part gives the monkish solution.

In its developed form, the legend of *Robert* is certainly French,¹ though the popular tales which lie at its foundation are found among many nations. But *Sir Gowther*, which is, on the one hand, unmistakably a version of *Robert the Devil*, claims, on the other, to be derived from a Breton Lay,² and we cannot, without good reason, disregard the author's assertion.

Moreover, when *Sir Gowther* varies from the more familiar versions of *Robert*, it often approaches Celtic tradition.³ Let us see, then (1), in what particulars this variations occurs and (2) whether *Sir Gowther* in departing from the traditional accounts of *Robert*, comes the nearer to *Tydorel*, which also, as we know, claims a Breton origin :

"Cest conte tienent a veri
Li Breton qui firent le lai." ⁴

(T., ll. 480 and 481.)

1) The orchard scene⁵ and the circumstance that the demon, or fairy, is actually the father of the hero, are not found in any other known version of *Robert*. Here *Sir Gowther* corresponds closely with *Tydorel*. In the other versions of *Robert*, the child is the son of the duke and duchess, though his birth is due to supernatural intervention.⁶

2) In *Sir Gowther* the strange suitor is represented as taking the form of the duke, a fact which greatly palliates the guilt of the duchess. This feature is, naturally, absent from other versions, and is not found in *Tydorel*. In the

¹ Breul, Introduction, p. 50.

² Breul's text, ll. 27-30.

³ Breul, pp. 64-65.

⁴ *Lais Inédits, Romania*, VIII, pp. 67-72.

⁵ For similar scenes in Celtic literature, cf. *Sir Orfeo*, Kittredge, in *Am. Jour. of Phil.*, vol. VII, pp. 176-202.

⁶ For versions of *Robert*, cf. Breul's App., pp. 209-241.

popular tales the disguise is common, but it is not only unnecessary but illogical in *Sir Gowther*.

3) In *Sir Gowther*, as also in *Tydorel*, the husband is unaware of the relations existing between his wife and the stranger. In *Robert the Devil* accounts differ; sometimes both parents are parties to the contract, sometimes the father only, sometimes the mother.¹

4) The manner in which Robert is brought to repentance differs widely in the different versions.² Sometimes the change comes from within, sometimes he is converted through the ministrations of a pious hermit. In Etienne de Bourbon, his mother herself opens his eyes to his lost condition. We have called attention to the fact that in *Tydorel* and *Sir Gowther* the hero's suspicions are first aroused by a chance remark of an outsider, quite ignorant of the truth.

But if we would know how far either of our two stories may have been influenced by the other, we must examine not only their points of contact, but their points of divergence.

1) In *Sir Gowther* the discord between husband and wife is strongly emphasized; in *Tydorel* it is not even intimated. We only infer that an heir was ardently desired.

2) In *Sir Gowther* the stranger comes disguised as the husband, but comports himself with brutal violence. In *Tydorel* there is no disguise, but the lover is a model of courtesy.

3) In *Sir Gowther* the stranger reveals his true character at parting, but he goes never to return. In *Tydorel*, the knight conceals his name, but his first visit is one of many, extending over many years.

4) Sir Gowther excels his fellows in strength and activity, but his chief characteristic is unbridled ferocity and prema-

¹ Breul, Introduction, pp. 119-120; we read in the text of *S. G.* that the Devil takes especial pleasure in deceiving women.

² Cf. Breul's App.

ture perversity. Tydorel is a model of chivalry ; his sleeplessness is his only mark of superhuman origin.

5) At the end¹ Sir Gowther goes to Rome to seek forgiveness, Tydorel rejoins his father in fairyland.

Beside the foregoing differences in detail, there is, of course, a complete contrast between the two works in tone and feeling. *Sir Gowther* is unmistakably a *Christian* story, expressing a real, if crude, religious sentiment. *Tydorel* is frankly pagan and unmoral. Moreover, the traces of *courtoisie*, of the chivalrous ideals in manners and conduct, which we find in *Tydorel*, are completely absent from *Sir Gowther*, where the tone is popular, almost brutal in places. What then may we suppose to be the relation between these two poems, so alike and yet so different in their likeness?

The relative lateness of *Sir Gowther* need not influence us. In its present form it dates from the fifteenth century, but it is composed, as we have seen, of much older material, while *Tydorel* can scarcely be older than the first quarter of the thirteenth century. However, without regard to dates, we may at once reject the idea that *Tydorel* is an imitation of *Sir Gowther*. The legend of *Robert the Devil* had already in the thirteenth century taken on definite form and color, and all consciousness of its composite structure had doubtless been lost. It is highly improbable that a French *jongleur* should have composed a version of the story which not only eliminates all the religious element, but cleaves the legend in twain just at the point where the two parts connect. Such a supposition would attribute too much critical acumen to any poet of this class or age.

But there is no such reason to forbid our supposing that *Tydorel* was one of the sources of *Sir Gowther*. Moreover, the author of *Sir Gowther* claims expressly to have used a

¹ In referring to *Sir Gowther*, I allude only to the first part.

“Lay of Brittany”; and though it is conceivable that the many and striking correspondences between the two works are due to their derivation from a common source, we must in justice first consider the claims of the one *lai breton*, dealing with the same subject, which has come down to us.

Let us assume then, that the author of *Sir Gowther*, having before him some version of *Robert the Devil*, had also the *Lay of Tydorel*. According to the methods of those early romance-writers, who were not hampered by questions of copyright, our poet may very well have thought to heighten the charm of his austere subject-matter by an admixture of the more highly spiced episodes of the Celtic story. Indeed, the resemblances between *Tydorel* and the more popular versions of *Robert*, were of just the sort to catch the eye and charm the fancy of a popular poet—a likeness not of spirit and purpose, but of individual incidents and situations; and,—given the faculty of combination, which was so large a part of the mediæval singer’s endowment,—such a hybrid composition as we have in *Sir Gowther* becomes a natural product.

But the author had not reckoned with all the difficulties of his task. For how can we make it appear plausible that the arch-fiend in person can inspire a romantic passion, such as the queen feels for the stranger knight in *Tydorel*? Hence the clumsy device of the disguise, perhaps already known to the writer in other tales, but which evidently has no place in *Sir Gowther*. But if the fiend wears the form of the husband, what becomes of the wife’s guilt? It dwindles to a mere inarticulate prayer (“she cares not whence it come”), wrung from her by her desperate plight; and this surely does not deserve so terrible a punishment. The circumstances of the wife’s concealment and of her husband’s joyful acceptance of the child as his own, are but necessary results of the orchard episode. If the author of *Sir Gowther* copied the

first, he must have copied the others. Even the device employed to awaken the young man's suspicions, and so bring about the catastrophe, shows signs of imitation, since the peculiar circumstances are reproduced nowhere else.

If this hypothesis be admitted,¹ we shall have to record a curious phenomenon. Here is a popular folk-lore theme entering twice, at different epochs and under different forms, into the structure of the same legendary cycle. For if the motive of the *Kinder-Wunsch* is a component part of *Robert the Devil*, it is none the less certainly one element in the story of *Tydorel*.²

A superficial examination of *Tydorel* suffices to convince us of its composite character. We find inexplicable gaps and still more inexplicable repetitions, while certain episodes seem without justification in logic or reason. Why, for example, should the queen, who loves her husband devotedly in the first paragraph, yield so easily to the solicitations of a stranger in the second? Why should her strange suitor warn her so solemnly that if she repels his advances, she will "never more know joy?" After promising to reveal his name and birth, why should the knight only admonish the queen to ask him no more questions? If he proposes to visit the queen habitually, it seems strange that he should think it needful to foretell the events of twenty years on this first occasion. Above all, why should sleeplessness be chosen as *Tydorel*'s distinguishing characteristic? Questions like these arise at every step, and in order to answer even a few of them, we shall have to analyze more closely the contents of the poem.

¹ Notice that in both *Tydorel* and *Sir Gowther*, the question put by the hero to his mother, takes the same form: "Who is my father?"

² Breul inserts as the immediate source of *Gowther* a hypothetical *Breton* lay. He believes that *Sir Gowther* is a translation of a complete Breton version of the legend, whether written in French or not he does not say. The substitution of *Tydorel* for this unknown lay greatly simplifies the whole problem.

1. In lines 1-15, we are told of the happy married life of the king and queen. Their only sorrow is the absence of an heir. Clearly this is the introduction to the *Kinderwunsch* motive. Karl Breul's thorough study of this theme makes it unnecessary to dwell upon it here. The keynote of the story, in all its forms, is the contract made by the parents with the Evil One before the birth of the child, in consequence of which the child is subject to the powers of darkness, from whose dominion it is freed finally, either by its own ingenuity, or by the intervention of Providence. Always, whatever the difference in detail, the child is conceived of as under a ban—handicapped from his birth by the sin of his parents.

2. In lines 16-160, we are aware of a complete change of tone, and it is not until we reach line 161 that the familiar note recurs (161-199). Lines 16-160 are devoted to the garden episode with the love passages between the queen and the stranger, which remind us strongly of analogous scenes in Marie's Lays—in *Guigemar*, for example, *Yonec*, and *Lanval*.

3. After a brief resumption of the first theme (lines 161-199, containing the joy of the king over Tydorel's birth), we come to the description of Tydorel, his beauty, charm, and popularity. We find here one striking difference between Marie's *Yonec* and *Tydorel*. For Marie, the important element is the love story; the child is of subordinate interest. Yonec, indeed, serves only as the avenger of his parents' death. In *Tydorel*, on the contrary, the child is the main interest; the love story is only preliminary, though it may seem to occupy an undue proportion of space.

4. From line 296 to 475 we resume theme number 1. Here the hero is distinctly under a mysterious ban, separated from his fellows by a characteristic which he recognizes as a curse, and the explanation of which he extorts with violence from his trembling mother. This is surely Robert the Devil.

5. In the conclusion, however, we lose him again, and find, instead, a being oblivious of moral obligation and unconscious of guilt. We have, in short, a resumption of the theme begun in the garden scene, which I shall call the *wonder-child* motive.

The characteristics of this theme are the following :—

1. A supernatural being, fairy or demi-god, falls in love with a mortal woman.

2. By various expedients he gains her love, and the fruit of their union is a son, who is reputed to be of a mortal father, but who really is destined to reproduce, more or less faithfully, the attributes of his supernatural parent.

3. This child is, accordingly, distinguished from his fellows by extraordinary beauty and strength, sometimes by superhuman powers. Usually he has relations with the unseen world, and at death rejoins his father in the land of Faery.

As we shall see later on, there is reason to believe that these two themes (that of the *Kinder-Wunsch* and that of the *wonder-child*) derive originally from the same source. But in the popular handling of them they are, in general, kept apart, and have received quite different developments. The hero of the former is essentially a being of ill-omen, set apart for an unhappy destiny ; while all the gifts of nature as of fortune are heaped upon the head of the *wonder-child*. Where shall we look for an explanation of the contrast ?

Christianity is the most exclusive of religions. Officially, at least, the Church can make no compromise with Heathenism. The dwellers in Olympus and in Walhalla, as well as the gods of Celtic mythology, were to the missionaries simply evil spirits, fallen angels who belonged to Satan's kingdom. If sometimes, in dealing with the beliefs and customs of the common people, the priest took a more tolerant attitude, it was yet rather by silence than by actual concession. Lucky indeed was the ancient divinity who was suffered still to hide

his head beneath the green hill, once his peculiar domain ; or in the bed of some lake or stream, across which he had often pushed his boat, bound on adventures of love or war.¹

What wonder if this change of fortunes brings with it a corresponding change of disposition ?² The dethroned gods degenerate. Sometimes they become mere tricky sprites, working good or evil according to their caprice, while again they are represented as actual demons, finding a malicious delight in beguiling and discomfiting unsuspecting mortals.

But the knight in *Tydorel* is neither sprite nor demon ; he is like other men, save for his more than mortal beauty and the mysterious charm that he possesses, which bends the will of others to his. He reminds us, indeed, of the fairy chief Midir, in the Irish story of the *Wooing of Etain*, cited by Mr. Kittredge as an analogue of *Sir Orfeo*. And, if I mistake not, we shall find upon examination that Midir and the father of Tydorel are of one race and one kindred.

In the early Celtic legend, especially that of Ireland,³ we find not fewer than three notable heroes all of whom bear a striking resemblance to Tydorel in the circumstances of their birth. The most ancient and least known of these is Mongán, the reputed son of Fiachna, but really the son of *Manannan Mac Ler*, god of the sea, one of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, or sons of the Goddess Danu. The god visited Fiachna's queen in the absence of her husband, according to one version taking the form of the king, according to another frankly acknowledging his name and his errand, and in both foretelling the birth and wonderful endowment of the child Mongán. In both stories, also, the wife's submission is made the condition of the husband's life and safety.⁴

¹ *Voyage of Bran*, vol. II, pp. 211-213 et al.

² *Sir Orfeo*, Kittredge, in *Am. Jour. of Phil.*, VII, pp. 195-197.

³ *Sir Orfeo*, *Am. Jour. of Phil.*, vol. VII.

⁴ *Voyage of Bran*, vol. I, pp. 175-208 et al. ; *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1-38 ; *Cycle Mythologique Irlandais*, by D'Arbois de Jubainville, pp. 267-333 et al.

The characteristics of Mongán are related at length in the versified portions of *Bran's Voyage*. There we hear that "Fiachna will acknowledge him as his son, that he will delight the company of every faery knoll," and be the "darling of every goodly land." He is to have the power of shape-shifting, the ancient prerogative of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*; he will reign long and "be slain by a son of error, and after death will be borne to the gathering where there is no sorrow." Numerous tales emphasize the relations of Mongán with the *Aes Siddhé*, or folk of the mound; also his power of shape-shifting,¹ and if none of them assert explicitly that the hero returns ultimately to the Land of Promise, this omission is probably due to an early confusion of the wizard Mongán and a historical person of the same name.²

I give in substance Mr. Nutt's interesting parallel between Mongán, Arthur, and Find:

1) Find is a South Irish chieftain of the third century of our era, though later notices associate him with West Scotland. He is first referred to in documents of the eighth century. The facts concerning him which interest us in this connection are the following: Find is a posthumous child, reared in the forest, the destined avenger of his father, possessor of magic gifts and powers, and deserted by his wife for his favorite nephew and warrior.

2) Arthur of the great Breton Cycle, whose historical prototype is a *dux bellorum* of the fifth and sixth centuries, is located in southern Scotland and northern England, while the romantic part of his history is associated with South Wales. Arthur owes his birth to shape-shifting on the part of his father, which reminds us of Mongán. Arthur's wife

¹ *Voyage of Bran*, I, App., p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, I, App., p. 87; also pp. 139-141.

is unfaithful, as is Find's, and like both Find and Mongán, he has relations with the immortals. At his death he passes to Avalon. The Arthur legend was known more or less from the ninth century on, and became widely popular throughout both Great and Little Britain during the twelfth.

3) Mongán, as we recall, is the son of a god, or according to some accounts, a rebirth of Find. By the oldest tradition, his mother is unaware of his supernatural character. "Mongán's boyhood is passed in the land of Faery with his father, he is a magician, who can change his shape at will, he loses and recovers his wife," has dealings with the fairies and, it is to be inferred, passes into fairyland at death. The Mongán legend belongs to northern Ireland, and dates at least from the eighth century, the time at which the versified portions of *Bran's Voyage* were composed.¹

I quote from Mr. Nutt: "Earlier than, and underlying the heroic legends of Finn, Arthur and Mongán, I assume that among the Celtic-speaking people of these islands, Goedels and Brythons both, there was current the tale of a wonder-child, begotten upon a mortal mother by a supernatural father, reincarnated in him, or transmitting to him supernatural gifts and powers, associated with his father in the rule of that Land of Faery to which he passes after his death. Such a tale would be a natural framework into which to fit the life story of any famous tribal hero. Identification might arise from, or at least be facilitated by, identity or likeness of name, possibly again from likeness of circumstance. Once the identification was established, the legend would be subject to two sets of influence; one purely romantic, derived from, and further developing, the mythic basis; the other, historic or quasi-historic, anxious to accommodate the traditional incidents to the facts of the hero's life."²

¹ *Voyage of Bran*, vol. II, pp. 27-29.

² *Voyage of Bran*, vol. I, p. 28.

In the Mongán legend and in these others which treat of a kindred theme, we have come, I believe, to the kernel, the ultimate source of the wonder-child element in *Tydorel*. Here we find, if not all, at least most of the typical characteristics of this mythical personage. And those points at which *Tydorel* diverges from the more archaic and properly mythical treatment of the theme, may be accounted for as we explain similar variations in the legend of Arthur. They are devices of the annalist or of the *jongleur* either to harmonize the story with the beliefs and conditions of a later age, or, perhaps, to fit it into the life of some historical personage.

The garden episode in *Tydorel*, for example, has many analogues in Celtic story. It agrees strikingly with the Mongán legends, of which it follows sometimes one, sometimes another. For example, the queen's husband, in one Mongán tale, has been called away to Scotland to succor a friend hard pressed in battle. In *Tydorel*, the king is absent on a hunting expedition. Tydorel's mother, like Euridice in *Sir Orfeo*, is reclining under an *Impe*, or grafted tree, in her garden, when she is approached by a stranger whose beauty and dignified mien accord well with the description of the "noble-looking man," who appeared to Fiachna Finn on the battlefield, and visited his wife in the palace.

"Contre val le jardin garda
Si vit un chevalier venir
Soef le pas, tut à loisir ;
Ce fut le plus biaux hon du munt
De toz iceus qui ore i sont,
De raineborc estut vestuz,
Genz ert e granz e bien membruz."

(*Tydorel*, ll. 40-47.)

"As they were conversing, they saw a single, tall warlike man coming towards them. He wore a green cloak of one color, and a brooch of white silver in the cloak over his breast, and a satin shirt next his white skin." In both

stories the birth of the child is foretold and his extraordinary gifts detailed. "A glorious child shall be begotten by me there," says the warrior to Fiachna, "and from thee shall he be named . . . and I shall go in thy shape. . . ." In the other version, he says to the queen: "Thou shalt bear a son. That son shall be famous, he shall be Mongán."¹ In *Tydorel* the knight says:

"De moi avrez un filz molt bel,
 Sil ferez nomer Tydorel;
 Molt ert vailanz e molt ert prouz,
 De biaute sormontera toz." (ll. 113-120.)

We may reasonably ask, however, why *Tydorel*'s mysterious father should have decreed that he should be sleepless? There was certainly nothing distinctively godlike in this characteristic, for though the gods may be assumed to know no weariness, yet the spirits of evil, too, are known to be especially active during the hours of darkness, when men are at rest and off their guard. Probably only the author himself could satisfy our curiosity on this point. We may, however, suggest that the very equivocal nature of this attribute of sleeplessness was perhaps its chief recommendation.

The author of *Tydorel* is handling, as we know, not one theme, but two, which have but little real resemblance. Somewhere his two motives (that of the *Kinder-Wunsch* and that of the wonder-child) must blend, if he is to succeed in producing even superficial unity of action. A close study of the story will convince us, I think, that our poet has met the difficulty as cleverly as was possible in the circumstances.

In the story of the wish-child, the crisis always comes with the revelation to the hero of the circumstances of his birth. This disclosure is made usually by the parents, and

¹ MS. *Book of Fernoy*, p. 131a. (D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalog*, p. 206, quoted in *Voyage of Bran*, vol. I; App., p. 44.)

often under compulsion. But in those Celtic myths which we have been examining, the fact of superhuman paternity, so far from being a disgrace, is the highest, most coveted distinction. Yonec¹ shows no sign of shame when told of his real father's name and nature, and we are told of Cuchullin that, when questioned as to his parentage, he ignored his human father and boasted his descent from the god Lug.² The author of *Tydorel*, looking for some compromise between opposite traditions, may have bethought himself of the familiar proverb: *Qui ne dort pas n'est pas d'homme*, and have welcomed here a solution to his problem.³

Still more was he embarrassed, we may surmise, by his desire to give a tone of *courtoisie* to a legend alien in its spirit to every tenet of chivalry. In the other versions of these stories, there is little or no trace of what we call romantic love. The gods of the Celtic Pantheon are as capricious in their fancies as Jupiter or Odin. They come and they go; and if they ever return, it is only to claim and to carry away with them the son who is to reproduce on earth their divine qualities. As for the woman, she goes back to her mortal husband. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, a loftier, more immaterial, conception of love was felt to be indispensable to every courtly tale of romance. No doubt Marie de France herself, womanly and sentimental, shunning in her stories whatever savored of brutality and barbarism, did much toward setting the new standard of "courteous" love. To Marie, constancy, faithful service of the beloved was the essence of true love—the love which was outside the bounds of law or morals, and which existed for its own sake.

¹ Yonec, in Warnke's edition of Marie de France.

² *Cuchullin Saga*, Elinor Hull, Introduction, p. lvi.

³ Le Roux de Lincy's collection, I, p. 167: "Il n'est pas homme, Que ne prend somme."

We cannot doubt, I think, that the author of *Tydorel* was familiar with the lays of Marie, and in particular with *Yonec*. In this story, we remember, the queen is visited by a beautiful knight who comes and goes in the form of a bird. Their love continues until they are betrayed, and the knight is slain by the jealous husband. Their son, Yonec, becomes in time the avenger of his father's death, and inherits the mysterious kingdom from which his father had come.

There are certain resemblances in detail between *Tydorel* and *Yonec*¹ which we may note in passing, without insisting too strongly upon their significance, for a similarity in themes may have produced a likeness in the treatment.

When the knight in *Yonec* first appears to the lady, seeing her terror, he reassures her, but does not tell her his name or his race :

Si li segrei vus sont oscur,
Gardez que seiez a seur.

(*Yonec*, ll. 125-129.)

Even when pressed, he refuses to be more explicit, except in the matter of his Christian faith. The knight in *Tydorel* observes the same discreet silence. In relating the birth of Yonec, Marie tells us :

“Sis fiz fu nez e bien nurriz,
E bien gardez e bien chieriz—
Yonec le firent numer,
El regne ne pot on trover
Si bel, si pru ne si vailant
Si large ne si despendant.”

(*Yonec*, ll. 453-468.)

Of *Tydorel* we hear :

Li termes vint, li filz fu nez,
E bien norriz, e bien gardez—
Tydorel le firent numer.

(ll. 175-178.)

¹ Cf. also *Tydorel*, ll. 20-26 ; and *Guigemar*, 261 ff.

De Tydorel firent seignur—
 Onques n'orent il meillur—
 Tant preu, tant curtois, tant vaillant,
 Tant larges ne tant despendant. (ll. 220-225.)

But chiefly is the author indebted to Marie for that tone of *courtoisie* which pervades his work, changing what is bald and crude in the old story into the sweetness and the somewhat effeminate grace which Marie had made fashionable.

We have found then in *Tydorel* a *contamination*, or composite structure made up of two elements :

1) The familiar folk-lore motive of the child devoted to the devil.

2) The story of the wonder-child, also familiar to popular mythology.

3) We find, besides these two, a third, pervasive rather than distinct—a sort of infusion of the spirit of chivalry. This we note especially in the romantic ideal of love presented, and we detect in it the influence of Marie de France.

The legend of *Robert the Devil* was already fully developed in the thirteenth century, so there can be no doubt that the story of the wish-child was familiar in Celtic speaking countries, as in others. But we cannot be so certain as to the channels through which the second element in his story came into the hands of the author of *Tydorel*.

The lack of unity in *Tydorel*, as a whole, is doubtless open to severe criticism ; but we must not deny to its author the praise due to the ingenuity and even originality with which he has embroidered and embellished his patchwork background, heightening its color, and so far as possible hiding the seams. The garden episode is narrated with a simple grace and naturalness worthy of Marie ; and the device by which the catastrophe is brought about is really clever, though not in accord with the spirit of the old stories. The episode of the young goldsmith is indeed curious, quite

without a parallel in any version of *Robert*, or in any other popular tale which I have read. I incline to credit it to the author of *Tydorel* as an original invention.¹

We must remember, too, in judging *Tydorel*, that we have probably not received the work in its original form. There are passages so dissonant with the rest of the poem, and so far inferior to it, that we are sure we have to reckon with a late revisor. The object of these alterations and elaborations was probably to lengthen the story, unusually short in its original shape, and rather terse and concise in style. Perhaps, too, this copyist found it advisable to introduce some novel features, however questionable might be the taste of his interpolations: witness the stupid bit of satire leveled at the king's credulity in accepting *Tydorel* as his son.²

Almost certainly this copyist is the author of the queen's confession, where at great length she recounts the whole course of her relations with the stranger—repeating in great great detail, and with many useless additions and repetitions, the story told at the beginning of the poem. The prophetic passage in which the knight foretells the birth not only of a son, but of a daughter, is doubtless the work of a *remanieur*. This daughter does not appear elsewhere, but we are informed here that she is to marry a certain count, and from her are to descend a long line of noble knights; and, no doubt with the idea of maintaining the symmetry of the tale, we are told that these knights shall sleep even more than the rest of mankind.³ Very possibly this passage may have been introduced at a later date to flatter some patron of the poet by giving him a demi-god for an ancestor.⁴

¹ Cf. *Romania*, VIII, *Lais Inédits*, Introduction to *Tydorel*, p. 67. G. Paris says that this incident is familiar to Celtic and Oriental folk-lore, but I have not identified it elsewhere.

² *Tydorel*, ll. 165-175.

³ *Ibid.*, ll. 344-475.

⁴ Notice the attempts at variety and novelty in this passage, and the marked avoidance of rhymes found in the first version: cf. ll. 104-110 with 423-444; 111-120 with 450-454.

But if so large a part of *Tydorel*, as we have it, is foreign to its original form, just what was the aspect of the story as originally written or told? If we remove the clumsy additions of a late and inferior hand, and also those elements which are due to the invention of the author (cf. pp. 20 and 21), we shall have left, obviously, the two folk-lore motives previously analysed, that of the *Kinder-wunsch* and that of the wonder-child. But we have seen that the former has no real place nor fitness in our story, and is only very imperfectly combined with it by the ingenuity of a twelfth or thirteenth century poet. (Cf. pp. 17, 18.)

At last in our process of reduction we reach the heart of our legend, the substance of the Breton lay which, we may suppose, bore the name of *Tydorel*. We may assume that this lay was by one of the later contemporaries of Marie de France, that it was written in French and contained the history of a wonder-child, son of a god and a mortal, who in all likelihood reproduced some of those supernatural powers which we have seen in Mongán, Find, Cuchullin, or Arthur, and who at the close of his earthly career rejoined his father in the realms of Faery.¹

Turning again to *Sir Gowther*, we recall that we had ascribed to the influence of *Tydorel* some of the elements there found which are wanting in other versions of *Robert the Devil*, notably the circumstance that the fiend is actually

¹ Since we have seen that the author of *Tydorel* (1) was probably a contemporary of Marie, it may be asked why we do not attribute the lay to Marie herself, assuming that whatever features are inconsistent with her style and methods, were the work of the author of *Tydorel* (2).

My reasons for not assigning this work to Marie are the following:

1. *Tydorel* (1), judging from the elements which have survived in *Tydorel* (2), was, I believe, a cruder, less artistic, more primitive production than anything Marie has given us.

2. The romantic element, if not wholly wanting, was quite secondary, and the interest centred in the *mythical*, not in the sentimental motive.

the father of the child. In discussing this feature, Breul says, "Dieser Zug ist ebenfalls uralt. Sowohl Beispiele wo die Frau ihren Verführer kennt, als solche wo sie ihn nicht kennt, bei sonst gleichen Verhältnissen. Wir befinden uns hier auf dem Gebiet der Massenhaften Sagen von den Incuben und Succuben. . . . Ursprünglich sind es mythologische göttliche Wesen, aus deren Verkehr mit irdischen Frauen dann mächtige (oft allerdings gewalttätige) Männer entspringen." He quotes as the classic example, the verse of Genesis where we are told that the "sons of God" loved the "daughters of men."

He might, I believe, have gone a step further in his deductions; for what, after all, is the story of the child devoted to the Devil before its birth, but a degradation of the much older legend of the wonder-child? It may be incredible, at first sight, that the motive which has culminated in one direction in *Robert the Devil*, can have arisen, at the other extreme, to the conception of Arthur, the Blameless King. But after all, when we remember that Satan was once the highest of the archangels, what transformation can find us unprepared? Dispossessed of their earthly kingdom, banished to river-beds and caverns, the *Tuatha Dé Danann* began their downward course. Still they were gods, though gods in exile, and no mortal was discredited by their addresses. It was left to the Christian missionaries to complete their degradation. They were relegated to the rank of earth-spirits—if not actually devils, yet certainly neither gods nor angels. Moreover, as the new religion obtained stronger hold upon the people, as monkish teaching usurped the place of popular myth, we may well believe that the sanctity of the marriage vow was emphasized, and that the nature of any being who might tempt a woman to break it, came to be regarded as evil, even fiendish.

In some such fashion we may picture the gradual change

in the popular attitude towards the ancient gods. But if, indeed, these supernatural beings were evil and malevolent in character, how admit of love passages between them and mortal women? The very idea was abhorrent! Hence the modifications of the old story. Now the fiend appears in disguise, either to both parents or to one alone; he is no longer the actual father of the child, but the tempter, who so works upon the desires of the parents as to secure for himself the possession of the child.

This gradual transformation of the legend would account for some of the variations in the popular tales treating this theme. In some versions—notably, those at the basis of *Robert the Devil*—the child is already at his birth perverse and depraved beyond the measure of humanity. In others, he is only more beautiful and vigorous than other children.¹ In some stories the child's strength is superhuman, even in its cradle: witness the nine nurses killed by Sir Gowther in his first year. This is a trait common to heroes of all nations,² and in particular we are reminded of Cuchullin, for whom no nurse could be found, until one of his own supernatural race volunteered her services.

The question of the fulfilment of the prenatal contract made by the parents with the demon, brings up a curious parallel in the story of Mongán. In all the wish-child stories, the child, at a certain age, is to be delivered up to the demon; the time and circumstances vary in different versions. In some tales, the Devil himself comes and carries off the child at the appointed time.³ In others, especially in those where we detect clerical influence, the child, struck by the growing sadness of his parents, forces from them an avowal of his origin, and the fate that threatens

¹ Cf. Breul, Introduction, p. 121.

² *Ibidem*, p. 122 (citation from Luther's *Table Talks*, p. 300).

³ Cf. Cosquin in *Romania*, VII, pp. 223 ff.

him. This is substantially the version we have in *Robert* and in *Tydorel*, but the former seems, on the face of it, a more primitive form. To this class belongs a tale in the Rhetian dialect, called *Miez Maset*. The Devil disguised as a man appears to the mother and asks, as if in jest, for half of what she is carrying. She is carrying an armful of herbs, and in her ignorance accedes to the stranger's request. Some time afterwards her son is born, and on the third day the Devil reappears, this time in his true character, cuts the child in half, and departs carrying with him his share.¹ Again, the boy sets out of his own accord to find the demon, and in one story actually penetrates to Hades and spends some time, not unprofitably, at the Devil's court. But we have not forgotten how on the third day after his birth, Manannan Mac Ler appears and carries off Mongán to the Land of Promise, where he remains until his sixteenth year.

In *Robert the Devil*, as in *Tydorel*, few traces remain of those magical gifts transmitted by the gods to their mortal children. There is the widest variation in this respect in the popular tales. The Rhetian hero, *Miez Maset*, has, besides his physical mutilation, a singular power of control over animals. He has as his especial servant a marvellous trout, which performs all sorts of extraordinary feats, including the final restoration of the lost half of his person. In many versions the youth works wonders of strength and dexterity in fulfilling the conditions of freedom imposed by the Devil; invariably, in the end, he outwits the Evil One at his own game.

We thus see that in the stories of *Robert the Devil* and of *Tydorel*, we are handling very old, originally mythical material, common, it may be, to many nations, but to which we find, in particular, many close analogues in early Celtic

¹ *Romanische Studien*, Vol. II : *Praulas Surselvanas*, by Descurtins, No. 23.

legend. After many modifications and transformations, the myth of the wonder-child enters Christian literature in the form of *Robert the Devil*, and begins a new and fruitful career in the service of the new religion.

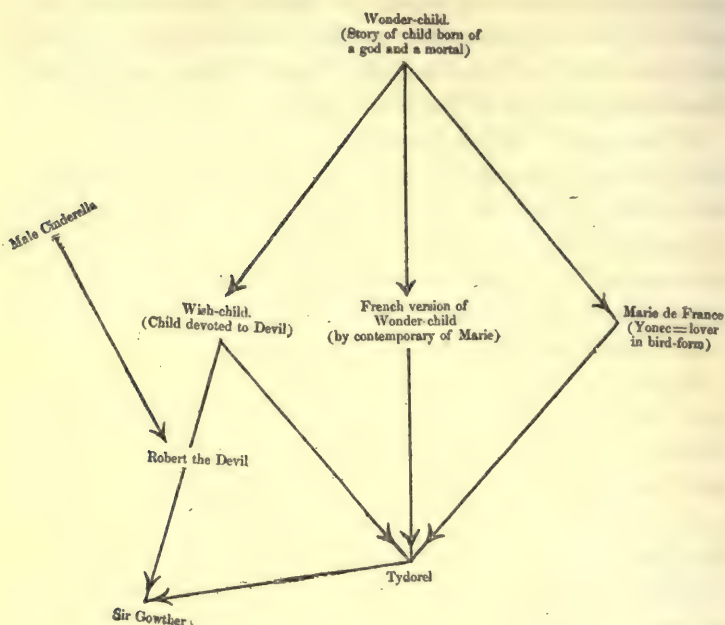
If the ancient stories themselves lived on and have come down to us substantially unchanged, it must be because they—the legends of Mongán and Find, of Arthur and Cuchullin—were early identified with historical characters; and because, too, they entered into a literary form before Christianity had acquired a hold on the faith and the fancy of the Celtic-speaking peoples.

In the *Lay of Tydorel* we have, then, I believe, not only that “lay of Britain” which the English author of *Sir Gowther* “sought” and found, but we have, what is even more interesting, a pale, discolored semblance of the myth in its more primitive form. Here, though no longer a god, the mysterious lover is still a creature of beauty and charm, who bends mortals to his will and holds them in awe lest they pry too curiously into the hidden things he may not reveal. And here, too, we have some traces of the original wonder-child, surpassing other children in strength and grace, and set apart from them by at least one characteristic that marks him as “not of man.”

FLORENCE LEFTWICH RAVENEL.

ANALYSIS OF TYDOREL.

1. Tydorel (1), about the third quarter of the twelfth century :
Story of the Wonder-child.
2. Tydorel (2), before 1200 :
 - (a) Wonder-child : ll. 16–130 ; 175–244 ; 475–490.
 - (b) Wish-child : ll. 1–16 ; 160–162 ; 325–358.
 - (c) Episode of the goldsmith : ll. 244–330.
 - (d) The prophetic speech of the stranger knight.
3. Tydorel (3), first quarter of the thirteenth century :
Elements a, b and c, together with lines 164–175 and the queen’s long speech to Tydorel—in short, the poem in its present form.



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III.—GOWER'S USE OF THE ENLARGED *ROMAN DE TROIE.*

Joly's edition of the *Roman de Troie* represents substantially the text of the poem as it was written by the author and followed by Guido delle Colonne in his *Historia Trojana*.¹ But a number of other translations were not made from the original text, inasmuch as the work offered great opportunities for interpolations, added by scribes who did not confine their activities to the duties of a mere copier. In 1888, E. T. Granz, in a Leipzig dissertation, *Über die Quellengemeinschaft des mittellenglischen Gedichtes Seege oder Batayle of Troye und des mittelhochdeutschen Gedichtes vom trojanischen Kriege des Konrad von Würzburg*, from a careful comparison of Konrad von Würzburg's *Trojanerkrieg* and the Middle English *Seege of Troye*, postulated, as the common source of the English and German poems, a redaction of the French work, containing episodes common to them, but differing in details from the text of the published work of Benoit. This thesis was further developed by C. H. Wager, who in the introduction to his edition of the *Seege of Troye*,² contributed further to the problem by an examination of the relations of the three manuscripts to each other, and to their original.

The principal episodes upon which these two writers base

¹ For a bibliography of the Benoit-Guido controversy, cf. G. L. Hamilton, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*, 1903, pp. 41-42, n. Upon the possibility that Guido's copy of the *Roman de Troye* was different from the text as published, cf. E. Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana*, 1887, p. 145; H. Morf, *Romania*, xxi, 91, n. 2; W. Greif, *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Literatur*, N. F., II, 125.

² N. Y., 1899. In a review of this book in the *Modern Language Notes*, xv, col. 189 ff., I expressed a view directly adverse to my present standing on the matter.

their thesis are five in number : "Priam's effort to regain Hesione, the dream of Hecuba, the judgment of Paris, Paris's residence in Greece, and the youth of Achilles."¹ The existence of a common source is put beyond a doubt by the same arrangement of certain incidents, in the telling of which there is sometimes a verbal identity. No French original has as yet been discovered which contains all these episodes, but in the redaction of Jean Malkaraume, made in the beginning of the thirteenth century, we find an account of Hecuba's dream, the loves of Paris and Oenone, and the trick of Ulysses to discover Achilles among the maidens, told of Menelaus and Neoptolemus.² The thesis that a fuller redaction existed, could have been further established by a study of other German and English accounts of these episodes, and a comparison of an Icelandic, a Roumanian, and numerous Irish, Spanish, Italian, and Slavic versions of the Troy legend, unknown to either Granz or Wager.

In the recently published *Works of Gower*, the editor, G. C. Macaulay, has pointed out the indebtedness of the English poet in a number of places to the *Roman de Troie*.³ For the present I merely wish to show that several passages in the English poet's work were taken from the enlarged *Roman*, by a comparison with passages in the poem of Konrad, the fullest and most accessible of the many versions.⁴

¹ Wager, p. lxii ; cf. Granz, pp. 86-7.

² Cf. A. Joly, *Benoît de Ste. More et le Roman de Troie*, vol. I, pp. 157, 165, 819 ; Greif, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, pp. 70, 94 ; Granz, pp. 4, 73-6, 86 ; Wager, pp. Iv, 67. On a further detail found in Malkaraume's version and not in the published text, cf. Greif, pp. 120-1, *Zeitschr. f. Vergleich. Lit.*, II, p. 126.

³ Cf. vol. III, p. 651, s. v. Benoît. To the references given there should be added : *C. A.* VII, 1558, VIII, 2515 ff., 2545, 2592 ff. ; *Mirour de l'homme*, 16700, 16672 ; *Balades*, XX, 17 ff., XXX, 8 ff., XL, 5-6, XLII, 8 ; *Traitié*, VI, 15, VIII, 1, IX, 8, X, 1 ; *Vox Clamantis*, L, 441, 879 ff., VI, 1291 ff.

⁴ Other accounts of Achilles's life with Chiron are to be found in the *Seege of Troye* (cf. p. 183, n. 2), the *Liet von Troye* of Herbort von Fritslâr

Of the episodes common to the other translations of the enlarged *Roman*, only those relating to Achilles's youthful training under Chiron, his life at the court of Lycomedes, and his discovery by Ulysses, are told in enough detail to

(6289 ff., cf. Fromman, *Germania*, II, p. 196; H. Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege*, p. 43), Enikel's *Chronik* (ed. P. Strauch, 14543-61), Maerlant's *Istory van Troyen* (ed. de Pauw & Gaillard, 4783 ff.), the *Fiorita* of Armannino da Bologna (Gorra, pp. 316, 544) and *Il Trojano a stampa* (*ib.*, p. 296). The first three of these unquestionably had the same common source as Konrad's and Gower's narratives, but their accounts are so abridged that parallel passages illustrating Gower's account can not be cited. Of this same source there are suggestions in Maerlant's version, which, however, shows that the main source at this point is the *Achilleis*, which the author cites as his authority (107, 198, 4779-82, 6506). Gorra has not published the text of this episode in the *Fiorita*, upon which to base a judgment of its source; but it is in all probability based on the work of Statius, as is the account of Ulysses's mission to the court of Lycomedes. *Il Trojano*, concerning the age of which nothing is known further than the date of its publication in 1491, is said to be dependent on the Latin poem at this point (cf. *Romania*, XXI, 104). On German imitations of the episode in Konrad, cf. Greif, pp. 124, 127-8; Dunger, p. 43.

Other versions of the embassy of Ulysses and Diomedes are to be found in the *Seege of Troye* (991-1132), Enikel's *Chronik* (14499-14542, 15069-15430), *Trójumanna Saga* (p. 13, n.; cf. p. 42, n. 3), the *Crónica Trojana* of Delgado (ed. 1579, *Libr.* III, chs. xv-xvii), a Galician version of the same work (printed in an appendix to the *Crónica Trojana*, ed. Rodriguez & Salazar, Coruña, 1901, vol. II, pp. 285 ff.; cf. vol. I, pp. x-xi), the Trojan passage in the *Libro de Alexandre* (385-392, 583; cf. Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, IV, 89), the version in *Cod. riccard.* 881 (Gorra, pp. 242-3), Maerlant's *Istory* (5363-6506; cf. 26430-67), the *Fiorita* of Armannino (Gorra, p. 545), and *Il Trojano*. Of these the first six had a common source; a judgment cannot be formed from the incomplete analysis of the seventh. The account in the *Fiorita* follows the *Achilleis* closely, as does that in *Il Trojano*. The story is also found in the *Alexandreis* of Ulrich von Eschenbach (ed. Toischer, 18464-70, 18485-18502), although not in the Trojan passage, which, as the rest of the poem shows, had a common source with the *Libro de Alexandre* (cf. *L. de Al.*, 312-364; *Al.*, 4877-4917; *Romania*, IV, 89-90). The source is not Hyginus (*Fabulae*, 96), as suggested by Toischer, *Sitz.-Ber. der Wiener Ak.*, *Phil. Hist. Classe*, vol. XCVII, p. 343. It is told in close connection with the story of the feigned madness of Ulysses-Diomedes (!) in Ulrich (18465-87), which is based upon the same source as the story in Gower (*C. A.*, IV,

show a common source more extensive than the *Achilleis* of Statius. In the fourth book of the *Confessio Amantis* the poet states :

“who that wolde ensample take,
Upon the forme of knyhtes lawe,
How that Achilles was forthdrawe
With Chiro, which Centaurus hihte,
Of many wondre hiere he mihte,” (1968-72),

a passage which may be paralleled at once with Konrad's¹ description of Chiron's fellows :

“Schÿröne wâren si gelich,
als ich von in geschriben vant :
Centauri wâren si genant.” (6274-6).²

Gower continues :

“For it stod thilke time thus,
That this Chiro, this Centaurus,
Withinne a large wilderness,”
“Hadde his duellinge, as tho befell,
Of Pileon upon the hel,” (1973-5, 1979-1980),³

1815-1891), which is much fuller than the version given in Hyginus, *Fab.* 95. On further allusions cf. Gorra, p. 330, note.

For the *motiv* of the Achilles-Deidamia episode in Mediaeval literature cf. F. H. von der Hagen, *Gesammtabendteuer*, v. II, p. ix, v. III, p. cxxviii ; K. Bartsch, *Albrecht von Halberstadt*, pp. xii, xli, ccxlvii ; Heinzel, *Anz. f. deutsche Alterth.* ix, 253, 255 ; K. Voretsch, *Epische Studien*, I, 195 ; Cloetta, *Beiträge*, I, 75.

¹ Konrad von Würzburg, *Der trojanische Krieg*, ed. A. von Keller, *Bibl. des lit. Vereins z. Stuttg.*, 1858, vol. XLIV ; *Anmerkungen*, by K. Bartsch, *Id.*, 1877, vol. cxxxiii.

² Statius (*Achil.*, I, 106) only mentions “longaevum Chirona,” and refers (111) to “Centauri stabula alta.” With Gower's use of “Centaurus” as a proper name, compare Chaucer's use of “Sibille” as a name of Cassandra (*T. & C.*, 1450-1 ; cf. Hamilton, *Indebtedness*, etc., pp. 109, n., 158). Elsewhere (*C. A.*, VI, 522), in a story taken from Ovid, Gower refers to the “Centauri,” “quosdam qui Centauri vocabantur,” as his rubric explains.

³ *Achill.*, I, 106-7 :

“domus ardua montem
“perforat et longo suspendit Pelion arcu.”

a passage for which there is a close parallel in Konrad's lines,

“ez was ein wildiu clûse
und ein vil tiefiu schrunde,
dar inne er sîne stunde
und alliu sîniu jâr vertete.
zuo dirre wüesten waltstete.”
“Der berc, der hiez Pelêon,
dar under mîn her Schÿron
wont in des steines krûfte” (5898-5902, 5907-9).

In the poem of Statius there are only suggestions for these details, and they are not brought into connection with Achilles's own account of his early training, which finds place much later on in the poem.¹ In the poems of Gower and Konrad on the other hand, they form one narrative, which is told in the third person. The almost verbal similarity of the following parallel passages puts the supposition of one Romance source for the two accounts beyond a doubt.

C. A., iv, 1982-1997.

Konrad, 6302, 6356, 6054-7.

“Ther hath Chiro this Chyld to teche, What time he was of twelve yer age; ² Wher forto maken his corage The more hardi be other weie, In the forest to hunte and pleie Whan that Achilles walke wolde,	“zwelfjæric was der jungelinc.” “er ist ein zwelfjæriger knabe.” “er wolte ez dar ûf ziehen, daz ez gestürstic were, und ez niht diuhte swære strîtlicher sorgen bürde.”
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¹*Achill.*, II, 94 ff.

²Cf. the line “When Achilles was seove zeir old” in the Lincoln Inn ms. of the *Seege of Troye* (A. Zietsch, *Arch. f. d. Stud. der neu. Sprachen*, LXXII, 37, line 1171) in the account of the training of Achilles, which Wager (p. lxxxii), against the opinion of Granz (p. 82), rightly assumes to have been in the original English version. The error may be due to an untimely reminiscence of the line “And whan the child was seven zer old” in the account of the early life of Paris (*Arch.*, LXXII, 17, l. 249). The same mistake is perhaps to be found in the Southerland ms. of the *S. of T.* (W. Fick, *Zur mittellengl. Romanze Seege of Troye*, 1895, p. 16). The ultimate source is *Achill.*, II, 110-111:

“vix mihi bis senos annorum torserat orbes
vita sequi.”

Centaurus bad that he ne scholde
 After no beste make his chace,
 Which wolde fien out of his place,
 As buck and doo and hert and
 hynde,¹
 With whiche he mai no werre finde;
 Bot tho that wolden him with-
 stonde,
 Ther scholde he with his Dart on
 honde
 Upon the Tigre and the Leon²
 Pourchace and take his veneison,
 As to a kniht is acordant.

1998-2004.

"And therupon a covenant
 This Chiro with Achilles sette,
 That every day withoute lette
 He scholde such a cruel beste
 Or slen or wouniden ate leste,
 So that he mihte a tokne bringe
 Of blod upon his hom cominge."³

6202-3.

"diu kleinen cranken tierlîn,
 diu liez er ungetœtet."

6052-3, 6198-6201, 6213-6219.

"Schÿron der liez daz knebelîn
 diu grimmen tier niht vliehen."

"ûf aller vrecken tiere spor
 hiez in sîn meister gâhen,
 mit sînem spieze enphâhen
 muost er diu kûenen eberswîn."

"Dâ mite geschuof der meister hôch,
 daz er in dem walde vlôch
 kein ûbel dinc, des sint gewis.
 ein tier, daz heizet tygris
 und ist gar bitterlichen arc,
 daz kunde der juncherre stare
 wol veigen unde villen."

6204-7, 6136-9.

"sô sîniu schoz gerœtet
 von bluote wurden alle,
 sô lepte in frôuden schalle
 Schÿron, sîn meister, alzehant."
 "enphienc er danne die verlust,
 daz im zerkratzt wart diu hût,
 sô wart er liep und alsô trât
 dem meister sîn Schÿrone."

¹ In this instance the statement in the *Achill.*, II, 121-3:

"numquam ille imbelles Ossaea per avia damas
 sectari, aut timidas passus me cuspide lyncas
 sternere,"

furnishes a closer analogue to the passage in Gower, than the German text. But this is only because for once Konrad has not followed his French original so closely as the English poet.

² *Achill.*, II, 124-5:

"et sicubi maxima tigris
 aut seducta iugis fetæ spelunca leanae."

³ *Achill.*, II, 126-7:

"ipse sedens vasto facta expectabat in antro,
 si sparsus nigro remearem sanguine."

2005-2013.

6360-3, 6468-71.

"And thus of that Chiro him tawhte
 Achilles such an herte cawhte,
 That he nomore a Leon dradde,
 Whan he his Dart on honde hadde,
 Thanne if a Leon were an asse;
 And that hath mad him forto passe
 Alle othre knihtes of his dede,
 Whan it cam to the grete nede,
 As it was afterward wel knowe."

"ez wirt an sinem werke schin,
 daz niendert lebet sin gelich.
 ez war nie knabe sô tugentrich,
 noch also ellenthaft geborn."
 "Achilles wart dar ûf bereit,
 daz er daz beste gerne tet.
 er schuof in dirre waltstet
 vil wunderlicher ding alsus."

But it is in the episode of Achilles's life at the court of Lycomedes and his discovery by Ulysses, that Gower's indebtedness to another source than Statius is most apparent. Condensed as Gower's narration is, it resembles the German poem when it differs in treatment from the *Achilleis*, and a comparison of passages in the poem of Konrad and the English poet shows a similarity in details, which are fuller than in the Latin poem. At the outset of Gower's story the statement :

"The goddesse of the See Thetis," (*C. A.*, v, 2961),

was taken from the same source as his account elsewhere (*C. A.*, v, 1330 ff.) of some of the pagan deities, and Konrad furnishes us with an exact parallel (838, 846; cf. 1070, 14012):

"si was geheizen Thêtis"

"si was ein mergötinne."

When Gower continues with :

"Sche hadde a Sone, and his name is
 Achilles, whom to kepe and warde
 Whil he was yong, as into warde
 Sche thoghte him salfly to betake,
 As sche which dradde for his sake
 Of that was seid in prophecie,
 That he at Troie scholde die,
 Whan that the Cite was belein.
 Forthi, so as the bokes sein,

Sche caste hire wit in sondri wise,
 How sche him mihte so disguise
 That noman scholde his body knowe," (2962-2973),

he is evidently following a passage in his original, of which Konrad, after a usage common with him, has made double use, in two different parts of his poem :

5796-5817.

"geheizent wart Achilles
 der junge h chgeborne knabe.
 als ich d  vor gesprochen habe
 und  rst mit rede ergr ndet,
 s  was von im gek ndet,
 von Pr the , dem wissagen,
 daz er ze Troye w rde erslagen
 und daz er d  gel ge t t.
 diu selbe clegelichiu n t
 der muoter s n vil n he lac.
 ze herzen gienc ir unde wac
 diz leit v r alle sw re,
 daz man ir seite m ere,
 daz er vor Troye st rbe.
 daz er d  niht verd rbe,
 daz h ete gerne si bewart.
 die frouwe r ch von h her art
 begunde in allen enden
 dar  f ir sinne wenden,
 daz er ze Troye k me niht
 und er die veigen ungeschilt
 k nd eteswie gefliehen."

13402-15, 13440-59, 13469-74.¹

"und d  diu vrouwe Th tis
 gar endelichen daz ervant,
 daz sich der k nig Priant
 ze Troye het gal zen nider
 und er si wolte machen wider
 mit kreften unde mit gewalt,
 d  wart ir angst manicwalt
 umbe ir sun Achillesen.
 si d hte, daz er niht genesen
 m hte langer bi den tagen.
 daz er ze Troye w rde erslagen,
 daz hete man ir vor geseit :
 d  von si tr ren unde leit
 sl z aber in ir herze d ."
 "ich sol beh eten und bewarn
 daz er niht kom ze str te
 v r Troye in s ner z te
 und der d  werde niht erslagen.
 sit daz ich von dem wissagen
 des schaden s n gewarnet bin,
 durch waz solt ich in denne hin
 l n k men zuo der veste?
 mir ist daz allerbeste,
 daz ich n ch im k r unde var
 und ich in tougen eteswar
 tuo den liuten ab dem wege.

¹ Konrad relates the appearance of Proteus at the wedding feast of Peleus and Thetis and his prophecy (4496-4616), to which he alludes elsewhere (5773 ff.). In the Galician version of the *Cr nica Trojana* there is a chapter in which the story is told "C mo obispo proteo diso aadeesa tetis c mo avia de morrer Achilles  na  erca de troyax" and in this it is stated that Achilles's fate Thetis "soubo por rresposta de sens  dols et por aquella dier a obispo proteo" (*Cr nica Trojana*, Coru a, 1901, vol. II, pp. 285, 286).

ich nim in uz Schÿrônes pflege
 und füere in ûz der wilde
 sîn wunneclichez bilde
 daz wil ich von dem lande steln
 und allen Kriechen vor verheltn,
 wâ der hûchgeborne sî.
 si müezent sîn hie werden vri,
 wan ich verbirge in wol vor in."
 "sol ich in füeren tougen
 den Kriechen ab den ougen,
 die stner helfe wellent gern.
 si müezent sîn vor Troye enbern,
 sît daz mir ist von im geseit,
 daz er dâ werde tût geleit."

Again Gower and Konrad in their lines :

C. A., v, 2974-9.

"And so befell that ilke throwe,
 Whil that sche thoughte upon this
 dede,
 Ther was a king, which Lichomede
 Was hote, and he was wel begon
 With faire dowhtres manyon,
 And duelte fer out in an yle,"

Konrad, 13886-97.

"seht, dô gedâhtes' an ein lant
 des ein vil werder künic wielt,
 der hûs mit êren drinne hielt
 und sîn gewalteclichen pfæc.
 ez waz ein insel unde lac
 in dem mer tief unde naz.
 sîn herre, der dar inne saz,
 der lebte in hôher wirde gar.
 von megden hete er eine schar,
 die sine tochter wâren
 und alle kunden vâren
 riliches lobes in ir jugent,"

follow a more detailed text than the lines in the *Achilleis*:

"inbelli nuper Lycomedis ab aula
 virgineos coetus et litora persona ludo
 audierat." (I, 207-9).

At this point in his process of abridging the story in his original, Gower makes statements for which there are no analogues in the poems of either Statius or Konrad. In the narratives of both these writers is told at length Thetis's conveyance of her son to Scyros, her proposal that he should dress as a maid to escape the peril that threatens him, his indignant refusal and subsequent change of mind after seeing

Deidamia. It is only then that he accedes to his mother's prayers, and receives her instructions in regard to his behavior. In Gower, on the other hand, we find that Achilles puts on the disguise without protest,¹ and without knowing the occasion, and only after he is dressed and tutored :

"thanne his moder to him tolde,
That sche him hadde so begon
Be cause that she thoghte gon
To Lichomede at thilke tyde,
Wher that sche seide he scholde abyde
Among hise dowhtres forto duelle," (3022-7),

which is the same in substance as Thetis's reflections in Konrad's narrative :

"Si dâhte alsô, 'gefûer ich in
in einer megde bilde dar
und wirt er in der frouwen schar
getûschet und verborgen,
so endarf ich des niht sorgen
.
daz er dâ hofgesinde wirt
und daz im zuht und ère birt
der kônig Lycomedes." (13962-71).

Gower's version of the story of the disguising of Achilles and his arrival and life at the court of Lycomedes, is so abridged that a comparison of parallel passages is not possible except that in the lines :

"And thus, after the bokes sein,
With frette of Perle upon his hed," (3014-5),

there is a suggestion of the original of Konrad's lines :

"sîn hâr daz wart gevlohten
und ein borte drûf geleit,
gezieret wol nâch rîcheit
mit gimmen und mit golde," (14945-9),

¹ Cf. the Galician version, *Crón. Troj.*, vol. II, p. 285 : "Ca nō queria achilles taes vestidos tomar. pero tomoos por fazer mandado asna madre."

rather than of the Latin verses, which could easily be misunderstood by a mediæval writer :

"et in pexos certo domat ordine crines
ac sua dilecta cervice monilia transfert." (*Achill.*, I, 328-9).

But the English poet's account of the trick of Ulysses to discover Achilles is fuller and its resemblance to Konrad's narrative is most striking. First of all, in Gower's account, as in the narrative of Konrad,¹ the search for Achilles is made only after the first battles of Troy have taken place :

"For it befell that ilke throwe
At Troie, wher the Siege lay
Upon the cause of Menelay,
And of his queene dame Heleine.
The Gregois hadden mochel peine
Alday to fihte and to assaile.
Bot for thei mihten noght availe
So noble a Cite forto winne,
A prive conseil thei beginne." (3070-8).

In the *Achilleis* on the other hand it is at Aulis that the Greeks decide to send for Achilles (*Achill.*, I, 447 ff.). But while in Gower's narrative Proteus is called on to reveal :

"Hou thei the Cite mihte get," (3087),

and he answers them by stating :

"Bot if thei hadden Achilles
Here werre schal ben endeles.
And over that he tolde hem plein
In what manere he was besein,
And in what place he schal be founde," (3093-7),²

¹ As also in the *Seege of Troye*, cf. Granz, pp. 76-8; Wager, p. lxxviii; Enikel, 14491-14505, 15070 ff.; *Cod. riccard.*, 881 (Gorra, pp. 242-3).

² Cf. Enikel's *Chronik*, 14511-15, 14519-22 (cf. 15083-94) :

"dû maht mit dînen sinnen
Troyen niht gewinnen,
du gewinnest dan einen man
den ich wol nennen kan,
der ist Achilles genant."

"er sprach : 'er ist verborgen
under juncfroun mit sorgen
und treit an der frouwen kleit;
ungefuog ist im leit.'"

in the accounts of Statius and Konrad the Greek assembly remember that the aid of Achilles is necessary for the capture of Troy and only call on Calchas to reveal his hiding place (*Achill.*, I, 473 ff.; Konrad, 27074 ff.).

In the same way that he has substituted Proteus for Calchas, Gower has taken suggestions of the description of his accomplishments from the same place in the original as the account of his prophecy at the wedding of Thetis.¹ Gower's few lines :

"That Protheus of his record
Which was an Astronomien
And ek a gret Magicien,
Scholde of his calculacion
Seche after constellacion
Hou thei the Cite mihten gete :
And he, which hadde noght foryete
Of that belongeth to a clerk,
His studie sette upon this werk." (3082-91).

have a close resemblance to Konrad's more explicit statement :

"den louf und den gestirne
bekande der prophète
waz iegelich planète
bezeichnenunge brâhte
wisliche er daz bedâhte
und was ûf ez versunnen.
er hete kunst gewunnen
mit rîcher sinne lône."

¹ And not from Ovid, *Metam.*, XI, 221 ff., as suggested by Macaulay, *Works of Gower*, vol. III, pp. 496-7. Gower's reference to the power of Proteus to change his shape seems to be taken from the *Roman de la Rose*. Cf. :

"And thanne I wisshe that I were
Als wys as was Nectabanus
Or elles as was Protheüs,
That couthen bothe of nigromaunce
In what liknesse, in what sem-
blauce,
Riht as hem liste, hemself trans-
forme." (*C. A.*, v, 6670-5).

"Car Prothéus, qui se soloit
Muer en tout quanqu'il voloit."
(*R. de la R.*, 11951-2).

"swaz ieman schaffen solte
von wunderlichen sachen,
daz kunde er wol gemachen
mit zouber ûf der erden." (4504-11, 4518-21).

While both Konrad and Gower describe in detail the arrangements of Ulysses to entrap Achilles :

3102-13.
"Bot Ulixes er he forth wente,
Which was on of the moste wise,
Ordeigned hath in such a wise,
That he the moste riche aray,
Wherof a woman mai be gay,
With him hath take manyfold,
And overmore, as it is told
An harneis for a lusty kniht,
Which burned was as Selver bryht,
Of sword, of plate and eke of maile,
As thogh he scholde to bataille,
He tok also with him be Schipe."

27476-9, 27482-3, 27502-11.
"und war vil krâmes drin geleit
als ez gebôt Ulixes,
wan er bedürfen wolte des
ân alles krieges widersaz."
"swaz wibes ougen wol geviel
daz alles wart geleit dar in"
"ouch wizzent, daz der helt gewan
daz dinc, des man ze strîte gert.
halsperge und ûz erweltiu swert,
helm unde liehte schilte
hat im der künic milte
dô tragen zuo dem schiffe.
man seit, daz umbegriffe
sîn kiel vil maniger hande dinc,
des wol ein frecher jungelinc
bedürfen mac ze kampfes wer,"

there is merely a suggestion of this narrative in the question of Diomedes to Ulysses :

"quid inbelles thyrsos mercatus et aera
urbibus in mediis Baccheaque terga mitrasque
huc tuleris varioque asperas nebridas auro?"

(*Achill.*, I, 714-716),

and in the reply of Ulysses :

"tu cuncta citus de puppe memento
ferre, ubi tempus erit, clipeumque his jungere donis,
qui pulcher signis auroque asperrimus ; hasta
haec sat erit." (721-4).

Gower's and Konrad's descriptions of the revels at the sacred festival :

3137-6.

"It fell that time in such a wise,
To Bachus that a sacrificise

28184-99.

"vil manic herze ervrôuwet
wart von gesange drinne.

Thes yonge ladys scholden make;¹
 And for the strange mennes sake,
 That comen fro the Siege of Troie,
 Thei maden wel the more joie.²
 Ther was Revel, ther was dauns-
 inge,
 And every lif that coude singe
 Of lusti wommen in the route
 A freissh carole hath sunge aboute."

nû daz man die götinne
 mit opfer hete gëret,
 dô wart dar ûz gekêret
 von der clâren megede schar,
 die sam ein sunne lihtgevar
 dâ gâben lûterbâren glanz
 dâ wart ein wunneclicher tanz.
 von in gemachet bi der zît,
 der nâch dem wunscheenwiderstrit
 wart dô gesprungen und getreten,
 wan si gebærde ein wunder heten,
 diu wol ze tanze hôrte
 und ûz dem herzen stôrte
 beswærde manger leige."

resemble each other, with no similarity to the description in the Latin poem, which is full of allusions that could not be understood by a mediæval writer (*Achill.*, I, 827-34). But while in the Latin and German poems the Greek envoys recognize Achilles beyond a doubt,³ by his unwomanly ways

¹ Cf. *Achill.*, I, 812-13 :

"quid si aut Bacchea ferentes
 "orgia Palladias aut circum videris aras?"

Konrad 28055 has only "Pallus."

² Cf. *Achill.*, I, 821-3 :

"nec minus egressae thalamo Scyreides ibant
 ostentare choros promissaque sacra verendis
 hospitibus."

³ And also in the *Seege of Troye*, 1082-1090 (cf. Granz, pp. 83-4, Wager, lxx) :

"Achelles was long and grete withall, Brode brest and stough vysage Long body and shuldurs large ; Alle the knyghtis that there was	Behelden euermore on Achelles, How he was so stowght and grymm, And inwardly behylden him, And seyde it was neuer woman, So large of shappe, body, ne bone
---	--

But the Galician *Crónica Trojano* resembles Gower's statement : "et nō poderō cōnoscer achilles porque estaua vestido cōmo as outras donzelas et el s̄ya outre elas" (vol. II, p. 286).

while dancing, Gower states :

“Bot for al this yit netheles
The Greks unkowe of Achilles
So weren, that in no degre
Thei couden wite which was he,
Ne be his vois, ne be his pas.” (3147-51).

But then what follows in Gower is very similar, though not told in such detail as in Konrad :

3152-6.

“Ulixes thanne upon this cas
A thing of hih Prudence hath
wrought :
For thilke aray, which he hath
brought
To yive among the wommen there,
He let do fetten al the gere.”

3160-1.

“And every thing in his degre
Hedlong upon a board he leide.”¹

3156-9.

“He let do fetten al the gere
Forth with a knihtes harneis,
In al a contre forto seke
Men scholden noght a fairer se.”

28270-85.

“dar under hete Ulixes
nâch sîme krâme dô gesant,
den er gefüeret in daz lant
des mâles hete durch gewin.
er was von sinem knehten hin
ûz dem kiele dô getragen
und ûf den schoenen wec geslagen,
den die juncvrouwen solten gân.
die stolzen megede wol getân
die funden ûf der strâze
kleinœtes eine unmâze,
des man ze wîbes werke darf.
man leite in ouch für unde warf
geziuges vil, des ritter gerent
und sin vil kûme denne enberent,
sô si ze strite wellent varn.”

28302-21.

“dâ bî lac allez, des ein man
bedarf ze ritterschefte wol.
swaz man ze strîte füeren sol,
des wart man schône dâ gewert.
dâ lâgen halsperg unde swert,
schoz, helme, schilte, lanzen ;
diz allez was mit glanzen
gezierden in den krâm geleit.
dâ lac diu grœste rîcheit,

¹ Cf. *Achill.*, I, 842-3 :

“in mediae iamdudum sedibus aulae
munera virgineos visus tractura locarat.”

3162-7.

“To Lichomede and thanne he preide
That every ladi chese schole
What thing of alle that sche wolde,
And take it as be weie of yifte :
For henself it scholde schifte,
He seide, after here oghne wille.”¹

diu von koufschatze ie wart gesehen
man lie die vrouwen alle spehen,
swes man bedürfen solte.
swaz iegeltichiu wolte,
nâch wunschte man si werte des,
wan ez gap in Ulixes
ân allen kouf, des bin ich wer.
‘ir vrouwen,’ sprach er, ‘ilent her
und nement, waz iu wol behage !
ich wil, daz man ez hinnen trage
vil gar ân alles koufes gelt.’”

There can be no doubt of a common source more detailed than the Latin poem, of the description of Achilles's actions in the narratives of Gower and Konrad :

3168-73.

“Achilles thanne stod noght stille :
Whan he the bryghte helm behield,
The swerd, the hauberk, and the
schild
His herte fell therto anon ;
Of all that othre wolde he non.”²

28342-59.

“und dô der helt Achilles
ân aller missewende râm
was ouch getreten in den krâm
und des gesmides inne wart,
daz wol nâch ritterlicher art
erziuget was ze rehte
dô wart dem kuenen knehte
zuo dem gewæfen alsô nôt,
daz er dar an sîn ougen bôt
und sînes herzen willen.
man sach den helt Achillen
an daz gesmîde luogen dar.
des dinges nam er kleine war,
des von den vrouwen wart gegert ;
halsperge, lanzen unde swert,
helm unde liechte schilte
besach der knappe milte
mit flizelichen ougen.”

¹ Cf. *Achill.*, I, 843-5 :

“munera . . . signum hospitii pretiumque laboris :
Hortaturque legant, nec rex placidissimus arcet.”

² At this point the *Seege of Troye* does not follow its original as closely as Konrad and Gower, but cf. 1111-2 :

“Achilles beheld aryght
The fayre armur that was so bryght.”

3174-5.

"And thilke aray which that be-
longeth
Unto wommen he forsok."

3173.

"The knihtes gere he underfongeth."

3181-2.

"He armeth him in knyhtli wise,
That better can noman devise."

28545-7.

"daz er begunde sâ zehant
mit frechen henden sîn gewant
zerbrechen und zerschrenzen."

28554-9.

"er kripfte halsperc unde hosen,
dô so dâ lügen bî der zît,
und leite an sich diu bēdiu stt,
als eime helde wol gezam.
dar zuo begreif er unde nam
ein swert und einen glanzen schilt."

In his haste to point the moral, Gower has so abridged his original that the citation of parallel passages is not possible. But some of the concluding lines of Gower's narrative suggest as its source a specific account found in *Der Trojanische Krieg*, for which there is no analogue in the poem of Statius:¹

3192-5, 3199.

"For in Cronique is write yit
Thing which schal nevere be for-
yete,
Hou that Achilles hath begete
Pirrus upon Deidamie.
Bot that was nothing sene tho."

28652-65.

"diu hōchgeborne reine
clâr unde wol gesunnen
het einen sun gewonnen
bî dem juncherren in den tagen,
und alsô tougen den getragen,
daz ir geburt dâ was verholen.
daz kint den liuten wart verstolen
sô gar verborgenliche vor,
daz ûf ir zweiger minne spor
nieman von sînen schulden kam
und ez der künic niht vernam,
daz si geworben hete sus.
daz kindelîn wart Pirrus
genant, als ich gelesen habe."

The "Cronique" which Gower cites as an authority in these lines, he has already mentioned as the source of the story:

"In a Cronique write I finde."

Sometimes when Gower refers to "a Chronique" as an

¹ Cf. the allusions in *Achill.*, I, 671-4, 908-9; II, 24.

authority, his source is unquestionably the *Roman de Troie*, such as it appears in Joly's edition, or the *Historia Trojana*, which are also referred to as the "boke of Troie" and "the tale of Troie."¹

Having shown that these episodes in Gower's and Konrad's works had a common source, which differed in detail from the poem of Statius, it may be well to note that all the chances are against the possibility that Gower had a first hand acquaintance with the *Achilleis*. It was a rare book in English mediæval libraries;² very few are the references to it in the Latin works of writers of the scholastic period,³ and I know of only two allusions to it in Middle English literature.⁴ Gower does not even show an acquaintance with the *Thebais*, which was very widely read and used by other contemporary writers. His reference to Capaneus⁵ as a type of impiety was probably taken from a collection of *exempla*, as there is nowhere in his works mention of any other of the characters of the Latin epic.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

¹ Cf. Hamilton, *Chaucer's Indebtedness*, p. 148, n.; cf. p. 97, n.

² Manitiu, *Philologus*, LII, pp. 538-9; *Rheinisches Museum*, XLVII, Ergänzungsh., p. 63.

³ Manitiu, *Philol.*, LII, p. 544; W. Greif, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, p. 140. There is a probable allusion to the *Achilleis* in John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*, I, 4, which has escaped the attention of Manitiu.

⁴ *Laud Troy Book*, ed. E. Wüffing, 4139 ff., cf. *Engl. Stud.* XXIX, p. 380; J. Skelton, *Garlande of Laurell*, 337.

⁵ *C. A.*, I, 1980.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Modern Language Association of America

1905.

VOL. XX, 2.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XIII, 2.

IV.—“TO BITE THE DUST” AND SYMBOLICAL LAY COMMUNION.

The Spanish scholar, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, who has of late been engaged in the work of resurrecting Spanish epic matter of the Middle Ages, has several times called attention to a curious form of lay communion recorded in certain traditions examined by him. Thus, in the tragic account of the seven Infantes of Lara which we find in the chronicle called the *Estoria de los Godos*, it is stated that the seven brothers, before beginning their last sad battle, “gave communion and confessed all their sins, one to another” (*comulgaron e confesaron todos sus pecados unos á otros*). On this passage Menéndez Pidal comments as follows (*Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896, p. 36): “This sort of priestly function, which, in default of clergy, relatives exercised one for another, was a very orthodox doctrine for the minstrels (*juglares*), and it even existed as a real custom during the Middle Ages.”¹ He cites the noted instance in

¹ “Esta especie de sacerdocio que ejercían entre sí los parientes á falta de clérigos, era doctrina muy ortodoxa para los juglares; y aun existía realmente en las costumbres durante la Edad Media.”

the chanson de geste *Aliscans*, according to which Count William not only heard the confession of his dying nephew, Vivian, but also gave him by way of communion some "*pain benoît*," which the Count is said to have brought with him in his scrip (vv. 826 ff.). For other Old French examples of this lay administration of the most august of sacraments, Menéndez Pidal refers to Leon Gautier, *La chevalerie* (Paris, 1890, pp. 44 ff.), where, in fact, no few are mentioned, in all of which, however, the species of the communion is symbolical, being either grass or leaves.

Menéndez thinks that the symbolical form of communion is likewise present in a passage of the Spanish *Crónica general* (ed. Ocampo, f. 392d), which narrates that a certain alcaide of Aguilar fell to the ground about to die, "but that he first took communion of earth and commended his soul to God" (*pero que comulgo ante de la tierra e encomendose su alma a Dios*). Returning to the subject in his investigation of another Old Spanish legend, that of the Abbot Don Juan of Montemayor (*La leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor*, Dresden, 1903, p. xxvi), Menéndez sees a veiled allusion to the symbolical practice in a description in the 1562 chapbook of a sally made by the besieged followers of the Abbot upon their Moorish enemies. Before issuing from their tower, the Christians, says the chapbook (*Leyenda del Abad*, etc., p. 47, ll. 11 ff.), "gave peace one to another and gave communion and pardon one to another, in order that God might pardon them" (*diéronse paz los unos a los otros y comulgaron y perdonaronse los unos a los otros, porque Dios perdonasse a ellos*). Menéndez is probably right in supposing that the reference here and in the passage of the *Estoria de los Godos* is to communion by earth, although the fact is not explicitly stated, as it is in the case of the alcaide of Aguilar. Another Old Spanish document, the *Poema de Alfonso XI* (cf. the uncritical edition in the *Biblio-*

teca de autores españoles, vol. 57) has the particular practice clearly set forth. It describes the advance of a Christian army toward the mountains where it is to engage a Saracen force, and states that before the conflict the Christians took communion of earth.

Stz. 1546. Yuanse contra la sierra. . . .

1547. E pues que se llegauan,
Ponían su avenençia,
En las bocas se besauan,
En sennal de penitencia.

1548. Salve Rexina yuan rresando,
Ricos omnes e infançones,
De la tierra comulgando,
Caualleros e peones.

1549. Arçobispos e frades
Dauan muy grandes perdonés,
E obispos e abades,
Todos fasían oraçiones.

What is truly remarkable in this case is—as Menéndez points out—the fact that the communion of earth is practised even though there are archbishops, bishops, abbots and friars in the army.

While earth is the matter of the communion mentioned in at least two early Spanish documents, grass figures in one important work, the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* (*Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 44, p. 302), which belongs to the 14th century, if not to the latter part of the 13th. But the *Gran Conquista* is indebted for most of its material to French and Provençal sources,¹ and the use of grass in

¹ Cf. G. Paris, *La Chanson d'Antioche provençale et la Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, in the *Romania*, xvii, 513; xix, 562; xxii, 345: G. Baist, *Spanische Literatur* in Groeber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, Abt. 2, p. 415: E. Gorra, *Lingua e letteratura spagnuola* (Milan, 1898), p. 311. The whole episode in the *Gran Conquista* parallels closely one in the Old French poem, *Les Chétifs*, which, like the *Gran Conquista*, is concerned with the Crusades and the story of the Knight of the Swan; cf. L. Gautier, *Bibliographie des chansons de geste* (Paris, 1897), pp. 76-77.

the incident in question is doubtless due to those sources. Chapter CCXXXVI of the *Gran Conquista* is concerned with a duel between the knight Ricarte de Caumonte and the Turk Sorgales de Valgris, in which the Christian prevails over his antagonist. The latter abjures the religion of Mahomet, and makes a confession of faith in the God of Christians, whereupon Ricarte baptizes him and gives him communion of a piece of grass, which he breaks into three pieces, just as the priest does the consecrated host on the altar. After this ceremony, the Christian knight, weeping bitterly, cuts off the Turk's head at the latter's request. As the passage is decidedly of interest in that it gives a reason for the administration of *three* pieces of grass, it may be quoted here. "Estonces Ricarte tomó el yelmo, que yacia en el campo, é fuése para el rio, que era muy cerca, é trájolo lleno de agua, é bendíjolo de parte de Dios é santiguólo, é echólo á Sorgales por somo de la cabeza, é despues tomó una hoja de yerba e santiguóla, e hizola tres partes, como los clérigos hacen la hostia sobre el altar cuando consagran el cuerpo de Dios, e dióla al turco, é comióla en razon de comunion, como hace el clérigo el cuerpo de Dios en la misa, é todo esto hacia Sorgales con buena voluntad é con buena fe; é despues que la pasó, dijo á Ricarte que le cortase la cabeza con la espada, ca no queria jamás vivir en este mundo un dia cumplido por cuanto habia en él," etc.

Now, this symbolical form of communion, with its assumption of sacerdotal powers on the part of laymen, when no clergyman could administer the real sacrament or otherwise officiate, was certainly, as Menéndez Pidal states, a mediaeval custom, and it must have enjoyed considerable vogue, if we may judge by the evidence afforded by other literatures, especially by French, German, and Italian.

Nearly sixty years ago, W. Wackernagel, in a brief article published in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, VI (1848),

288-9, under the caption *Erde der Leib Christi*, listed instances of the custom as he found it recorded for French literature in the *Roman de Roncevaux*, for German literature in the *Meier Helmbrecht*, the *Eckenlied*, the *Rabenschlacht*, the *Wolfdietrich*, and the *Frauendienst*, and for Italian literature in one of the tales in the *Pecorone*. It was Wackernagel's idea that this custom, thus made clear for so large a part of Europe, was a survival of an old pagan belief that the Earth was made from the body of a giant god, a belief which was now brought into relations with the Christian doctrine of the Eucharist. Having stated this theory, he put the query: "Are the expressions *mordre la poudre* or *la poussière* and *ins Gras beissen*, both of which denote a violent death, to be referred to this Christianized pagan custom?"¹ The French and German expressions quoted by Wackernagel are, of course, equivalent in force to the English saying, *to bite the dust* (ground).

Some seven or eight years after the appearance of Wackernagel's article, his views were echoed by E. L. Rochholz in the latter's *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau* (Aargau, 1856, vol. II, p. xlviii). "For the pagan," said Rochholz, "the Earth was created from the flesh of a primordial divine being; it was the body of God, and the pagan, when threatened by imminent death in battle or by murder, ate bits of earth that he had picked up: herein is the origin of the expression *die Erde küssen*, *ins Gras beissen*, *mordre la poudre*, *la poussière*."²

¹ "Sind die redensarten *mordre la poudre* oder *la poussière* und *ins gras beissen*, die beide einen gewaltsamen tod bezeichnen, auf diese heidnisch-christliche sitte zurückzuführen?" For this and some other references I am under obligations to Professor G. L. Kittredge.

² "Dem Heiden ist die Erde aus dem Fleische eines göttlichen Urwesens geschaffen, der Leib Gottes, er asz sogar die aufgegriffenen Erdbrosamen, wenn ihm durch Kampf oder Mord schnelles Sterben drohte; daher stammt der Ausdruck *die Erde küssen*, *ins Gras beissen*, *mordre la poudre*, *la poussière*."

Wackernagel's theory drew the attention also of J. W. Wolf, who took it up in his *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, II, 396. Predicating the mythological importance of the Earth, Wolf says: "As the Earth was supposed to be the flesh of the divine primordial giant, it was necessarily holy, and we find almost the same beliefs attached to it as to the other three elements."¹ He cites Wackernagel's instances as showing the esteem of sanctity in which the Earth was held, but to the query whether the expressions "*mordre la poudre*," etc., may not refer to the Christianized pagan belief he responds: "Possibly so; but they may also refer to the convulsive opening and shutting of the mouth with which we meet in dying persons, and which we note particularly on the battlefield in the death agony of men expiring as the result of severe wounds."²

With this last view of Wolf's, I. V. Zingerle agreed in an article entitled "*Ins Gras beißen*" (*Germania*, IV (1859), III-3). To his mind *ins Gras beißen*, *mordre la poudre*, etc., "have nothing to do with the Christianized pagan custom of the Middle Ages, but signify the convulsive catching with the mouth at the clod of earth or grass, as happens with dying men on the battlefield. Both the thing and its signification," he continues, "we find in the ancient classics."³

¹ "Da die erde als das fleisch des göttlichen urriesen galt . . . , musste sie heilig sein und wir finden fast dieselben glauben an sie geknüpft, wie an die andern drei elemente."

² "Das wäre möglich, es könnte aber auf das krampfhaftes öffnen und schliessen des mundes gehn, welches wir oft bei sterbenden finden, namentlich aber auf dem schlachtfeld im todeskampf der an schweren wunden verscheidenden antreffen."

³ "Die obenerwähnten Ausdrücke haben auf den heidnisch-christlichen Gebrauch des Mittelalters keinen Bezug, sondern bezeichnen das krampfhaftes Erfassen der Scholle oder des Grases mit dem Munde, wie es bei Sterbenden auf dem Schlachtfelde vorkommt. Die Sache und ihre Bezeichnung finden wir schon bei den alten Classikern."

Zingerle proceeds to enumerate Greek and Latin examples of the same sayings. Thus he mentions :

Iliad, II, 418.

ὁδὰξ λαζολατο γαῖαν

XI, 749 ; XIX, 61 ; XXIV, 737.

ὁδὰξ ἔλον οὔδας

XXII, 16.

γαῖαν ὁδὰξ εἶλον

Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1423.

γαῖαν ὁδὰξ ἐλόντες

Vergil, *Aeneid*, XI, 418.

Procubuit moriens, et humum semel ore momordit.

Ovid, *Mela.*, IX, 60.

Tum denique tellus

Pressa genu nostro est ; et arenas ore momordi.

The situation as now outlined throws into relief two opposing views : the one, that the undoubted mediæval custom of taking earth (or grass or leaves) as a symbolical species of communion was a survival of a pagan tradition and that the sayings “mordre la poudre (poussière),” “ins Gras beissen,” etc., are related thereto ; the other, that the mediæval custom is in no way connected with these sayings, which, in point of fact, merely describe the death agonies of a man and are easily paralleled by Greek and Latin expressions denoting the same thing. As the result of our examination, the second of these views must seem the more plausible. At the same time, it is probably true that the sayings, both ancient and modern, are more metaphorical than realistic in their bearing.¹

¹ That is, the ancient sayings started as descriptive of a real situation, and then developed the purely metaphorical sense. Cf. J. H. J. Koeppen, *Erklärende Anmerkungen zu Homers Ilias* (Hannover, 1820), gloss to *Il.* II, 418 :—“ὁδὰξ λαζολατο γαῖαν, dasz sie die Erde mit den Zähnen ergreifen beissen möchten. Die Alten fochten zwar mit gewaltiger Muth, dasz sie aber beim Niederstürzen in die Erde beissen, kommt nicht davon allein : es war natürlich. So beiszt einer in die Lanze, *Ilias*, v, 75. Es gleicht unserm ins Gras beissen. In Homer ist diese alte Sprache schon zur poetischen geworden,” etc.

Abandoning for the moment our discussion of the sayings, whose history, it may be admitted, is not a little obscure, let us confine our attention to some known records of the mediæval custom. We have seen that, apart from the borrowed instance in the *Gran Conquista*, the Spanish custom consisted in partaking of earth. This is true of the German and Italian cases, too, but, on the other hand, the many French cases speak only of the eating of grass or leaves, except in the very surprising instance in the *chanson de geste Aliscans*. According to the poet of the *Aliscans*, Count William arrives on the battlefield and finds his nephew Vivian lying there apparently dead. The boy revives, however, and there ensues the scene of his confession and communion described in these verses of the Guessard and Montaiglon edition (*Anciens poètes de la France*, Paris, 1870, pp. 25 ff.):

“Niés, dist Guillaumes, dites moi verité
 Se tu avois pain benoît usé
 Au diemence, ke prestres eust sacré?”
 Dist Vivien : “Je n'en ai pas gosté.” . . .
 A s' amosniere mist Guillaumes sa main,
 Si en traist fors de son benoît pain
 Ki fu sainés sor l'autel Saint Germain.
 Or dist Guillaumes : “Or te fai bien certain
 De tes pecchiés vrai confès aparmain.
 Je suis tes oncles, n'as ore plus prochain,
 Fors Damedieu, le [vrai souverain] ;
 En lieu de Dieu serai ton capelain,
 A cest bautesme vuel estre ton parin,
 Plus vos serai ke oncles ne germain.”
 Dist Vivien : “Sire, molt ai grant fain
 Ke vos mon cief tenés dalés [vo] sain,
 En l'onour Dieu me donés de cest pain,
 Puis [me] morrai ore endroit aparmain.” . . .
 Dont se commence l'enfes à confesser ;
 Tot li gehi, n'i laissa ke conter . . .
 “Niés, dist Guillaumes, ne vous estuet douter.”
 A icest mot li fait le pain user,
 En l'onour Dieu en son cors avaler . . .

L'ame s'en va, n'i puet plus demorer.
En paradis le fist Diex hosteler,
Aveuc ses angles entrer et abiter.¹

The *Aliscans* incident is extraordinary, if, as is thought by Gautier,² the *pain benoit* administered by William was

¹ Cf. also *Aliscans mit Berücksichtigung von Wolframs von Eschenbach Willehalm*, kritisch herausgegeben von G. Rolin (Leipzig, 1894, vv. 839 ff.).

² Cf. Gautier, *La chevalerie*, p. 807, s. v. Communion. "Dans le fascicule ix de ses *Études d'histoire et de bibliographie*, Mgr. Haighneré conteste le sens que nous avons attribué au 'benoit pain—Ki fu saines sur l'autel saint Germain,' et avec lequel le comte Guillaume, sur le champ de bataille d'Aliscans, fait faire la première communion à son neveu Vivien. [Cf. Gautier's earlier pronouncement on this subject in his edition of the *Chanson de Roland*, note to verse 2023: "Dans *Aliscans* la communion de Vivien est réellement sacramentelle; Guillaume, par un étonnant privilège, a emporté avec lui une hostie consacrée, et c'est avec cette hostie qu'il console et divinise les derniers instants de son neveu."'] Il s'agissait, suivant nous, d'une communion vraiment eucharistique: mais Mgr. Haighneré n'est pas de cet avis: 'Ce que Guillaume, dit-il, tire de son aumônière et dépose sur les lèvres de Vivien déjà blanchies par la mort, c'est tout simplement, comme le trouvère le nomme à deux reprises, du pain bénit.' Nous avons d'abord estimé qu'il y avait de graves présomptions en faveur de la thèse de Mgr. Haighneré; mais deux textes, l'un du *Covenans Vivien*, l'autre d'*Aliscans*, semblent nous donner décidément raison. Dans le *Covenans*, Vivien lui-même s'écrie au moment d'entrer dans la bataille: 'Mes à Deu pri le Pere tot puissant—Que de cest siecle ne soie deviant—Q' aie parlé à Guillaume le franc,—De l' *saint cors Deu* soie communiant' (v. 1565–68). Même précision dans *Aliscans*, et cela dans le récit du même épisode. Quand Guillaume trouve Vivien mort, il s'écrie: 'Las! que ne ving tant com il fu vivant.—De l'pain que j'ai fu acomenianz,—De l'*verai cors Damledeu* par covant.' (*Aliscans*, v. 804–806).—Il convient d'observer qu'alors même qu'il s'agirait seulement de pain bénit, l'acte de Vivien pourrait, sans trop d'inexactitude, être appelé une première communion. Les eulogies ou le pain bénit étaient entourées par nos pères d'un respect aussi grand que l'eucharistie elle-même, et 'l'on exigeait pour les recevoir une disposition à peu près analogue à celle qui est nécessaire pour s'approcher de la sainte communion' (*Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la théologie catholique* de Wetzer et Welte, art. *Eulogies*)."

To a friend, the Rev. C. F. Aiken of the Catholic University of Washington, I am indebted for the following additional information. "The passage in *Aliscans* has doubtless reference to the ancient practice of administering holy communion by pious laymen. In early times they were allowed to

really the sacred Host of the eucharistic sacrament. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that it was nothing more than a eulogia, that is, a piece of bread blest by the priest at the altar, but not consecrated as in the eucharist, so that the doctrine of Transubstantiation does not apply to it, and it may pass through lay hands. The eulogia is still termed *pain bénit* in French and the ceremony of blessing and distributing it to the faithful may still be witnessed in churches in France and a few other parts of Catholic Christendom. It may have been mere poetic exaggeration that prompted the author of the *Aliscans* in another verse (806) to speak of the bread which William had with him as the "*verai cors Damledeu*," the real body of the Lord God. Yet the whole subject may be debatable. Of one point, notwithstanding, there can be no doubt: the usual matter of the communion is for the French epic poets grass or foliage,

take it to the absent ones at home, even to take it with them on long journeys and voyages. Lay administering of communion was forbidden by Hincmar in the Council of Paris in 829, also by Leo IV in the same century. But as late as the 12th century the councils held at Rome and at London allowed pious laymen to administer communion in cases of urgent need. See Corblett, *Histoire du sacrement de l'eucharistie*, vol. I, p. 286." For a further note on the persons duly empowered to administer communion, see Addis and Arnold, *A Catholic Dictionary* (London, 1884), s. v. *Communion*. Among other things it is there stated that "In times of persecution, the faithful took the Blessed Sacrament away with them, so that even women gave themselves communion at home (Tertullian, *Ad Uxor.*, II, 5). Ordinarily, the deacons conveyed the Holy Communion to the sick, but sometimes even laymen did so (Euseb., *H. E.* VI, 44). Pius V, in modern times, is said to have allowed Mary Queen of Scots to receive communion from her own hands in prison (Billuart, *De Euch. diss.* VII, a. 3)." See Cardinal Wiseman's novel of early Christian times, *Fabiola*, chapter XXII of Part Second, in which even a young acolyte is described as carrying the Viaticum to administer it to others: cf. *Ibid.* chapter XXXIII, and see also the *Life of J. T. Vénard*, translated by Lady Herbert, for a recent instance of lay transmission of the Eucharist. A modern reference to the mediæval symbolical communion is seen in J. H. Shorthouse's novel, *Sir Percival* (cf. *Dublin Review*, 121, 80).

the administration of which is usually preceded by a confession made by the dying man to some layman present, just as happens here in the case of Vivian.

With regard to confession as part of the ceremony Gautier (*La chevalerie*, pp. 43 ff.) remarks: "On the eve of a battle . . . the knights went in eager quest of a priest. If they did not find one, they accosted their nearest of kin, in the thick of the fray, took him aside and confessed to him. In default of a relative, a friend or companion in arms sufficed. . . . History and legend agree in presenting to us the spectacle of these confessions to a layman, the practice of which persisted until quite late. Bayard, at the point of death, humbly confesses to his steward 'for lack of a priest'" (cf. *Le loyal serviteur*, ed. of the *Société de l'histoire de France*, p. 418). What Gautier says is borne out by the Old French epics and is corroborated by the Rev. Walter Sylvester in an essay styled "The Communions, with Three Blades of Grass, of the Knights-Errant" (in the *Dublin Review*, vol. 121, 1897, pp. 94 ff.). This latter writer quotes beside the example of Bayard another one taken from a really historical account, namely, from de Joinville's *Histoire de Saint Louis* (cf. ed. by de Wailly, Paris, 1874, p. 195), and recalls the fact that, during the rage of the Black Death in England (1348-9), the Bishop of Bath empowered laymen and even women to hear the confession of persons *in articulo mortis*.¹ The value of the lay confession commended

¹ Cf. also J. Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction* (London, 1896, a new ed. by H. Wilson), vol. I, p. 284, note, and *The Tablet* (London, 1886), vol. xxxv of the New Series, p. 98 and p. 258. The second of these notes in *The Tablet* is in the form of a letter from a correspondent in Jersey City Heights, N. J. It cites on the subject the authority of St. Alphonsus and of Benedict XIV, and appends this very recent example: "I remember hearing from the late Bishop Lynch of Charleston of a Confederate officer (a convert to the faith), who was mortally wounded in one of the battles around Richmond, and confessed to a fellow soldier—who, by the way, was

itself to two of the great theologians of the Middle Ages, St. Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard, who enjoin it in extreme cases, when a priest is not at hand; cf. *Summa S. Thomae Aquinatis*, Supp. III. Partis, Quaest. VIII, art. 2, and *Petri Lombardi Sententiarum Libri IV* (Louvain, 1568), Lib. iv, dist. 17, E. As Old French epic instances of confession to a layman, Gautier mentions such typical cases as the two in *Raoul de Cambrai* (ed. Le Glay), in which Bernier, about to die, called Savari and confessed to him "because there was not time enough to get a priest," and Aleaume confessed his sins to two knights for a similar reason. Many other records of such confessions might be given here, but for our purpose it is sufficient to say that this unburthening of the soul is an implied preliminary to the symbolical communion.

THE OLD FRENCH INSTANCES.

Let us pass in review the Old French epic examples of communion by means of grass or foliage.¹

In the *Chanson d'Antioche* (ed. P. Paris, II, p. 235) Rainaus de Tor partakes of three bits of grass:

De l'erbe devant lui a-il trois peus rompus,
En l'onneur Dieu les use.

Raoul de Cambrai (ed. Le Glay, p. 95): many take communion of three bits of grass:

mains gentix hom s'i acumenia
De trois poux d'erbe, qu'autre prestre n'i a.

Ibid. (p. 327): Savari, after hearing Bernier's confession, administers three leaves of a tree to him:

not even a Catholic—with injunction to repeat his confession to a priest, saying that he did this because he felt a natural inclination to unburden his mind and hoped for the grace of a perfect contrition."

¹ On these examples cf. Gautier, *La chevalerie* (Paris, 1890), pp. 43 ff.; Id., *La Chanson de Roland* (15th ed.), note to v. 2023; Id., *Les épopées françaises* (2nd ed.), tome III, p. 324; Rev. W. Sylvester, O. S. C., *The Communion, with Three Blades of Grass, of the Knights-Errant*, in *The Dublin Review*, vol. 121, pp. 80 ff.

Trois fuelles d'arbre maintenant li rompi
Si les reaut per corpus Domini.

Li romans de Garin le Loherain (ed. P. Paris, II, p. 240) : Bègue de Belin, about to die, communicates of three leaves of grass :

Trois foilles d'erbe a prins entre ses piés ;
 Si les conjure de la vertu del' ciel.
Por corpus Deu les reçut volentiers.

Élie de Saint-Gilles (ed. G. Raynaud, vv. 244-5) : Élie administers a leaf of a tree to a dying knight :

Prist une fuelle d'erbe, à la bouce li mist.
 Dieu li fit aconnoistre et ses peciés jehir.

Les Chétifs (ed. C. Hippeau, II, p. 209) : a defeated Saracen, Murgalé, abjure his false religion, and receives baptism and communion of a bit of grass divided into three parts from his Christian conqueror, Richard de Chaumont, who, then, at his request, cuts off his head :

Puis a pris .i. poil d'erbe et en .iii. le parti.
 Puis le bailla au Turc ; masca le et engloti.

Ibid. (p. 222) : Hernoul de Beauvais, at the approach of death, takes communion of a bit of grass :

Il a pris un poil d'erbe, si le prist a seignier,
 En sa boche le mist, si le prist a mengier,
 *el' non corpus Dei.*

Renaus de Montauban (ed. H. Michelant, p. 181) : Richard calls upon his companions to confess to each other and take communion of bits of grass :

Car descendons à terre et si nos confesson
 Et des peus de cele herbe nos acommenion.
 L'uns soit confes à l'autre, quant prestre n'i avon,
 Et die ses pechiés par bone entencion.

Gaufrey (ed. Guessard et Chabaille, v. 573) : a badly wounded knight met by Gaufrey took communion of three bits of grass :

Puis a pris .iii. peus d'herbe pour aquemuneison.

Galien. Cf. Gautier, *Les épopées françaises*, 2nd ed., vol. III, p. 324 f., where are cited two prose passages of the Galien story, relating the death of Oliver, Galien's father. Roland is made to give three bits of grass to Oliver by way of communion.

The first passage reads : "Adonc troubla la veue à Olivier.

Se print Roland troys brains d'erbe et la comincha (*sic*), et en cette fasson l'âme se departit d'Olivier."

The other says: "Adonc Olivier le (*i. e.*, Galien) commanda à Dieu,* et la veue luy alla troubler, et luy partit l'âme du corps. Et Roland print trois brins d'herbe et la commença" (*sic*).

Redactions of the *Chanson de Roland*:

Lyons redaction (cf. Gautier, *Chanson de Roland*, 18th ed., 1884, p. 190, note): Roland gives three bits of grass to Oliver:

Trois poiz a pris de l'erbe verdoiant.
Li ange Dieu i descendent à tant;
L'arme de lui emportent en chantant.

Roman de Roncevaux (laisse cxcv; cf. *La Chanson de Roland et le Roman de Roncevaux*, ed. F. Michel, p. 224): Oliver, now dying, takes three bits of grass:

iiij peuls a prins de l'erbe verdoiant,
En l'onnor Deu les usa maintenant.

Floriant et Florete (ed. F. Michel, v. 345 f.): King Elyadus, having received a death wound from his steward Maragoz, while out hunting, takes three bits of grass:

Puis a .iii. pois de l'erbe pris,
Seigniez et en sa bouche mis
En lieu de Corpus Domini.

Geffrei Gaimar, *Estorie des Engles* (ed. T. Wright, p. 221): King William Rufus, mortally wounded while out hunting in the New Forest, is made by one of his hunters to take some herbs with all their flowers:

Li reis chai,
Par quatre faiz s'est escriez,
Le corpus Domini ad demandez;
Mès il ne fu ki li donast,
Loinz de muster ert en un wast.
Et nepurquant un veneur
Prist des herbes od tut la flur,
Un poi en fist al rei manger,
Issi le quidat acomenger.
En Deu est ço, e estre deit;
Il aveit pris pain beneit
Le dimaigne de devant,
Ço li deit estre bon guarant.¹

¹Cf. Rev. W. Sylvester, *The Dublin Review*, vol. 121, p. 91 f.: "The ordinary accounts of the Red King's burial in Winchester Cathedral state,

Quite in accord with these Old French examples is one in the Provençal epic, *Daurel et Beton* (ed. P. Meyer, v. 426 f.): Duke Beuve d'Antone in vain asks his assassin Gui to give him communion of foliage :

E lo franx dux s'es vas lui regardatz,
E junh las mas : "Companh, si a vos platz,
Ab de la fuelha e vos me cumergas."
"Per Dieu !" dit Guis, "de follia parlas !
More vos tost, per o trop o tarzas."

It is a significant fact that in the majority of the cases mentioned, *three* bits of grass, or *three* leaves of a tree constitute the matter of the communion. In one of the cases in *Les Chétifs*—precisely the incident on which the Spanish example in the *Gran Conquista* must rest,¹—a single piece of grass plucked by the administering knight is by him expressly divided into three parts. The reason of the im-

as every one knows, that the body of the tyrant was 'buried as the corpse of a wild beast, without funeral rites or weeping eyes' (S. R. Gardiner, *Student's History*, I, 122, London, 1894). Gaimar, on the other hand, speaks of the celebration of many masses and of an unusually stately service. Professor Freeman refuses credence to the reported ceremonial in his elaborate comparison of the contemporary narratives; and it is, therefore, the more noteworthy that he raises not the slightest doubt as to the veracity of the king's reception of symbolic communion. 'Such a strange kind of figure,' he writes indeed, 'of the most solemn act of Christian worship was not unknown;' and he recalls, in a note, a striking passage from Dr. Lingard's description of the battle of Azincourt in 1415: 'At the same moment Sir Thomas Erpingham threw his warder into the air; and the men, falling on their knees, bit the ground, arose, shouted, and ran towards the enemy. This singular custom (Dr. Lingard adds in a note) had been introduced by the peasants of Flanders before the great victory which they gained over the French cavalry at Courtray in 1302. A priest stood in front of the army, holding the consecrated host in his hand; and each man, kneeling down, took a particle of earth in his mouth, as a sign of his desire and an acknowledgment of his unworthiness, to receive the sacrament' (Dr. Lingard, *History of England*, 3d ed., vol. v, p. 27; E. A. Freeman, *The Reign of William Rufus*, Oxford, 1882, vol. II, p. 331).

¹ Cf. H. Pigeonneau, *Le Cycle de la Croisade* (Saint-Cloud, 1877), p. 249; G. Paris, *Romania*, XVII, 525 ff.

portance thus given to the number three is, doubtless, that stated in the *Gran Conquista*: the priest usually divides the host into three parts when consecrating God's body on the altar, and the practice is piously imitated in the symbolical communion. It is to be noted that in the *Floriant et Florete* the communicant receives the three pieces of grass *in lieu of* the body of God, and that in the *Raoul de Cambrai* this form of communion is resorted to *because no priest is there*. Obviously, the Old French poets had clearly in mind the symbolical or makeshift nature of the ceremony which they thus described in their works.

Earth alone figured as the matter of the communion in Spain, and we shall see that that same substance is the only one employed in Germany and Italy. Why was grass or foliage only used in the French cases? One is tempted to suppose that earth was used originally in France, too, and that the other substances were substituted for it as being more palatable. There is no evidence, however, upon which to base such a supposition, and, besides, the relation between earth and certain of its vegetable off-shoots is close enough to warrant us in believing that a mythological or symbolical sense could be as easily and naturally attached to the one as to the other. A subject of no less interest is the determination of the antiquity of the custom in France. In this connection all that we can safely do is to place it at least as early as the middle of the 12th century, when Gaimar wrote his quasi-historical work. The *Chanson d'Antioche* has been appealed to as taking the custom back to the time of the first Crusade, for that poem, concerned with the capture of Antioch (1098), makes use of the three bits of grass.¹ But, while it is true that the *Chanson d'Antioche* contains much sober history and fact, and is in many respects a contempo-

¹ Cf. *The Dublin Review*, vol. 121, p. 92.

rary document,¹ it would be venturesome to say that its record of the symbolical communion represents a fact that occurred on Oriental territory at the end of the 11th century; for the work is not merely a rhymed chronicle, in the form in which we have it, but shows in no slight degree the workings of poetical fancy. It must be borne in mind that the primitive form of the *Chanson d'Antioche* is lost, and we possess it only in a redaction of the reign of Philippe Auguste.¹ So it is, therefore, that a theory of an Oriental origin of the symbolical custom, and its transportation to France during the time of the Crusades,—a theory which one might possibly conceive—hardly finds support in the *Chanson d'Antioche*. In France itself the oldest forms of the epic as illustrated by the *Chanson de Roland* show no acquaintance with the symbolical communion, but it already appears in the Paris and Lyons manuscripts of one of the two rhymed redactions of the *Roland* (*i. e.*, the redactions

¹ Cf. G. Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1890, p. 49) : apropos of the cycle of crusading poems, "ils n'avaient guère de la poésie que la forme, au fond ils étaient de l'histoire. . . . A cet élément historique s'est jointe, dans les poèmes que nous avons, l'invention pure et simple des jongleurs français." With regard to these same crusading epics, C. Nyrop, *Storia dell' epopea francese* (trans. by E. Gorra, Turin, 1888), p. 215, remarks : "i più antichi trattano di personaggi contemporanei e delle loro azioni, e devonsi perciò piuttosto considerare come una specie di cronache rimate, le quali—dentro certi limiti—possono pretendere ad autorità storica. Inoltre essi non sono usciti dal popolo, non si fondano sopra qualche tradizione popolare, ma sono invece composti da poeti, che si tengono oltremodo stretti agli avvenimenti. Questo vale però soltanto per i due primi poemi, "Antioche" e "Jérusalem," considerati però nella loro forma più antica, perchè più tardi furono rimaneggiati e ampliati con l'aggiunta di leggende d'ogni maniera." It is precisely because we have not the primitive forms of these poems that it is dangerous to draw any conclusion from them with respect to such a question as that involved in the presence of the symbolical communion in one of them. Yet the first Crusade antedates the custom.

² Cf. Nyrop, *l. c.*, p. 419; Gautier, *Bibliographie des Chansons de geste* (Paris, 1897), p. 56; H. Pigeonneau, *Le cycle de la Croisade* (Saint-Cloud, 1877), p. 144.

called the *Roman de Roncevaux*). If it be an original trait of the common source of these two redactions, it is thereby dated at least as early as the beginning of the last third of the 12th century, the period to which, according to G. Paris,¹ that common source belongs. But Gaimar's reference antedates that.

THE GERMAN INSTANCES.

The German cases seem no older than the 13th century. We may begin our consideration of them with the

Meier Helmbrecht (cf. H. Lambel, *Erzählungen und Schwänke*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1883, p. 130 ff.): Meier Helmbrecht, now blind, falls into the hands of some woodchoppers, who prepare to hang him, in accordance with his just deserts, but previously allow him to make his confession, after which one of them gives him a *bit of earth* "as aid against Hell-fire:"

1902. si liezen in sine bihte
den müedinc dô sprechen.
einer begunde brechen
ein brosemen von der erden.
dem vil gar unwerden
gap er si z'einer stiuwer
für daz hellefiuwer,
und hiengen in an einen boum.

Eckenliet (*Deutsches Heldenbuch*, v, Berlin, 1870, p. 219 ff.): Ecke meets with a sorely wounded man, Helferich von Lüne, whom Dietrich had stricken down along with three others. Helferich asks Ecke to put some earth into his mouth for the salvation of his soul:

58. êst umb mîn leben gar dâ hin,
der tôt hât mich ergangen.
gênt mir der erde in mînen munt
wan durch die gotes êre:
so wirt gên gote mîn sêle gesunt. . . .
durch got lânt mich geruowen.
ich mac niht leben mê.

Rabenschlacht (*Deutsches Heldenbuch*, II, Berlin, 1866, p. 262): Witege and Diether (Dietrich) have been fighting and the former has given

¹ Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge*, 2nd ed., p. 61.

Diether a fatal blow. Diether takes earth from the ground and puts it into his mouth as our Lord's sacrifice :

457. Dem edeln künige werde
diu craft gar besleif.
nider zuo der erde
mit beiden handen er dô greif
und bôt si zuo dem munde
zuo unsers herren opher sô ze stunde.

Wolfdietrich (cited by Wackernagel, *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Alterthum*, VI, 289; cf. *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, III, 299) : several take earth from the ground and put it into their mouths as our Lord's sacrifice :

do griffen sy zw der erden zuo der selben stundt,
ze vsners herren opher namen sy dy erd jn den mundt.¹

To these cases indicated by Wackernagel reference is also made by H. Lambel in his edition of the *Meier Helmbrecht*, p. 201, where he gives the following note:—"Die Erde wurde im christlichen Mittelalter zum Symbol des Leibes Christi. In einer Wiener Handschrift (N. 121, 9. Jahrh.) der *Origenes* des Isidorus heisst es in einer den Ausgaben fehlenden Stelle, die mir mein Freund J. A. Schmidt nachwies, XIV (= XII der Ks.; vgl. Endlicher Catal., I, 289), I, 3 (Schluss nach *ventis*; Bl. 1^a fg.); *terra enim mystice phures significationes habet . . . aliquando carnem domini salvatoris significat*. Daraus erklärt sich der Glaube, dass Sterbende, denen kein Priester zur Seite steht, in einem Krümchen Erde (auch Brot oder Gras, Ulrich von Liechtenstein, Frauend. 544, I; Garin mhd. Wb., I, 263), nachdem sie entweder einem anwesenden Laien, wie hier [*i. e.*, in the *Meier Helmbrecht*] und in Wolfram's Wh. 65, 10; 69, II (vgl. Reinaert 1439 fg., Reinke 1378 fg.), oder im Fall sie ganz allein sind, Gott gebeichtet haben (Liechtenstein a. a. o.), den Leichnam Christi empfangen können; vgl. Wolfd. B.

¹ In the *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, III, 299, the lines read :

dô griffen si zer erden an der selben stunt :
ze unsers hêrren opher nâmens die erden in den munt.

912, 3, 4 (D. H. B., III, 299), Rabenschl. 457, 3 fg. (D. H. B., II, 262); Eckenlied 58, 7 fg. (D. H. B., v, 229). Den Glauben bestätigt auch Berthold von Regensburg, aber dagegen polemisierend 309, 9–16 (ed. Pfeiffer); vgl. Zeitschrift, VI, 288." If the Latin passage found in the Vienna ms. of the *Origines* is itself of the 9th century, it certainly provides very important testimony to the antiquity of the custom of symbolizing the body of Christ by earth. The two cases of lay confession, alluded to by Lambel, occur in the beast epic; the one in Willem's Dutch work *Reinaert* (cf. ed. E. Martin, Paderborn, 1874, vv. 1433 ff.) and the other in the Low German *Reinke de Vos* (ed. F. Prien, Halle, 1887, p. 54). In the *Reinaert*, the Fox, who is on his way to the court to answer for his misdeeds, makes confession to the Badger, because no priest is at hand :

1433. lieve neve ic wille gaen
 (nu hoort mine redene saen)
 te biechten hier tote di :
 hier nes ander pape bi.

He begins his confession thus :

1451. confiteor pater mater,
 dat ic den otter ende den cater
 ende allen dieren hebbe mesdaen.

This has somewhat the aspect of a travesty, and as such is, of course, in consonance with the rascally character of Reynard. In general, however, the cases of lay confession and lay communion are treated in mediæval literature as very serious matters. The situation in the *Reinke de Vos* parallels that in the *Reinaert*.

Of the documents which Lambel mentions as containing instances of lay communion, the *Garin* and the *Willehalm* (Wolfram's version of the *Aliscans*, cf. the 4th ed. of Wolfram von Eschenbach's works by K. Lachmann, Berlin, 1879, p. 423 ff.) simply repeat the situation in their Old

French originals. The case in Ulrich von Liechtenstein's *Frauendienst*, mentioned by both Wackernagel and Lambel, involves, seemingly, the use, not of earth, or of vegetable matter, or of a consecrated host, but merely of bread found on the spot. According to the ostensibly autobiographical account, Ulrich has been enticed out of his stronghold by his enemies, Pilgerin and Weinolt, who imprison him and threaten him with death on the morrow. All night he sorrows, and in the morning, believing death imminent, he looks about for a piece of bread. He discovers a crumb (*brösem*), and this he consumes, as the body of him from whom nothing is hidden, after first bewailing his sins; cf. *Ulrich von Liechtenstein*, herausgegeben von K. Lachmann (Berlin, 1841), *Vrouwen Dienst*, p. 543 f. :

Die naht leit ich vil michel nôt
 Sâ dô der ander tac erschein,
 dô wart ich kürzliche des einein,
 sit daz ich müeste ligen tôt,
 daz ich versuocht ob iender brôt
 laege da ich gevangen lac :
 vil sere ich daz ze suochen pflic.
ein brösem ich dâ ligende vant :
 die huob ich weinende ûf zehant.
 Dâ mit sô kniet ich ûf diu knie
 und klaget die minen sünde hie
 dem den verheltn mac niemen niht
 und der in elliu herze siht.
 sîn lichnam ich dô weinent nam,
 mit triwen, als mir daz gezam.

That in Germany the practice was really current among the people in the 13th century is made clear by the way in which the sturdy preacher, Berthold von Regensburg, assailed it in some of his sermons (cf. *Berthold von Regensburg. Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten*, von F. Pfeiffer : 2 vols., Vienna, 1862 and 1880). Thus he discourses in the sermon on "The Seven Holy Things" (*Von den siben Heilikeiten*,

l. c., I, 303): "Then says some one or other in the open field, when he is about to be hanged or otherwise deprived of life, and has no chance of escape, then he says: 'Alas! that I may receive our Lord, give me a crumb in my mouth, or a bit of earth, if you have nothing else,' and he thinks that he thereby receives God's body. No, not at all! Bread is bread, earth is earth, God's body is God's body. If he eats a lot of bread or earth, he is only the heavier on the gallows." Berthold repeats his attack in quite similar terms in the sermon on "The Seven Medicines" (*Von den sibben erzenien*, l. c., II, 89).

It is to be observed that Berthold specifies only bread and earth: he says nothing of grass or foliage; and the strictly Germanic cases which we have examined speak only of earth (as they do in four instances) or of bread (as in one).¹ Berthold, too, is the only cleric who seems ever to have spoken out against a custom which the Church might have been expected to view with much suspicion, if not actually to condemn it. Lay administration of the most august of sacraments—if in lay hands the ceremony could continue to be called a sacramental one—would certainly call for control by the ecclesiastical authorities. In point of fact, the custom in question, being a purely symbolical one, did not run counter to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the rulers of the Church do not appear to have deemed it an abuse calling for restriction. It is interesting here to

¹The use of bread in the lay form of communion probably savored in general of mere superstition or of heresy. Cf. this reference to an heretical use in Caesarius Heisterbacensis, *Illustrium Miraculorum et Historiarum Memorabilium Lib. XII* (Cologne, 1599: *Liber Quintus, De Daemonibus*, ch. XIX, p. 347): "Nam quidam Abbas Hispanus ordinis nostri per nos transiens, qui cum episcopo et ecclesiarum praelatis eiusdem heretici errores damnauit, eum dixisse referebat, quod quilibet in mensa sua, et de pane suo quo vesceretur, conficere posset corpus Christi. Erat autem idem maledictus faber ferrarius."

quote the view of a modern ecclesiastic well acquainted with the French mediæval custom. “In barren waste or forest path,” says the Rev. W. Sylvester,¹ “far from parish church or abbey choir, the dying man turned to his need of the last sacraments. Ministers were there none. Extreme unction was impossible. There was no soft touch of holy oils. Yet confession and spiritual communion were within the knight’s grasp and he seized them. God’s appointed minister lacking, the moribund confessed his sins in the squire’s ear. . . . Then followed the substitute for communion. Communion with the Sacred Host could not be received, but spiritual communion was possible. And, as we to-day, the dying man spoke his prayer of belief, hope, adoration and love, ere yielding up his soul. Still, with that quaint literalness upholding so much of the real, intense faith of the Middle Ages—to make, so to say, his communion more real to himself—the knight plucked three blades of grass and ate them. It was no mere form. ‘Nothing,’ as Mr. Lilly says (*Chapters in European History*, I, 158, London, 1886), ‘was a mere form in the Middle Ages.’ It was no vulgar superstition. ‘The first fact about the age was its faith, not its superstition’ (*Ibid.*, I, 172). The culling and the consumption of the blades of grass was the simple, loving avowal of a believing soul, that, far from priest and altar, it had done what it could.”

THE ITALIAN EXAMPLES.

Three leading instances of the occurrence of symbolical communion are on record in Italian literature, and, as in Spain and Germany, earth is the species of the communion. Wackernagel has already called attention to the case in Ser

¹ *The Dublin Review*, 121, p. 82.

Giovanni Fiorentino's *Pecorone* (c. 1378; cf. ed. of Milan, 1804, in the *Classici italiani*, I, 145-6). There, in the *Giornata settima, novella seconda*, is recounted the fate of a man put to death in the room in which he was captured. Raising his hands to Heaven, he bent down, took earth, and put it into his mouth:

“alzò le mani al cielo, e poi si chinò e prese della terra e misela in bocca, e poi si mise le mani agli occhi per non vedere la morte sua e chinò il capo alla terra.”

The writer does not dwell upon the reason for taking the earth, its symbolical significance; but this was probably clear to a reader of Ser Giovanni's time.

In the other two cases, the symbolical value of the process is brought out distinctly. The first occurs in the *Morgante* of Luigi Pulci; the second is in a very realistic document, the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, and attests the survival of the belief—perhaps as a mere soldier's superstition—as late as the 16th century.

The *Morgante* passage (Canto XXVII, stz. 147; for the preliminary confession cf. stz. 116) pictures the death of Roland in the pass of Roncesvalles. He has made his confession to Archbishop Turpin, and it is this prelate who bids him take earth as communion:¹

147 (7): E perchè Iddio nel ciel ti benedica,
Piglia la terra, la tua madre antica.

148 (1): Però che Iddio Adam plasmoe di questa,
Sì che e' ti basta per comunione.

We perceive that Turpin advances a reason why earth may suffice for this symbolical communion, viz., “God made Adam of this earth,” i. e., the human race is itself of earth.

¹ Cf. the instance in the Spanish *Poema de Alfonso XI* and that related by Lingard.

Roland follows the bidding of Turpin, and, partaking of the earth, dies :

153 (6) : E finalmente, la testa inclinata,
Prese la terra, come gli fu detto,
E l'anima spirò del casto petto.

Much of the matter treated in the *Morgante* is of ultimate French origin, as is the case with the bulk of the chivalrous, romantic matter found in Italy. We have seen that in the Old French redaction of the *Chanson de Roland* and in the Old French *Galien*, Oliver takes three bits of grass as communion before dying. If the Italian tradition in the *Morgante* is at all connected therewith, why the change from grass to earth? ¹ The attaching of the death ceremony to Roland, rather than Oliver, is easily intelligible in the Italian poem, in which Oliver is a subordinate figure.

The passage in the *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini* appertains to the siege of Rome in 1527 (cf. ed. by O. Bacci, Florence, 1901, section xxxv). Cellini was among those defending the Castel S. Angelo for Pope Clement, and one day he was laid low by a portion of the wall which a cannon ball from without caused to topple over upon him. Coming to his senses, he started to speak, but could not, as he tells us, "because some fools of soldiers had filled my mouth with earth, thinking that thereby they had given me communion, whereas they had rather excommunicated me, because I could not recover myself, for this earth gave me much more trouble than the shock of the blow" (*Volendo cominciare a*

¹The *Pseudo-Turpin* has a Roland death-scene, of course, but one in which there is no necessity for the symbolical communion. Cf. this passage: "Orlando had that morning received the blessed Eucharist and confessed his sins before he went to battle, this being the custom with all the warriors at that time, for which purpose many bishops and monks attended the army to give them absolution" (*History of Charles the Great and Orlando Ascribed to Archbishop Turpin translated from the Latin, etc.*, London, 1812, I, 43-4).

parlare, non potevo, perchè certi sciocchi soldatelli mi avevano pieno la bocca di terra, parendo loro con quella di avermi dato la comunione, con la quale loro più presto mi avevano scomunicato, perchè non mi potevo riavere, dandomi questa terra più noia assai che la percossa).

It is now meet to recur to the subject of possible relations between the mediæval custom and the modern sayings *mordre la poudre* (*poussière*), *ins Gras beissen*, *bite the dust* (*ground*), etc. It is surely a striking coincidence that *dust* (*ground*) and *grass* should figure in these expressions, which in their strong sense mean *to die*, and should figure, likewise, in the symbolical form of communion which we have been investigating, a ceremony to which resort was had only when death seemed imminent. But in so far as our researches permit us to pronounce a judgment, we can only say that the case is one of pure coincidence. Certainly it seems well-nigh impossible to establish any direct connection between the sayings and the custom. J. W. Wolf and Zingerle doubted the connection, and Zingerle pointed out analogous sayings in Greek and Latin, which, of course, antedate the mediæval custom, and, furthermore, seem themselves not to have had any symbolical significance.

On the whole, it seems probable that *to bite the dust*, *mordre la poudre* (*poussière*), *ins Gras beissen*, and kindred expressions are of rather recent origin within the modern languages, and arose through literary imitation of the Greek and Latin use of similar terms.

For French, Littré (*Dictionnaire de la langue française*, Paris, 1883) gives *mordre la poudre*, *la poussière*, *la terre* as meaning "être tué dans un combat." He illustrates *mordre la terre* by Corneille, *Médée*, iv, 3 :

Dont la main

Met Égée en prison et son orgueil à bas,

Et fait mordre la terre à ses meilleurs soldats.

Mordre la poudre by Racine, *Thébaïde*, I, 3 :

J'ai fait mordre la poudre à ces audacieux.

Mordre la poussière by Malherbe :

L'orgueil à qui tu fis mordre la poussière de Coutras.

Mordre la poussière by Voltaire, *Henriade*, VII :

Nesle, Clermont, d'Angenne ont mordu la poussière.

From Montaigne he quotes this example of *mordre la terre* : "Il faut leur faire baisser la tête et mordre la terre sous l'auctorité," which seems to signify submission to authority simply, and not necessarily meeting with death. Moreover, the Darmesteter, Hatzfeld and Thomas, *Dictionnaire generale de la langue française* (Paris, 1890-1900) glosses *mordre la terre, la poussière* by "être terrassé," and adduces therefore the example from Corneille's *Médée* already quoted by Littré as implying the fatal outcome. There can be little doubt that the idea of "being brought to the ground," "defeated," "humiliated" is as easily associated with the French expressions as the stronger sense of "meeting death." It is likely that the latter was the earlier force of the French expression, and that the other sense represents a natural weakening of it, or one brought about by the influence of such other phrases as *baiser la terre* or *lécher la poussière*. The first of these is interpreted by Littré as meaning "adorer et se soumettre," and illustrated by passages from *Athalie*, *Esther*, and Delille's *Paradis perdu* : the second, he says, is equivalent to "s'humilier extrêmement" as used by Voltaire, *Dial.*, XXIV, 14 : *On a regarde en face l'idole devant laquelle on avait léché la poussière*.

Like phrases occur in the other Romance languages. Thus the Spanish *morder la tierra* is explained by Tolhausen

(*Nuevo Diccionario Español-alemán*, 1888-9) as signifying "ins Gras beissen, sterben, auf dem Platze bleiben," and Zerolo (*Diccionario enciclopédico de la lengua castellana*, Paris, 1900) glosses *hacer morder la tierra (el polvo) á uno* with "rendirle, vencerle en la pelea, matándole ó derribándole." It is to be remarked that Zerolo indicates by the side of the stronger sense "to kill," the weaker one "to overthrow."

For Portuguese, Vieira (*Grande Diccionario Portuguez*, 1871-4) quotes *morder a terra*, "succumbir em uma luta, cair morto em batalha," and Michaelis (*A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, Leipzig, 1893) has *morder a terra (a areia)*, "to bite the ground or dust, to lick the dust, to die, to be killed." Whether the expressions are old or new is not apparent from the Spanish and Portuguese dictionaries; nor do the Italian dictionaries bring the fact out clearly. Tommaseo (*Dizionario della lingua italiana*, 1869) gives *far mordere la polvere, il terreno*, "Stendere a terra morto o quasi morto," and illustrates with a passage from a translation of the *Æneid*, XI, 747: *Giacque morendo, e colla bocca una volta morse la terra*; and Petrocchi (*Novo Dizionario Universale della lingua italiana*, Milan, 1903) has *Far morder la polvere*, "Vincere, Abbatter il nemico:" *Morder la polvere* (e poetic. *la polve*), "Esser vinti."

Before passing away from the Romance examples of the sayings, we should note that French, which offers no instance of the partaking of earth by way of communion, makes use only of words for *earth* or *dust* (*terre, poudre, poussière*) in the metaphorical expressions.

For German, J. Grimm and W. Grimm (*Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1854) give *sub verbo* "beissen:" *in das gras, in (sic) die erde beissen*, "mordre la poussière, von menschen gesagt, sterben müssen, wie kraut, erde und staub oft einander

vertreten." The earliest example that they quote is from Opitz (of the first half of the 17th century):

Solt ich, O Marspiter, ins gras gebissen haben ("todt sein").

Beiszen die erde they attest by an example from Friedrich Stolberg (latter part of the 18th century):

Sinken nieder in staub und sterbend beiszen die erde.

The Grimms also list, *s. v. erde* and *käuen* (*kauen*) the phrase *die erde kauen*, "sterben," but with no illustrations. There is, to be sure, another German phrase of similar import, *die Erde küssen*. To this the Grimms (*s. v. küssen*) assign both the strong sense of "meeting death" and the weaker one of "falling wounded, whether so or not." They illustrate both senses, but with nothing earlier than the 17th century. That the translations of Homer and other ancient classics, such as those made by Voss (1751-1826), have rendered "to bite the dust" (*den Staub knirschen*, cf. Voss, *Iliad*, XIX, 61) and like phrases common in literary German since the 18th century need hardly be said. But the rise of *ins Gras beiszen* remains shrouded in darkness. It is apparently a popular rather than a literary expression. Does it antedate all possible humanistic and classic influence?

Murray's *New English Dictionary* quotes, *s. v. bite*, *To bite the dust, ground, sand, etc.*, and these are glossed "to fall in death, to die." The earliest instance cited is of 1771, and occurs in Gray's *Poems*, Ode VIII, "Soon a king shall bite the ground." *To bite the dust* is illustrated from Bryant's *Iliad*, I, ii, 55,

"May his fellow warriors

Fall round him to the earth and bite the dust."

S. v. dust, Murray records the weaker sense, "to fall to the ground; especially to fall wounded or slain." Of course the illustrations given by Murray are not the earliest; they

are later than the instances which we might quote from Chapman's *Homer*, and Dryden's *Vergil*; cf., for example, Dryden's *Aeneid*, XI, 527-8 :

The plains of Latium run with blood around,
So many valiant heroes bite the ground.

The *Century Dictionary* has *to bite the dust* or *the ground*, "to fall, be thrown or struck down, be vanquished or humbled," which brings out only the weaker force of the terms : the *Standard Dictionary* cites *bite the dust* and *bite the ground* with both the strong and the weak sense, "to fall prostrate; be vanquished or slain." The development from a stronger to a weaker force might have been aided in English, as we assumed it might have been in French, by the existence of certain other phrases in which *dust* or *ground* occurs. In this connection one thinks of the Biblical "to lick the dust" (cf. "lécher la poussière"), as found in *Psalms* 72, 9, "and his enemies shall lick the dust;" *Isaiah* 49, 23, "they shall lick up the dust of thy feet" (cf. Vulgate "vultu in terram demisso odorabunt te, et pulverem pedum tuorum lingent"); and in *Micah* 7, 17, "they shall lick the dust like a serpent" (Vulgate "lingent pulverem sicut serpentes"). The *Isaiah* passage is particularly clear as to the weak sense for this phrase. *Ground* occurs in phrases susceptible of a weak sense, such as *to bring to the ground* (Murray, "to cast down, overthrow, overcome, subdue") or *to come (go) to the ground* (Murray, "to be overcome, to perish").

As we have assumed that the modern expressions started as conscious echos of the terms used by writers of classic antiquity, it may not be amiss here to examine some of the classic Latin examples of the phrases.

Forcellini (*Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, Prato, 1868), s. v. *mordeo*, has the following note: "*mordere terram dicuntur*,

qui graviter icti, in faciem procumbunt morituri," and *s. v. mando*: "Ut *mordere humum* sic et *mandere* dicuntur, qui vulnere prostrati, proni moriuntur." To the cases quoted by him, we add others here.

mordere humum: *Æneid*, XI, 418,

Procubuit moriens, et *humum* semel ore *momordit*.

mordere (h) arenas or *arenam*: Ovid, *Meta.*, IX, 60-61,

Tum denique tellus

Pressa genu nostro est; et *arenas momordit*.

Claudianus, *De bello Getico*, 588 f.,

Ille tamen mandante procul Stilichone citatis
Accelerant equis, Italamque *momordit arenam*.

In Artaud's Paris (1824) ed. of Claudianus, there is a note on this passage which tallies with the idea of Wolf and Zingerle that the expression *to bite the dust*, etc., indicates the convulsive agonies of death. The editor glosses *Italamque momordit arenam* with "in Italia occisus momordit terram," and continues: "id faciebant antiqui, ne sibi morientibus ora prave contorta viderentur." He applies the same explanation to *Æneid*, XI, 418.

mandere humum: *Æneid*, XI, 668 f.,

Sanguinis ille vomens rivos cedit, atque cruentam

Mandit humum, moriensque suo se in vulnere versat.

mandere aequora: Valerius Flaccus, *Argonauticon Libri*, III, 106,

compressaque *mandens*

Aequora purpuream singultibus exspuit auram.

Cf. this note of the Paris ed. of 1824: "*compressaque mandens Aequora*, campi glebas in quo jacebat mordens."

In all these cases the verb *to bite* or *to eat* is used with an object noun denoting *ground*, *sand*, or *surface of the earth* (*humus*, *arena*, *aequor*). Although the dictionaries speak of a phrase *mordere terram* (cf. Forcellini, Harper's, etc.), no illustration of it is given by them, and it has not come to light in the present search.

No symbolical force seems to attach itself to the Latin cases mentioned; and the meaning of *mordere humum*, etc.,

may be just what the glossator of the passage in Claudianus said, viz., that the dying man clutches the ground with his teeth as a means of hiding his facial contortions. Or, if we do not care for this explanation based on the supposed stoical nature of the soldier, we may adopt the general one, that the dying man was writhing and contorting his mouth in the agonies of death and biting at what was near him.

Instead of the verbs *to bite*, *to eat* (*mordere*, *mandere*), there occur also the verbs *to go to*, *to seek* (*petere*, *appetere*), *to catch* (*apprendere*), taking as their object a noun denoting earth (*terram*, *tellurem*, *arva*). With such verbs the sense is not necessarily that of *meeting death*:

petere terram: Seneca, *Œdipus* 480,

ore delecto *petiere terram*.

The persons on the scene simply prostrate themselves as suppliants at the feet of Bacchus.

Vergil, *Æneid*, III, 93,

Submissi *petimus terram*.

However, *petere* (*appetere*, *apprendere*) *terram* (*tellurem*, *arva*) may have the strong sense, if accompanied by words involving the tragic outcome:

petere terram: Vergil, *Æneid*, IX, 489,

Et *terram* hostilem moriens *petit ore* cruento.

appetere tellurem: Silius Italicus, *Punicorum liber quintus*, 526-7,

Labitur infelix, atque *appetit ore* cruento

Tellurem exspirans.

Ibid., *liber nonus*, 383 f.,

Volvitur ille ruens, atque *arva* hostilia *morsu*

Appetit, et mortis premit in tellure dolores.

apprendere tellurem: *Ibid.*, XVII, 264,

Ausoniam extremo *tellurem* *apprendere morsu*.

As these verbs are accompanied by *morsu* or *ore*, they are, after all, equivalent to *mordere*; and, of course, they realize in Latin the ὀδὰξ ἔλιν and similar Greek phrases.

Petere terram without *ore* or *morsu* is seen in

Seneca : *Œdipus* 340,

terram vulnere afflicti petunt.

Here the tragic sense is conveyed by other modifiers. Finally, we may cite an instance of *tangere solum mento*, in

Horace's *Odes* (*Carmina*, II, vii, 11-12), where the poet speaks of the destruction of his brothers in arms at Philippi :—

Quum fracta virtus, et minaces

Turpe solum tetigere mento.

The *solum tetigere* of this passage has been likened to the Homeric *λάζομαι γαίαν*.

It must be obvious that the strong or tragic sense is the usual one for these Latin phrases, although some of them occasionally have a weaker force.

Now to recapitulate, at the risk of irksome iteration, we may assert that the symbolical communion by means of earth or grass (leaves) is referred to in the literatures of at least four great lands, France, Germany, Italy and Spain. Earth is used for the ceremony in Germany (apart from one case of the employment of bread), in Italy, and in Spain ; in France use is made of grass (leaves). Metaphorical expressions involving the use of words for *dust*, *earth*, and *ground* exist in French, Spanish, Italian and English ; in German the customary—and apparently a popular—expression is *ins Gras beissen*, although *die Erde kauen* (*küssen*, etc.) is found also. Thus the metaphorical expressions contain terms denoting the same objects that figure in the symbolical communion ; geographically, however, the equivalence is not exact, since German employs chiefly the word for *grass* in the metaphor, and shows normally the word for *earth* in the symbolical communion ; whereas France knows only *grass* (*leaves*) for the symbolical communion and employs only *earth* (*dust*, etc.) in the metaphor.

Despite the concordance of the terms of the metaphor and the elements of the symbolical communion, it seems impossible to connect the modern expressions with the mediæval custom. It looks as though the expressions are of relatively recent origin in the modern languages, and came into being through literary imitation of phrases in the Greek and Latin classics, for Greek and Latin used terms signifying "to bite the ground, earth, or sand," generally with the meaning "to meet death." There appears, nevertheless, to be no Greek or Latin analogue for the German phrase, "ins Gras beissen." This may have arisen as a very natural term for describing a fact often witnessed, the convulsive death agony of a wounded soldier, biting at the object nearest him in the field, *i. e.*, grass. It is as such a descriptive term that the expressions in Greek and Latin may have arisen.

There is a certain elasticity of sense possible in the modern phrases *to bite the dust, ground*, etc. Perhaps their original force was that which the ancient classical phrases appear to have possessed as their primary one, *viz.*, "meeting one's death;" the subsidiary sense, "to be brought to the ground, to be overthrown, to be humiliated," may be a natural weakening in metaphorical use or may be due to a contamination with other phrases containing *dust, ground*, etc.

No attempt has been made here to determine whether in the mediæval symbolical communion by means of earth there survived a pagan idea of the mythological importance of earth. Pulci, in obedience to the introspective and rationalizing spirit of the Renaissance, suggested an explanation, which may or may not be original with him. God made man of earth; in lieu of God's body man can partake of nothing better in the hour of his dire need. Man came of mother Earth: after the last sad scene to mother Earth he returns.

J. D. M. FORD.

V.—THE ROUND TABLE.

In the Arthurian romances the term Round Table is employed in three significations. Most commonly it denotes a brotherhood of knights; very rarely—though of course this is the primary meaning—it is used actually for the table itself; and finally it designates a courtly festival celebrated by Arthur on some great feast day, usually Pentecost. This last meaning of the expression is the one with which the present paper is especially concerned.

A few preliminary words, however, about the other two. In Wace the knights of the Round Table are personal attendants on King Arthur, permanently attached to his service.¹ Praised through all the world,² they appear to be sharply distinguished from those foreign warriors who had been attracted to the court by its reputation for courtesy, valor, and liberality.³ The main characteristic emphasized by both Wace and Layamon is that the knights sat at the Round Table in perfect equality and were served alike.⁴ Their numbers, in the later stories, vary; sometimes there are fifty,⁵ sometimes one hundred and fifty,⁶ and again two hundred and fifty,⁷ while according to Layamon the table could seat sixteen hundred.⁸ The original fifty were selected

¹ *Le Roman de Brut*, par Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836; l. 10558.

² *Id.*, 9982, 13676.

³ *Id.*, 9994, 10553, 13672; in Layamon the fight preceding the establishment of the Round Table is by natives against foreigners, *uncuþe kempen* (*Layamon's Brut*, by Sir Frederic Madden, London, 1847, II, p. 534).

⁴ Wace, 10,000 *seq.*; Layamon, II, 539–540.

⁵ *Roman de Merlin*, Sommer, London, 1894, p. 57; *Huth Merlin*, Paris et Ulrich, Paris, 1886, I, p. 96.

⁶ *Huth*, II, 62.

⁷ *Roman*, p. 152 *et al.*

⁸ P. 539.

by Merlin;¹ the forty-nine (leaving the vacant perilous seat) added to the hundred sent to Arthur by Leodogran, were also selected by Merlin, while their names were found miraculously inscribed on their seats.² Eight, to replace those killed in battle, were added by Arthur on the advice of Pellinore, and at the same time their names were mysteriously substituted for those of the dead.³ This appearance of the name was essential to a choice, and the new knight must be better than the one he displaced.⁴ In the romances, though there are occasional inconsistencies, the general attitude of the fellowship is represented by Tristan who, on becoming a member, swears to increase the honor of the Round Table and never to fight against it, except in sport.⁵ To use Malory's words, "ony of hem will be loth to have adoo with other."⁶ This attitude suggests the wide-spread primitive folk-custom of kinship through commensality.⁷ In the etymological sense of the word, they were *companions* and, as brethren of one blood, they were "to support one another in life and avenge one another's death." After the first feast at the Round Table, they desire to remain together permanently, for although many had not been acquainted before, they now love one another as a son loves his father.⁸ They lived in peace like brothers german.⁹

According to one account, the Table was made by Arthur,¹⁰

¹ *Roman*, 57; *Huth*, I, 96. For the importance of this number among the Celts, see J. Loth, *L'année Celtique*, Paris, 1904, p. 46.

² *Huth*, II, 65-67.

³ *Id.*, II, 169-170.

⁴ Loeseth, *Tristan*, Paris, 1890, p. 149.

⁵ Loeseth, *Tristan*, p. 149, § 206.

⁶ Sommer's edition, London, 1889, Bk. viii, ch. iv, p. 279.

⁷ Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894, II, 248 *seq.* and 277 *seq.*

⁸ *Huth*, I, 97; *Roman*, 57.

⁹ *Huth*, II, 67: "Each spake with other as it were his brother.—Layamon, 540.

¹⁰ Wace, 9998.

or for Arthur, by a clever workman of Cornwall ;¹ according to another, it was made by Merlin for Arthur's father, Uther ;² in a third version, it was owned by Leodogran, father of Guinevere, and given to Arthur on his marriage.³ Here we evidently have a rather clumsy attempt to reconcile conflicting traditions and to group them around the central figure, Arthur.⁴ It may at least be affirmed that three Round Tables have survived in our tales ; how many others have been lost to memory, we cannot even conjecture. In Wace the purpose of the Round Table is to provide equally honorable seats for the knights, each of whom thought himself the best. Layamon repeats this idea, prefacing his account of the making of the Table with a narrative of a bloody fight at one of Arthur's Christmas feasts in London.⁵ In the Merlin and Grail stories, we lose sight of this idea of equality, and the Round Table has a religious significance, which is not at all clear. It was to symbolize the Trinity, as the third of a group of tables, the other two being that of the Last Supper and a square one made by Joseph in the desert to receive the Grail. It will bring to Uther great benefit and honor and many marvels will be accomplished.⁶ No description of the Round Table is anywhere furnished,⁷ though Layamon says it was made of wood,⁸ and had the marvelous property of seating sixteen hundred, yet being easily carried wherever Arthur might ride. In Wolfram, however, when the original is left at Nantes a new one is

¹ Layamon, 538 *seq.*

² *Roman*, 97 ; *Huth*, I, 96.

³ *Huth*, II, 62, and *Introduction*, I, pp. xxvi and xliii.

⁴ Paulin Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, II, 126.

⁵ Pp. 534 *seq.*

⁶ *Roman*, 55 ; *Huth*, I, 95 ; Hucher, *Le Saint-Graal*, I, 253.

⁷ Wolfram conceives it as a circle with a vacant space in the midst ; Martin, *Parzival*, Halle, 1900-1903, st. 309 and 775 ; Hertz, *Parzival*, Stuttgart, 1898, p. 513, n. 127.

⁸ 539-540.

improvised by laying cloths on the grass.¹ Two frequently recurring features are not mentioned by Wace and Layamon; the names on the seats as a sign of election,² and the vacant seat or siege perilous, reserved for him who shall accomplish the adventure of the Grail,³ and who shall terminate the three marvelous adventures of the kingdom of Logres, an achievement which will bring great joy and end Arthur's grief.⁴ A knight who attempts to occupy this vacant seat disappears like lead.⁵ In the Gerbert continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*, we are told that a fairy had sent the perilous seat to Arthur. Six knights who had sat in it, had been swallowed up by the earth, but they reappear when Perceval accomplishes the feat.⁶ On the whole, the characteristics of the Round Table imply some mystical and religious signification, a fact in thorough consonance with the continual association of its heroes with magic, fairyland and the other world.⁷

¹ St. 309 *seq.* In the *Roman de Merlin*, also, though the Round Table is not mentioned, the equivalent festival is held in the fields, p. 437.

² *Huth*, II, 67; *Tristan*, §§ 206 and 377.

³ *Roman*, 57 *seq.*; *Huth*, I, 96 *seq.*

⁴ *Huth*, II, 66.

⁵ *Roman*, 60.

⁶ Nutt, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888, p. 23.

⁷ The Round Table, which is still preserved at Winchester, is thus described by Milner (*History of Winchester*, London, n. d., vol. II, p. 204):—"The chief curiosity in this ancient chapel, now termed the county hall, is Arthur's Round Table, as it is called. This hangs up at the east end of it (in the *nisi prius* court) and consists of stout oak plank. . . . The figure of King Arthur is painted on it, and also the names of his twenty-four knights, as they have been collected from the romances of the 14th and 15th centuries. The costumes and characters here seen, are those of the reign of Henry VIII, when this table appears to have been first painted; the style of which has been copied each time that it has since been painted afresh. At the time we are speaking of, and even in the middle of the 15th century, this table was certainly believed to have been actually made and placed in the castle by its supposed founder, the renowned British Prince Arthur who lived in the early part of the 6th century. Hence it was exhibited as Arthur's Table, by Henry VIII, to his illustrious guest

The Round Table was not used for ordinary meals, but only on festive occasions.¹ Indeed it gave its name to the entertainment itself; we often read that Arthur held a Table Round. Merlin instructed Uther to hold these feasts three times each year,² and we hear of such at Pentecost,³ at Christmas,⁴ at All Saints,⁵ and at Mid-August.⁶ Pentecost, it is well known, was the chief festal day of Arthur. In Wolfram's *Parzival*, Round Tables are held to celebrate any happy event,⁷ but this is probably an invention of the poet. In the *Vulgate Merlin* the vassals are ordered by Uther, after the first festival, to attend all subsequent feasts without further summons.⁸ The magnificence of these entertainments, including such features as the bestowal of gifts and the presence of jongleurs, may be simply a general characteristic of mediæval feasts ascribed by the poets to Arthur on account of his mythic reputation as a dispenser of plenty.⁹

the Emperor Charles." See also vol. I, p. 246. This is probably the object exhibited at Hunscriet at the marriage of Philip II to Queen Mary; Wace, II, note to pp. 166-7. Camden mentions it as hanging up at Winchester, *Britannia*, London, 1695, col. 120. A picture of it is given in Hone's *Year Book*, London, 1832, p. 81. With its rays proceeding outward from the centre, it has all the appearance of a sun-symbol.

¹ During the Middle Ages dining tables were brought in for meals and removed afterwards (Schultz, *Höf. Leben*, I, 80, 432) and this custom is presupposed in several of the Arthurian stories, where there are tables, rather than one table.

² *Roman*, 58. ³ *Id.*, 57. ⁴ *Id.*, 58. ⁵ *Id.*, 60. ⁶ *Id.*, 436.

⁷ When Arthur receives news from Gawain, he holds a Round Table; *Parz.*, st. 654. ⁸ *Roman*, 40.

⁹ "*La Table ronde est ici la réunion des vassaux, des hommes du roi, aux quatre grandes fêtes de l'année, Noël, Pâques, la Pentecôte et la Saint-Jean; et l'intention manifeste des romanciers est encore ici de rapporter à l'ancienne cour des rois bretons l'origine de tous les usages auxquels se conformaient les grands souverains du douzième siècle, Louis VII, Philippe-Auguste et Henry d'Angleterre. Tenir cour et tenir Table ronde était alors une même chose, dont on voulait que le premier exemple remontât au prophète Merlin, et au roi Uter-Pendragon, comme aussi l'usage de distribuer des livrées et de faire présents aux dames qui venaient embellir de*

Other traits are more clearly individual. All the companions, as has been already said, have equally good food and drink¹ as well as equally honorable places.² While the fellowship is composed exclusively of men, and the seats at the table are only for members,³ ladies are required at these festivals⁴ and each lady must have her knight.⁵ Another peculiarity was Arthur's custom to refrain from eating until he had heard of some adventure.⁶ The duration of the feast, at its foundation by Uther, is eight days, and the king will not sit till he has served the knights,⁷ or till he has seen them served.⁸ The Round Table banquet described by Wolfram in the fifteenth book of *Parzival* has some further interesting details. The Table is a cloth laid on the grass in the open field, and it is measured off by moonlight.⁹ The knights wear wreaths on their heads and every lady has her *ami*.¹⁰

leur présence ces grandes réunions.—P. Paris, *Romans de la T. R.*, II, 64. The truth of this statement should not blind us to the fact that there are also folk elements in these stories.

¹ Layamon, p. 539 *seq.*

² *Ib.* and Wace, 9994 *seq.*

³ See above, concerning the names on the seats.

⁴ *Huth*, I, 96; *Roman*, 56, 436; *Lai du Cor* (Wulff, Lund, 1888) opening lines. In this last case, however, the presence of women is required for the chastity test. The great feast given by Arthur on his coronation at Pentecost, as it is described by Geoffrey, Bk. IX, ch. xii *seq.*, in many respects resembles a Round Table. Both sexes are present, though separated for some ceremonies, and we have the religious exercises, banquet and sports. For all these circumstances, compare the feast of Carman in Ireland.

⁵ *Parz.*, st. 216, 776.

⁶ See Hertz, *Parz.*, p. 512, n. 125.

⁷ *Roman*, 57.

⁸ *Huth*, I, 97.

⁹ St. 775. See Martin's note to l. 21. The earlier banquet (st. 309) is also in an open field:

man sprach ir reht ûf bluomen velt :
dane irte stûde noch gezelt.

"Chrestien sagt nichts davon," remarks Herz, *Parz.*, p. 513, n. 127.

¹⁰ *Parz.*, st. 776.

Preceding the festive meal, there is a procession and a display of horsemanship.¹

Throughout the Middle Ages, certain knightly exercises, distinguished by the chroniclers from ordinary tournaments, continued to be called Round Tables. The popularity of the Romances, the heroes of which became models of chivalry, undoubtedly had a leading part in the establishment of these imitations of Arthur's court,² yet there may have been in their origin also elements derived from folk custom. "At this feast," says Schultz,³ "the knights assumed the names of Arthur's heroes; beyond this nothing is known of the arrangements of the sport; it must, however, have closely resembled the tourney, though it was less dangerous, for it was fought on horseback and with blunt lances. At any rate ladies were present and a banquet played a leading part." That such contests were nevertheless not entirely devoid of peril is shown in an account by Matthew Paris of one held at Winchester, wherein a distinguished knight was slain.⁴ It is furthermore well known that Edward III constructed at Windsor a building called the Round Table and that he celebrated these feasts with great magnificence.⁵

¹ *Id.*, 777.

² Tournaments are said to have been a late importation from France. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, Paris, 1850, Diss. v, vol. VII, p. 24.

³ *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1889, II, p. 117.

⁴ A. D. 1252, "Anno quoque sub eodem milites angliae, ut exercitio militari peritiam suam et strenuitatem experirentur, constituerunt, non ut in hastiludio, quod Torneamentum dicitur, sed potius in illo ludo militari, qui Mensa Rotunda dicitur, vires suas attemptarent. Duo igitur milites electissimi, Ernaldus scilicet de Munteinni et Rogerus de Leneburne, dum se lanceis mutuo impeterent, Ernaldus letaliter vulneratus, praeceps cadens obiit interfectus, qui in militari exercitio nulli in Anglia secundus censebatur."—Matthaei Parisiensis *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, vol. III, p. 124.

⁵ Sir Nicholas Harris Nicholas, *Observations on the Institution of the most noble Order of the Garter*, *Archæologia*, XXXI; see p. 104, for the feasts of

Not only such tournaments, but also periodical gatherings of bards were called Round Tables and, while the former, as has just been said, are in all probability an offspring of the literary influence of Arthurian romance, the latter are by tradition directly connected with Arthur himself. It was said that, under his protection, a chair of poetry was established at Caerleon by the bard Maelgyn Hir and the system of the Round Table instituted.¹ Another tradition, the age of which is not known,² but which Zimmer calls "jüngere Fabelei und Combination,"³ states that about 1077 Rhys ab Tewdwr, who had been obliged to pass some time in Brittany, brought back with him, on his return to Wales, the institution of the Round Table, which had there been forgotten, and reestablished it for the bards as it had been at Caerleon on Usk in the days of Arthur.⁴

In this sense the Round Table is obviously identical with the Eisteddfod. And here we come to a very interesting particular, derived from the manuscript of a writer who died

1344 and 1345; pp. 108-9, for the magnificence of the entertainments; p. 151, "domum quae rotunda tabula vocaretur," Walsingham; *ib.*, "Rex Angliae Rotundam Tabulam ccc militum tenuit apud Wyndesoure, et totidem dominarum, pro quâ excessivi sumptus facti sunt, Cotton MS. See further Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, London, 1810, p. 128, who recognizes that the Round Table is a joust rather than a tournament. An interesting Round Table is cited by San Marte in a note to Geoffrey, p. 420 (ad ann. 1284): "Item convenerunt Comites, Barones, Milites de Regno Angliae, ac etiam multi procures transmarini, circa festum Beati Petri quod dicitur ad vincula ad rotundam tabulam apud Neubin, juxta Snowdon, praeconizatum, in choreis et hastiludicis adinvicem colludentibus, in signum triumphi contra Wallensium proterviam expediti." See also Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. *Tabula Rotunda*. The examples include Spain, France, Germany and the Netherlands, as well as England; sufficient proof that these knightly Round Tables were founded on the Romances, and not *vice versa*.

¹ F. Walther, *Das alte Wales*, Bonn, 1859, p. 272.

² Loth, *Mabinogion*, I, p. 17.

³ Gött. *gel. Anz.*, 1890, p. 796, note.

⁴ Loth and Zimmer, *loc. cit.*, and *Das Alte Wales*, p. 267.

in 1616. It concerns "the gorsedd or court under the authority of which the Eisteddfod is held as a sort of session, as its name indicates, for letters and music. The gorsedd is held in the open air, a circle of stones being formed, with a stone bigger than the others in the middle; the proceedings are opened with prayer by the presiding druid as he is called; afterwards he goes on to admit to degrees the candidates recommended by persons technically competent to do so. When all the business is over, the company goes in a procession to the building fixed for holding the Eisteddfod, which it is necessary to have announced at a gorsedd held a year at least previously. As regards the gorsedd itself, the rule is 'that it be held in a conspicuous place within sight and hearing of the country and the lord in authority, and that it be face to face with the sun and the eye of light, as there is no power to hold a gorsedd under cover or at night, but only where and as long as the sun is visible in the heavens.'"¹ Can there be the slightest doubt that we have here a remnant of some primitive pagan rite?

The ceremony of placing the stones in a circle suggests a connection with the roundness of Arthur's Table. "It

¹ Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, London, 1898, pp. 208-9. The *Century Dictionary* derives *Eisteddfod* from two Welsh words meaning *sitting* and *circle*. For the circle of stones within which a gorsedd is held, see *Cambrian Journal*, 1855, p. 155, and 1857, pp. 8 *seq.* On p. 100 (1857), it is stated that the stones or turf of the circle are used as chairs; also that there may be four such meetings in a year, at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide and St. John's Festival. On p. 310 of the same volume occurs the following account: "A meeting of the Gorsedd was held last Alban Elved on the hill of Bryn Castell y Brenhin, near St. Bride's Major, in Glamorgan, where an appropriate circle of stones had been constructed for the occasion by the joint labor of several of the inhabitants." To this spot the company marched in procession; certain persons entered the bardic enclosure where the introductory ceremonies prescribed by ancient usage were held. The president ascended the Maen Arch and took his station in the "eye of light," or the radial representation of the Divine Name, etc.

would be interesting to understand the signification of the term Round Table," says Rhys.¹ "On the whole it is the table, probably, and not its roundness that is the fact to which to call attention, as it possibly means that Arthur's court was the first early court where those present sat at a table at all in Britain. No such a thing as a common table figures at Conchobar's court or any other described in the old legends of Ireland, and the same applies, we believe, to those of the old Norsemen." However intently we fix our attention on the table, we must still remember the prevailing tendency of the Celts toward circular edifices. The old Irish houses were round,² as were also the ordinary Welsh houses,³ and the Brochs of Scotland.⁴ The palace of the Ulster kings near Derry is a circular building of uncemented stones,⁵ and the only structure at Tara not round or oval was the banqueting hall.⁶ It would, indeed, be practically impossible to enumerate the stone circles and oval or circular mounds scattered over Great Britain, Ireland, and parts of the continent, and described by travelers and archæologists. While roundness is not exclusively a Celtic feature, it is thoroughly characteristic. By the populace, such mounds

¹ *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, p. 9.

² P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, New York, 1903, II, p. 20; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Littérature Celtique*, I, 197.

³ Rhys and Brynmore Jones, *The Welsh People*, New York, 1900, p. 200.

⁴ Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times*, Edinburgh, 1883, ch. IV. See p. 206, "The circular wall . . . is a characteristic feature of Celtic construction."

⁵ Joyce, *Social Hist.*, II, 37.

⁶ *Id.*, 85. Tradition assigns a circular feasting place to one of the early Irish kings. "On montre encore aujourd'hui, sur la montagne de Tara, l'emplacement de la forteresse ou *rath* de Loégairé. C'est une enceinte circulaire formée par deux rangs de fossés concentriques, avec rejet de terre en dedans. Le roi d'Irlande se fit enterrer près de là, en mémoire des bons festins qu'il y avait faits avec ses fidèles vassaux," *Litt. Celtique*, I, 180. Moreover, the origin of the *rath* is ascribed to the mythical Nemed., *id.*, II, 90.

and stone circles are in Great Britain frequently connected with the name of Arthur. It is true that other objects also bear his name, as Arthur's Grave, Chair, Cups and Saucers, Bed, Oven, Seat, Hill, Fountain, Camp;¹ and monuments are also connected with other popular names, such as Robin Hood² and Fingal,³ but Arthur is the most general favorite, and he is especially associated with what are called Round Tables.

The following examples may be cited:—"On an eminence adjoining the park of Mocras Court, in Brecknockshire, is a large and peculiar kind of British cromlech, called Arthur's Table. And at the once famous city, now the decayed village of Caerleon upon Usk,—the Isca Silurum of Antoninus, where the second Augustan Legion was, during a long period, in garrison,—are the remains of a Roman Amphitheatre, in a bank of earth heaped up in an oval form sixteen feet high, and now called Arthur's Round Table."⁴ Between Castle Cary and Yeovil, there is a hill, encircled by four trenches and walls, containing about twenty acres full of ruins, which is by antique report one of the places of Arthur's Round Table.⁵ "Near Denbigh 'there is, in the

¹ R. T. Glennie, *Arthurian Localities*, Edinburgh, 1869; Chalmer's *Caledonia*, London, 1810, i, 244, note m. There are also the Great and Little Arthur among the Scilly Isles, interesting for their barrows. The earliest known reference to an Arthurian locality dates from the year 1113 in Cornwall, "ubi ostenderunt nobis cathedram et furnum illius famosi secundum fabulas Britannorum regis Arturi ipsamque terram ejusdem Arturi esse dicebant."—Zimmer, *Zs. für franz. Sprache und Litt.*, xiii, 109.

² E. g., Robin Hood's Pennystone. "It is fathered upon Robin Hood, because that noted outlaw was much in these parts, and the country people here attribute everything of the marvelous to him, as in Cornwall they do to King Arthur."—*Archæologia*, ii, 362. It is interesting to note that Robin Hood became Lord, and Maid Marian Lady, of the May. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 312.

³ Circles in Buteshire, *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, v, 52.

⁴ R. T. Glennie, *Arthurian Localities*, p. 9.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 10, citing Selden's note on Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, Works, ii, 724.

Paroch of *Llansannan* in the Side of a stony Hille, a Place wher there be 24 Holes or Places in a Roundel for Men to sitte in, but sum lesse, and sum bigger, cutte oute of the mayne Rok by Mannes Hand; and there Children and Young Men cumming to seke their Catelle use to sitte and play. Sum caulle it *the Rounde Table*. Kiddes use ther communely to play and skip from sete to Sete' (Leland, *Itinerary*, v, pp. 62, 63). The remains of what would appear to have been a Roman Camp overlooking Redwharf Bay, or Traeth Coch, in Anglesea, is locally called Burdd Arthur, or Arthur's Round Table."¹ On a mountain called Keon bryn in Gower, "there is a vast unwrought stone (probably about twenty ton weight) supported by six or seven others that are not above four foot high, and these are set in a circle, some on end and some edge wise, or sidelong, to bear the great one up . . . the common people call it Arthur's stone."² There are also Gwaly Vilast or Bwrddh Arthur in Lhan Boudy parish, "a rude stone about ten yards in circumference, and above three foot thick, supported by four pillars, which are about two foot thick; and Buarth Arthur or Meinen Gwj'r, on a mountain near Kíl y maen lhwjd, a circular stone monument."³ In Meiriondydshire, "about two miles from Harlech there's a remarkable monument call'd Koeten Arthur. It's a large stone-Table somewhat of an oval form, but rude and ill-shaped."⁴ We pass to Westmoreland. "A little before the Loder joins the Emot, it passes by a large round entrenchment, with a plain piece of ground in the middle, and a passage into it on either side. . . . It goes by the name of King Arthur's Round Table;

¹ *Arth. Loc.*, 7, 8.

² Camden's *Britannia*, newly translated into English with large additions and improvements, Edmund Gibson, London, 1695, col. 620.

³ *Id.*, 628.

⁴ *Id.*, 661.

and 'tis possible enough that it might be a Justing-place. . . . However, that it was never designed for a place of strength, appears from the trenches being on the in-side. Near this, is another great Fort of Stones, heap'd up in form of a horse-shoe, and opening towards it; call'd by some King Arthur's Castle, and by others Mayburgh (or as vulgarly Maybrough) which probably is but a modern name."¹ At Stirling there is still another Round Table of Arthur. It is mentioned in Barbour's *Bruce*, in Sir David Lindsay's *Complaynt of the Papingo*,² and in William of Worcester's *Itinerary*,³ but it is now called the King's Knot. "Within the space formerly occupied by the royal gardens, is a very remarkable piece of antiquity, known by the name of the King's Knot, consisting of a central mound in the form of a table, surrounded at the distance of a few feet by another in the form of a bench, of nearly equal height, and again at a greater distance by a kind of low esplanade, and this once more by what appear to have been canals or ditches."⁴

¹ Camden, 817-818; see also *Arth. Loc.*, 74. Scott mentions this place in the *Bridal of Triermain*, Canto I, § VII, and note. Murray's *Guide* (1869) describes Mayborough as "a circular enclosure, about 100 yards in diameter, formed by a broad ridge of rounded stones, heaped up to a height of 16 feet." In the centre is a large roughly hewn stone. Note the connection of Arthur's Round Table with May.

² *Bruce*, ed. John Jamieson, Glasgow, 1869, Book IX, l. 559 :

"And be newth the castell went thai sone,
Rycht by the Round Table away."

In a note, p. 438, are printed Lyndsay's lines :

"Adieu, fair Snowdown, with thy towris hie,
Thy chapell royal, park, and tabill round;
May, June, and July, would I dwell in the."

³ Rex Arthurus custodiebat le round table in castro de Styrl yng aliter Snowdon West Castle. Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 57.

⁴ *New Stat. Acct.*, VIII, 406; *Arth. Loc.*, 42. Arthur's Oven is also at this spot; *New Stat. Acct.*, VIII, 357, and Camden, 921 : Camden speaks of "a confus'd appearance of a little antient city . . . (the common people) call it Camelot."

It is a notable fact that not one of the objects thus commonly known as Arthur's Round Table could possibly have been used as a banqueting board, nor do they often resemble a table at all. In some cases it may be admitted that the holding of a Round Table Tournament could have given its name to a place; but, on the other hand, in these particular spots no such tournaments are known to have taken place, in some none could have taken place, while at the castles at which these sports were actually held, there are no Round Tables known to the peasantry. Much allowance may also be made for the exaggeration of popular fancy, yet it is difficult to understand how a big stone, a mound, a wall, and a druidical circle, should each and all have suggested a Round Table. Some other explanation appears to be necessary.

A hint is furnished by the fact that, in the *Merlin Romance*, the erection of the circle at Stonehenge by Uther as a monument to his dead brother and to the others who fell in the battle of Salisbury, immediately precedes the founding of the Round Table.¹ In Geoffrey the erection of this Giants' Dance is ascribed to Aurelius, though Uther is the one who, with Merlin's assistance, brings the stones from Ireland.² When they are ready, Aurelius summons all the people at Pentecost to celebrate the erection of the sepulchral monument with great joy and honor.³ The feast is regally held for four days, and on this occasion Aurelius crowns himself, fills all vacant positions, and rewards his followers with gifts, all of which circumstances are exactly reproduced in Arthur's great feast at Pentecost described further on.⁴

While many circles and mounds were sepulchral, it is highly probable that they were also used for religious rites

¹ *Roman*, 53; *Huth*, 92.

² *Id.*, ch. XII.

³ Bk. VIII, ch. x *seq.*

⁴ *Id.*, Bk. IX, ch. XII.

and other popular gatherings.¹ There is, indeed, a curious connection between the abodes of the dead and the festivities of the folk. The great stated assemblies of the Irish took place at well known pagan cemeteries,² and in England, even late in the Middle Ages, fairs were held in churchyards, till the scandal of it drove them to less sacred spots.³ It is certain that local tradition and nomenclature frequently point out these sepulchral monuments as places of assembly and of worship.⁴ At some of them, indeed, ceremonials of ancient origin have, till quite recently, continued to be held.

Émile Souvestre writes :⁵ "C'était encore le temps des anciens usages ; tous les jeunes gens et toutes les jeunes filles, non mariés, depuis seize ans jusqu'à trente, se réunissaient ce jour-là sur une lande, près d'une *ville de Korigans*,⁶ pour danser librement loin des yeux de leurs parents. Les jeunes filles portaient à leurs justins du lin en fleurs, et les jeunes garçons à leurs chapeaux, des épis verts. Au moment d'entrer en danse, chaque amoureux prenait son amoureuse par le main, il la conduisait au grand *dolmen*, tous deux y

¹ Forbes Leslie, *Early Races of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1866, ch. v and ch. ix ; James Fraser, *Transac. Inverness Scientif. Soc. and Field Club*, vol. II, 1880-83, p. 379.

² Joyce, *Social Hist.*, II, 434.

³ Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, I, 355.

⁴ *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. 30, pp. 61-69 ; *Archæologia*, XXI, 450, "The Kirk," a circle ; *New Stat. Acct.*, III, 61, Tumulus, by tradition the site of a pagan altar : the road leading to it is called the Haxalgate, Haxa meaning high-priestess. *id.*, 451, at Morebottle and Mow, a circle named the Trysting Stones, and another the Tryst. Chalmer's *Caledonia*, I, 81, Beton Hill, a tumulus in Dumfriesshire ; *Archæologia*, XXII, 410, "In the Highlands *clachan* signifies both a circle of stones and a place of worship." See also Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, 194-5, remarks on the circular shrine to Apollo in the island of the Hyperboreans with the harping and chanting of the citizens in honor of the Sun-god ; and p. 204, on sacred mounds.

⁵ *Le Foyer Breton*, Paris, 1864, II, 25-26. In a note, it is stated that this usage still exists in the mountains of Cornouailles and in Vannes.

⁶ A druidical circle.

déposaient fleurs et épis, et ils étaient sûrs de les retrouver aussi frais à l'heure du départ s'ils avaient été fidèles."

In the Pyrenees near Bielle, at a large stone circle, there are great festivities in the month of May among the peasantry, who dance and amuse themselves under the trees.¹ At St. Weonards in Herefordshire, the platform of a round tumulus was the usual scene of village fêtes, the spot generally chosen for morris-dancing, and a poplar tree standing in the middle was used as the village May pole.² On Whiteborough (a large tumulus with a fosse round it) on St. Stephen's Down, near Launceston, in Cornwall, there was formerly a great bonfire on Midsummer Eve, round which parties of wrestlers contended for small prizes.³ At the Kirk, a circle in Scotland, "upon the afternoon of every Easter Monday, the lord of the manor of Kirkby resorted to the circle, where all his tenants met him, and games of wrestling, dancing, hurling, and leaping ensued." The last lord who attended broke his thigh in one of the games, and from that time it was discontinued.⁴ Further examples of rites at stone circles on Beltane day are recorded in Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.⁵ Enough has probably been presented to establish a connection between these ancient relics and certain popular agricultural festivals.

If, then, Arthur were a patron of agriculture, and if his Round Table were originally one of these festivals, we could readily understand how so many circles and mounds came to be known by his name. They were the spots at which rustic Round Tables were held.

To find this great monarch of romance the central figure

¹ *Archæolog. Journ.*, XXVII, 225 seq., *Megalithic Remains in the Department of the Basses-Pyrénées*.

² Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, London, 1875, p. 89.

³ Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, London, 1853, I, 318.

⁴ *Archæologia*, XXXI, 450. Note the apparent equality of lord and tenants.

⁵ S. v. *Beltane*, see also Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III, 262.

of a group of farmers and herdsmen should occasion no surprise. It is the habit of aetiological myths to take on the form of heroic adventures.¹ Even in the brilliant court, developed by the later writers, we are occasionally startled by some trace of primitive barbarism or of the struggle of uncivilized man for subsistence. Poetic lovers hardly like to think of Tristan caring for his uncle's pigs. Yet the more authentic the tale, the nearer we get to the corn-field, the pasture, and the forest. Pagan Britain was a savage land. "In the centuries with which we are dealing," says Rhys, speaking of early historic times, "Wales presented a physical aspect very different from that which it does to-day. The greater part was waste land on which the foot of man rarely trod, mere boulder-strewn moorland, or boggy tract. . . . The social and domestic life of the Welsh centred round the timber-built houses of the kings, princes, lords or uchelwyr which were scattered in the valleys and on the lower slopes of the hills."² At every such centre would naturally be held the May, Mid-summer and autumn festivals universal among primitive peoples. There may have been in very early times a priest-king to perform the sacred rites,³ and just as at Rome this priest-king took the place of the individual farm-owner,⁴ so here the separate agricultural festivals might readily have been merged into a single general one.

However this may be, the May gatherings of Arthurian legend are, as Zimmer has pointed out, founded upon the general customs of Celtic antiquity.⁵ At Conchobar's feasts thirty heroes were assembled, and women were also present,

¹ See, for example, Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.*, p. 12 seq. For agricultural stories becoming romantic, Nutt, *Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare*, London, 1900.

² *Welsh People*, p. 247.

³ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 7.

⁴ Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.*, 195-6.

⁵ *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, p. 518.

as was usual at such gatherings. During the year there were in ancient Ireland three great public festivals: on May 1st (beltene) annually at Tara; at Midsummer (August 1st) annually at Taltin, and every three years at Carman and at Cruachan; and at the end of summer, from three days before to three days after November 1st, at Emain. The court of the prince was the centre to which the heroes came and from which many of the adventures of the old heroic tales took their start.¹

The fair at Carman included races and sports, law-making, music, story-telling, and the exchange of merchandise, as well as feasting and religious exercises. In origin it is evidently agricultural, the legend being that it was held in honor of Carman, whose magic charms had blighted the land of the Tuatha De Danaan, and who lay buried under a mound upon the plain. "Corn and milk (were promised) to them for holding it, and that the sway of no province in Erin should be upon them, and brave kingly heroes with them, and prosperity in every household, and every fruit in great abundance, and plentiful supplies from their waters. And failure and early grayness of their young kings, if they did not hold it."²

¹ *Ib.*

² O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, III, 529. There is also a mortuary significance:

Twenty one raths of enduring fame,
In which hosts are under earth confined:
A conspicuous cemetery of high renown,
By the side of delightful noble Carman.
Seven mounds without touching each other,
Where the dead have often been lamented;
Seven plains, sacred without a house,
For the funeral games of Carman.

See also the account of these festivities in Joyce, *Social Hist.*, II, 434 seq., and Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, 409 seq. The importance of keeping "early grayness" from their young kings is fully explained in Frazer's *Golden Bough*, *Killing the God*, II, 5 seq.

In many of his characteristics Arthur is distinctly connected with agriculture.¹ Myths of the sun, of dawn, day and night, of summer and winter, seem to be vaguely intermingled with the adventures of his knights. He is, in Wolfram's phrase, the May man,² and his Round Table is properly held at Pentecost, which is identical according to the old style with May day or Beltane.³ This fact is significant. We know that aetiological myths have been invented to explain customs which have ceased to be understood and that this process has been noted particularly in connection with agricultural ceremonial.⁴ Under favorable circumstances, the primitive rites of the ancient Celts, dimly surviving in the tradition of a warlike age, must have originated just such explanations. We are led, therefore, to seek for the features of the Round Table in the mass of folk custom concerned with May day festivities.

We may begin with the general description given by Stubbs in his *Anatomie of Abuses* of a jollification that took place "against Maie-day, Whitsunday, or some other time of the year:" "They have twentie or fourtie yoke of oxen, every oxe havying a sweete nosegaie of flowers tyed on the tippe of his hornes, and these oxen draw home this Maie poole (this stinckynge idoll rather), which is covered all over with flowers and hearbes, bounde rounde aboute with stringes, from the top to the bottome, and somtyme painted with variable colours, with twoo or three hundred men, women and children followyng it with great devotion. And thus beyng reared up, with handkerchiefes and flagges streamyng on the toppe, they strawe the grounde aboute, binde greene

¹ Rhys, *Arth. Leg.*, ch. II.

² "Artus der meienbaere man," st. 281, l. 16.

³ See *New Eng. Dict.* and Jamieson's *Scottish Dict.*, s. v. *Beltane*.

⁴ Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1877, p. 229 seq.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, treatment of myths of Adonis, Dionysus, Attis, etc.

boughes about it, sett up sommer haules, bowers, and arbours, hard by it. And then fall they to banquet and feast, to leap and daunce aboute it, as the heathen people did at the dedication of their idolles, whereof this is a perfect patterne, or rather the thyng itself.”¹ That such festivities were held all over Europe is a fact so well known that it is useless to exemplify them further or to dwell upon the character of the ceremonial. Certain features from Celtic Britain, however, bring us very close to the fragmentary records preserved in the *Romances* concerning Arthur’s Round Table.

I quote from Frazer :² “In the central Highlands of Scotland bonfires, known as the Beltane fires, were formerly kindled with great ceremony on the first of May, and the traces of human sacrifices at them were particularly clear and unequivocal. The custom of lighting the bonfires lasted in many places far into the eighteenth century, and the descriptions of the ceremony by writers of that period present such a curious and interesting picture of primitive heathendom surviving in our own country that I will reproduce them in the words of their authors. The fullest of the descriptions, so far as I know, is the one bequeathed to us by John Ramsay, laird of Ochertyre, near Stirling, the patron of Burns and the friend of Sir Walter Scott. From his voluminous manuscripts, written in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a selection has been published in recent years. The following account of Beltane is extracted from a chapter dealing with Highland superstitions. Ramsay says : ‘But the most considerable of the Druidical festivals is that of Beltane or May-day, which was lately observed in some parts of the Highlands with extraordinary ceremonies. Of later years it is chiefly attended to by young people, persons advanced in years considering it as inconsistent with

¹ Frazer, *G. B.*, I, 203 ; Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 310.

² *G. B.*, III, 259-261.

their gravity to give it any countenance. Yet a number of circumstances relative to it may be collected from tradition, or the conversation of very old people, who witnessed this feast in their youth, when the ancient rites were better observed.

‘This festival is called in Gaelic *Beal-tene*—*i. e.*, the fire of Bel. . . . Like the other public worship of the Druids, the Beltane feast seems to have been performed on hills or eminences. They thought it degrading to him whose temple is the universe to suppose that he would dwell in any house made with hands. Their sacrifices were therefore offered in the open air, frequently upon the tops of hills, where they were presented with the grandest views of nature, and were nearest the seat of warmth and order. And, according to tradition, such was the manner of celebrating this festival in the Highlands within the last hundred years. But since the decline of superstition, it has been celebrated by the people of each hamlet on some hill or rising ground around which their cattle were pasturing. Thither the young folks repaired in the morning and cut a trench, on the summit of which a seat of turf was formed for the company. And in the middle a pile of wood or other fuel was placed, which of old they kindled with *tein-eigin*—*i. e.*, forced fire or *need fire*. . . .

‘After kindling the bonfire with the *tein-eigin* the company prepared their victuals. And as soon as they had finished their meal they amused themselves a while in singing and dancing round the fire. Towards the close of the entertainment, the person who officiated as master of the feast produced a large cake baked with eggs and scalloped round the edge, called *am bonnach beal-tine*—*i. e.*, the Beltane cake. It was divided into a number of pieces, and distributed in great form to the company. There was one particular piece which whoever got was called *cailleach bealtine*—*i. e.*, the Beltane *carline*, a term of great reproach. Upon his being

known, part of the company laid hold of him and made a show of putting him into the fire; but the majority interposing, he was rescued. And in some places they laid him flat on the ground, making as if they would quarter him. Afterwards, he was pelted with egg-shells, and retained the odious appellation during the whole year. And while the feast was fresh in people's memory, they affected to speak of the *cailleach beal-tine* as dead.'"

From the parish of Anstruther, Wester, the following is reported:—"On the 1st of May, O. S. a festival called Beltan is annually held here. It is chiefly celebrated by the cow-herds, who assemble by scores in the fields, to dress a dinner for themselves, of boiled milk and eggs. These dishes they eat with a sort of cakes baked for the occasion, and having small lumps in the form of *nipples* raised all over the surface."¹ To return to Frazer:—"In the northern part of Wales, that other great Celtic region of Britain, it used to be customary for every family to make a great bonfire called *Coel Coeth* on Hallowe'en. The fire was kindled on the most conspicuous spot near the house; and when it had nearly gone out every one threw into the ashes a white stone, which he had first marked. Then having said their prayers round the fire, they went to bed. Next morning, as soon as they were up, they came to search out the stones, and if any one of them was found to be missing, they had a notion that the person who threw it would die before he saw another Hallowe'en. A writer on Wales says 'that the autumnal fire is still kindled in North Wales, being on the eve of the first day of November, and is attended by many ceremonies; such as running through the fire and smoke, each casting a stone into the fire, and all running off at the conclusion to escape from the black short-tailed sow.

¹ Sinclair, *Stat. Acct.*, v, 84.

. . . On the following morning the stones are searched for in the fire, and if any be missing, they betide ill to those who threw them in.' According to Professor Rhys, the habit of celebrating Hallowe'en by lighting bonfires on the hills is perhaps not yet extinct in Wales, and men still living can remember how the people who assisted at the bonfires would wait till the last spark was out and then would suddenly take to their heels, shouting at the top of their voices, 'The cropped black sow seize the hindmost!' The saying, as Professor Rhys justly remarks, implies that originally one of the company became a victim in dead earnest. . . . We can now understand why in Lower Brittany every person throws a pebble into the midsummer bon-fire. Doubtless here, as in Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, omens of life and death have at one time or other been drawn from the position and state of the pebbles on the morning of All Saints' Day. The custom, thus found among three separate branches of the Celtic stock, probably dates from a period before their dispersion, or at least from a time when alien races had not yet driven home the wedges of separation between them."¹

Again:—"Far more important in Scotland, however, than the midsummer fires were the bonfires kindled on Allhallow Even or Hallowe'en, that is on the thirty-first of October, the day preceding All Saints' or Allhallows' Day. . . . Like the Beltane fires on the first of May, they seem to have prevailed most commonly in the Perthshire Highlands. On the evening of Hallowe'en 'the young people of every hamlet assembled upon some eminence near the houses. There they made a bonfire of ferns or other fuel, cut the same day, which from the feast was called *Samh-nag* or *Savnag*, a fire of rest and pleasure. Around it

¹ *Golden Bough*, III, 295-297.

was placed a circle of stones, one for each person of the families to whom they belonged. And when it grew dark the bonfire was kindled, at which a loud shout was set up. Then each person taking a torch of ferns or sticks in his hand, ran round the fire exulting ; and sometimes they went into the adjacent fields, where, if there was another company, they visited the bonfire, taunting the others if inferior in any respect to themselves. After the fire was burned out they returned home, where a feast was prepared, and the remainder of the evening was spent in mirth and diversions of various kinds. Next morning they repaired betimes to the bonfire, where the situation of the stones was examined with much attention. If any of them were misplaced, or if the print of a foot could be discerned near any particular stone, it was imagined that the person for whom it was set would not live out the year. Of late years this is less attended to, but about the beginning of the present century it was regarded as a sure prediction. The Hallowe'en fire is still kept up in some parts of the Low Country ; but on the western coast and in the isles it is never kindled, though the night is spent in merriment and entertainments.' ”¹

From Callander, Perthshire, the Rev. James Robertson reports a similar custom on All Saints' Even : “ They set up bonfires in every village. When the bonfire is consumed, the ashes are carefully collected in the form of a circle. There is a stone put in, near the circumference, for every person of the several families interested in the bonfire ; and whatever stone is moved out of its place, or injured before the next morning, the person represented by the stone is devoted or *fey* ; and is supposed not to live twelve months from that day.”²

¹ *Golden Bough*, III, 293–4, quoting John Ramsay.

² Sinclair, *Stat. Acct.*, XI, 621 ; also *Golden Bough*, III, 294.

In this case we have a circle of stones, each stone representing a person who takes part in the ceremony. Can we not equate this circumstance with the fact that the name of every Round Table knight appears on the seat provided for him?

A still closer parallel from Callender remains to be cited. "The people of this district have two customs, which are fast wearing out, not only here, but all over the Highlands, and therefore ought to be taken notice of, while they remain. Upon the first of May, which is called *Bel-tan* or *Bal-tein* day, all the boys in a township or hamlet, meet on the moors. They cut a table in the green sod, of a round figure, by casting a trench in the ground, of such circumference as to hold the whole company. They kindle a fire, and dress a repast of eggs and milk in the consistence of a custard. They knead a cake of oatmeal which is toasted at the embers against a stone. After the custard is eaten up, they divide the cake into so many portions, as similar as possible to one another in size and shape, as there are persons in the company. They daub one of these portions all over with charcoal, until it is perfectly black. They put all the bits of cake into a bonnet. Every one, blindfolded, draws out a portion. He who holds the bonnet is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit is the *devoted* person who is to be sacrificed to *Baal*, whose favour they mean to implore, in rendering the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast. There is little doubt of these inhuman sacrifices having been once offered in this country, as well as in the east, although they now pass from the act of sacrificing, and only compel the *devoted* person to leap three times through the flames; with which the ceremonies of this festival are closed."¹

¹ Sinclair, *Stat. Acct.*, xi, 620; also *Golden Bough*, iii, 262; Brand, i, 224-5.

Here at last we have for the repast an actual round table. It is crude and primitive, it is true, but the analogy of classic fable leads us to look for just such an object. From a hint of this sort the aetiological fancy passes readily to the splendid out-door feast on the meadow which Wolfram records.

We found that the establishment of the Round Table had a rather unintelligible Christian religious significance. This is exactly what we should expect if the account dealt with an original heathen ceremonial. There are many parallels in the legends of saints invented to explain local customs and in the adaptation of primitive rites to churchly uses. In harmony with this view is the close connection of the Round Table with the Grail, in which, whatever its source, a plenty talisman may easily be discerned.¹ Moreover, according to Wolfram, the Table was measured by moonlight on the grass, a circumstance which suggests some magical significance. While Wace ascribes the establishment of it to Arthur, the Merlin versions ascribe this to Uther, in whom we recognize, according to Rhys,² one of the names of the God of the Underworld, a region the divinities of which are very generally connected with agricultural observances. Leodogran, too, though we know little about him, may well have had, as the father of Guinevere, a mythological import. That Arthur, on a high feastday, refrains from eating until he has heard of some adventure, is possibly connected with primitive rites.³ But, above all, the fact that Uther serves the knights before himself eating, is hard to explain unless it be a reminiscence of the ceremonial action of the priest-king who has taken the place of the

¹ Hertz, *Parz.*, pp. 430-432. For heathen customs transformed into Christian, see Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. Stallybrass, London, 1883-1900, I, 11:64; II, xxxiv seq.

² *Arth. Legend*, p. 9.

³ Hertz, *Parz.*, 512, n. 125.

original head of the family,¹ while the partakers of the common ritual meal form a brotherhood with all the ties of blood relationship.

The presence of women is also in accord with the usages of agricultural festivals. Indeed, the absolute necessity that each should be accompanied by her knight recalls a feature of sympathetic magic frequently indicated by worn-down survivals.² The wreathed heads, the procession,³ the games, and the songs of the jongleurs, are all paralleled in the May day festivities. Even the magnificence of Arthur's entertainments is a natural growth from the idea of that plenty for the obtaining of which these rites were held, rites which would end the king's grief and procure for him mysterious benefits and joys.⁴ The three usual occasions

¹ A parallel custom is preserved by Appian, *Bell. Mithr.*, 66; "Mithradates offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which (the larger one) they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present, in the same manner as was the custom at Pasargada in the solemn sacrifices of the Persian kings." See *Folk-Lore*, xv, 3, p. 306.

² The intercourse of the sexes has often been resorted to as a sympathetic charm to promote the growth of the crops, *Golden Bough*, II, 204-209. For the relation of the marriage of the May pair to vegetation, see Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, ch. v. Mock marriage on May day, *Golden Bough*, III, 240. Marriages were a special feature of the fair at Tailltenn, Joyce, *Social Hist.*, II, 439. This notion will perhaps explain the men's refusal to come to Eochaid Airem's feast at Tara on the ground that he had no wife, and no man came to Tara without a wife.—Rhys, *Studies in Arth. Leg.*, p. 24; Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, p. 519.

³ Only in Wolfram.

⁴ See p. 234, above. The object of agricultural rites, as Mannhardt and Frazer have shown, was to ward off evils and to procure benefits. A curious expression of this idea of plenty is found in Layamon, p. 544; Merlin prophesied that "a king should come of Uther Pendragon, that gleemen should make a board of this king's breast, and thereto sit poets very good and eat their will, ere they should thence go, and wine-draughts outdraw from this king's tongue, and drink and revel day and night; this game should last them to the world's end."

for the holding of Round Tables are to be identified with the folk festivals of May, Midsummer, and November, common among Celtic, as well as other peoples. That they recurred with perfect regularity is indicated by Uther's rule commanding the vassals to attend without further summons. Even the duration of the feasts, either four or eight days, is repeated in the Irish fairs and the Welsh Eisteddfodau.¹ The names of the knights on the seats suggests a comparison with the circles of stones representing the participants in Scotch and Welsh ceremonies, and the siege perilous, which destroys its occupant until the Grail hero shall achieve the adventure, may be explained as a survival of the original human sacrifice which we find preserved to the present day under such a variety of forms in the peasant observances of Europe.²

There is, it is true, no mention of a fire at Arthur's Round Table, a feature present universally in beltane festivals. But, as the ancient practices were transformed to fit them for representation in terms of courtly manners, it is difficult to see how this element could have been retained. San-Marte perceives in the fires of the giant of Mt. St. Michael,³ and in that of Kai and Bedwyr on the summit of Plinlimmon,⁴ a hint of the druidical practice.⁵ A more definite hint is perhaps conveyed by the monuments bearing the name of Arthur's Oven, at least one of which we know

¹ Possibly this was originally four or eight nights, the Celtic half week or week.

² For the mock human sacrifice substituted for a real one, see *Golden Bough*, II, 67 seq.

³ Geoffrey, Bk. x, ch. iii.

⁴ Kilhwch and Olwen in *Mabinogion*.

⁵ "Es scheint auf druidischen Feuertienst zu deuten, dessen Andenken jedoch im Märchen schon verwischt und verblichen ist." *Beiträge zur bretonischen und celtisch-germanischen Heldensage*, Quedlingen, 1847, p. 65. Is it too fanciful to imagine that the attempted burning of Guinevere, of Iseut, and of Lunet might have originated in an ancient sacrifice by fire?

to have been thus called as early as the year 1113.¹ It is, however, perfectly legitimate to presume that such a feature as this might readily vanish from an Arthurian tradition which has preserved so few fragments of information concerning the Round Table feasts.

A more important objection to the theory presented in this paper is the distinct statement of Wace that the Round Table was established for the express purpose of preventing quarrels for precedence among Arthur's knights, each of whom thought himself the best, and Layamon's repetition of this statement, coupled with a circumstantial account of a bloody fight at a banquet, the very fight which furnished the reason for the construction of a table of this form. Fights on such occasions were, as Dr. Brown has shown,² not infrequent in Celtic antiquity, and Layamon's story is in all probability based on a Welsh folk-tale. The importance assigned to rank and the pains taken to arrange banqueters in the proper order were, moreover, notably characteristic of both Irish and Welsh custom. Each detail of position at table and right to certain portions of food is provided for in the ancient laws.³ A deviation from such custom would, therefore, undoubtedly make an extraordinary impression, which would naturally be preserved in legend.

Yet, we are tempted to ask, how could a round table secure equality in greater degree than one of any other shape. Proximity to the royal seat would in this case indicate degree of honor just as fully as at a long table. On this point we are fortunately not left to mere hypothesis. The actual fact is established for us on the evidence of

¹ *Zs. f. franz. Spr. und Litt.*, XIII, p. 109.

² *The Round Table before Wace*, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. VII.

³ Joyce, *Social Hist.*, II, 105; Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *Welsh People*, 201.

Posidonius :¹—"The Celtae place food before their guests, putting grass for their seats, and they serve it upon wooden tables raised a very little above the ground. . . . But when many of them sup together, they all sit in a circle ; and the bravest sits in the middle, like the coryphaeus of a chorus ; because he is superior to the rest either in his military skill, or in birth, or in riches : and the man who gives the entertainment sits next to him ; and then on each side the rest of the guests sit in regular order, according as each is eminent or distinguished for anything." In this case there is a Round Table of warriors, closely resembling Arthur's feasts, yet each is tenaciously observant of the rights belonging to his rank.

Wace's statement, however, is definite, and could hardly have been his own invention. On the other hand, experience teaches us to be suspicious of explanations provided to account for customs the real origin of which has been forgotten. This equality predicated by Wace is particularly open to question, and Layamon's folk-tale, which bears on the face of it the appearance of having been added for aetiological purposes, may originally have had no connection whatever with the Round Table.² In the Arthurian stories there is no consistent evidence of such equality, and the very strictness of the rules of precedence at Celtic courts makes it impossible that any body of real vassals could have stood permanently in such a relation to one another. But, as we have seen, the Round Table feasts were not of every day occurrence ; they were ceremonial functions and, according to the theory advanced, they were agricultural festivals. Now this very feature of inversion of ranks, the social

¹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, translated by C. D. Yonge, London, 1854, vol. I, p. 245, Bk. IV, ch. 36. The passing of the wine *deisiol* suggests that the feast here described may have been ceremonial.

² See quotation from Ten Brink, *Round Table before Wace*, p. 190, n. 3.

equality for a brief period of masters with their servants, or even slaves, is found in many rustic celebrations.

Every one will recall at once the Saturnalia at Rome. "The distinction between the free and the servile classes was temporarily abolished. The slave might rail at his master, intoxicate himself like his betters, sit down at table with them, and not even a word of reproof would be administered to him for conduct which at any other season might have been punished with stripes, imprisonment, or death. Nay, more, masters actually changed places with their slaves and waited on them at table; and not till the serf had done eating and drinking was the board cleared and dinner set for his master."¹ Precisely this trait appears in Uther's refusal to eat until he has served the knights of his Round Table.

The same custom prevailed in Great Britain. It is thus described by Robert Bloomfield :²—

"Now, ere sweet Summer bids its long adieu,
And winds blow keen where late the blossom grew,
The bustling day and jovial night must come,
The long accustomed feast of harvest-home . . .
Behold the sound oak table's massy frame
Beside the kitchen floor ! nor careful dame
And generous host invite their friends around,
For all that clear'd the crop, or till'd the ground
Are guests by right of custom :—old and young ; . . .
Here once a year distinction lowers its crest,
The master, servant, and the merry guest,
Are equal all ; and round the happy ring
The reaper's eyes exulting glances fling,
And, warm'd with gratitude, he quits his place,
With sun-burnt hands and ale-enliven'd face,
Refills the jug, his honor'd host to tend,
To serve at once the master and the friend ;
Proud thus to meet his smiles, to share his tale,
His nuts, his conversation, and his ale."

¹ *Golden Bough*, III, 139.

² *The Farmer's Boy*, *Summer*.

Among others Strutt also records this custom: "The harvest-supper in some places is called a mell supper, and a churn supper; at which, Bourne tells us, 'the servant and his master are alike, and everything is done with equal freedom: they sit at the same table, converse freely together, and spend the remaining part of the night in dancing and singing, without any difference or distinction.'" ¹ "I once thought," says Brand, "that the northern name of the entertainment given on this occasion, *i. e.*, Mell-supper, was derived from the French word *mesler*, to mingle or mix together, the master and servant sitting promiscuously at the same table. . . . All being upon an equal footing, or, as the northern vulgar idiom has it, 'Hail fellow well met.'" ²

The equality ascribed to Arthur's knights need not, then, have grown out of any such incident as that narrated by Layamon. Yet we may be sure that some sort of a contest was a feature of the popular festival. The Round Table tournaments, ³ so frequently described in the romances and which subsisted to the close of the Middle Ages, had their parallels in primitive custom. "Posidonius in the third and also in the twentieth book of his Histories, says—'The Celtae sometimes have single combats at their entertainments. For being collected in arms, they go through the exercise, and make feints at, and sometimes they even go so far as to wound one another. And being irritated by this, if the bystanders do not stop them, they will proceed even

¹ *Sports and Pastimes*, London, 1810, p. 321: Brand refers to this equality at the harvest-supper as general, II, 16.

² Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, II, 27, note. For the word *mell*, see *English Dialect Dictionary* of Wright.

³ An interesting example is offered even in the reign of Henry VIII, though it is not called a Round Table. The king and his followers rode to the wood to fetch the May, and after this held a three days' tournament. Hall's *Chronicle*, London, 1809, p. 520. For connection between May and jousts, see Du Cange, s. v. *Maium*, "*Eodem Maii nomine designari videtur hastiludii species, in charta ann. 1346.*"

to kill one another. But in olden times,' he continues, 'there was a custom that a hind quarter of pork was put on the table, and the bravest man took it; and if anyone else laid claim to it, then the two rose up to fight till one of them was slain.'"¹ An incident of the former kind is narrated in Geoffrey's chronicle;²—In honor of his second victory over Cæsar, Cassebelaunus assembles his nobles and their wives and offers an immense sacrifice, after which a great feast is held. In the games that ensue, his nephew and another young nobleman fight in earnest and the nephew is slain. We seem to have here the remains of such a contest as the pretended battle between companies of herdsmen on the Lupercal,³ the struggle between summer and winter,⁴ and the attack and defence of Hallowe'en fires.⁵

The aetiological myth originates as an explanation of rude primitive rites. With the development of the story, the petty chiefs of shepherds, herdsmen and farmers grow into heroic demi-gods and mighty kings, and the manners and practices of a more civilized age clothe and almost hide the early customs. Yet, while these tales acquire literary form and poetic coloring, the ancient ritual subsists almost unaltered among the peasantry, and by comparing the tale and the ritual we can, in the identity of incident and usage, discern their mutual relationship. In the present case, though the investigation deals, not with a narrative, but with an institution, the same principles are operative. All the known features of Arthur's Round Table are found in primitive agricultural celebrations. It is true that no one

¹ Athenæus, *Deipnosophists*, vol. I, p. 248, Bk. IV, c. 40. See also *Litt. Celtique*, VI, 53.

² IV, viii. Wace, with greater detail, 4407-4459.

³ Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.*, 77.

⁴ *Golden Bough*, II, 99 seq.; Brand, I, 246.

⁵ Brand, I, 389.

festival, as recently practised, contains them all, yet this fact furnishes no valid ground for objection, since the details of these observances exhibit a certain fluidity and the traits of one pass readily into any of the others. "The Whitson-tide Holydays," says Strutt,¹ "were celebrated by various pastimes commonly practised upon other festivals," and the same remark may be applied to any one of this group. Bonfires, fighting, inversion of ranks, together with feasting, dancing and singing, are found equally at May, Midsummer and Autumn. Every observance mentioned is attested on Celtic ground, while the most essential feature of the whole, an actual round table in the grassy field, survived even in the eighteenth century folk-custom of Scotland to indicate the original character of Arthur's feasts. Voyaging back through the ages, we can imagine a band of ancient Celts, all of the same clan, gathering to perform their sacrificial rites around what was, perhaps, their symbol of the sun, a circular table cut in the sod. As the clan is included in the nation, the festival of the king acquires greater prominence than the local observances, yet still preserves the essential features of its prototypes.² Arthur, whether agricultural god or semi-historical leader, naturally attracts these ceremonies to his court, and then the French poets, transforming the Celtic hero into a magnificent emperor, conceive of the Round Table as the centre around which his peerless knights gather for feasts and tournaments which reflect the courtly etiquette of mediæval society.

LEWIS F. MOTT.

¹ *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 316. For confusion of festivals see Chamber's *Mediæval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, I, 256.

² The fact, mentioned above, p. 233, that tradition has preserved the record of at least three Round Tables confirms the theory of such a development.

VI.—PARKE GODWIN AND THE TRANSLATION OF ZSCHOKKE'S TALES.¹

Within the last decade students of German in America have been brought to a fuller consciousness of the great debt which American culture owes to the German Fatherland. On this side of the water the *Americana Germanica* and its successor, the *German American Annals*, edited by Prof. Learned, have not only thrown much light on the linguistic, literary and cultural relations of the two countries in the past, but have also served as a stimulus in calling the attention of scholars to many points of contact hitherto overlooked. On the other side of the ocean, Ludwig Viereck, in his book *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts in den Vereinigten Staaten*, has given German scholars a clear historical account of the part which German instruction has played and is still playing in American education.

In the light of these efforts to trace the various channels through which German influence has flowed into American life, it may not be amiss here to call attention to the less ambitious, though, measured by its popular influence, by no means unimportant work of translation; and in a brief sketch to recall the modest services of a man who was one of the first to be inspired by German idealism and one of the pioneers in making German literature known in America and appreciated by the American public. I refer to the late Parke

¹The author desires here to express his obligations to Mr. William Warner Bishop, of the Princeton University Library, for his invaluable services in securing access to the files of rare magazines; to Mr. Geo. Haven Putnam, of New York, for his kindness in lending the author a copy of the original *Zschokke Tales*, now a very rare book; and to Mr. Wm. P. Prentice, of New York, one of the *Zschokke* translators, for his reminiscences of Parke Godwin and the first edition of *Zschokke Tales*.

Godwin, best known through his connection with the *Evening Post*, and for almost three-quarters of a century one of the most familiar figures in the literary, artistic, and social life of New York City.

When and where Godwin first began the study of German I have not been able to ascertain with certainty. The fact that his mother was Dutch may have given him an hereditary predilection for things Teutonic. He spent his youth in his native place, Paterson, N. J. Here, as well as after his college course, while studying law in St. Louis, he may have come in contact with German settlers. But the fact that he could never speak German seems to preclude the probability that his interest in German literature could have been awakened in either of these places. More probable—but still uncertain—is the supposition that he began the study of German while in college. Godwin was a member of the Princeton class of 1834. From 1832 to 1842 an Austrian, Benedict Jaeger, performed a threefold function in Princeton, as professor of Natural History, German, and Italian. Of course modern languages were not a part of the curriculum at this time. But they were taught at hours outside the regular schedule, without extra charge, to those students who desired them. It is, therefore, not impossible that Godwin began the study of German during his student days.

But whether his interest in German was aroused at this time or after 1837, when he settled permanently in New York, his translations were really a part of that wave of German influence which about 1840, as Learned has shown (*Pädagog. Monatsheft*, February, 1901), became the leading and in some respects the transforming force in American culture. This German influence, it will be recalled, manifested itself not only in the reform, after the Prussian model, of the common school system in Ohio by Calvin O. Stowe,

and in Massachusetts by Horace Mann; in the establishment of a university on the German plan—the University of Michigan in 1837; but it also became for a decade or more the chief factor in philosophy and letters. Kant's idealism was the dominant element in the thinking of Emerson, Parker, Hedge, and the other so-called transcendentalists; while Longfellow and that group of idealists gathered at Brook Farm not only paid homage to transcendental philosophy, but drew their literary inspiration largely from German sources. It is this little group of idealists known as the Brook Farmers that forms the link between the new philosophical and literary movement about Boston and the translations of Parke Godwin.

In his political views Godwin was an enthusiastic advocate of free trade and had strong sympathies with the ideas of voluntary association advocated by Fourier. He was thus led to take part with Ripley, Emerson, Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, John S. Dwight, and George William Curtis in the socialistic experiment to realize the ideals of equality and fraternity at Brook Farm. He was never a member of the community, but helped earnestly from the outside. He it was who wrote the first address on behalf of the "Association" and edited its official organ, *The Harbinger*, after it was removed to New York in 1847. His first book too was *A Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier* (1844).

The platform of the Brook Farm reformers contained, concretely stated, three propositions:—In philosophy it aimed to introduce a current of thought which would lift men above the reiteration, in varied forms, of accepted dogmas or creeds and, in the language of the *Dial* (vol. I, 1840), be a "cheerful rationalistic voice amid the din of mourners and polemics." In its scheme of social reform its purpose was to furnish an example of a self-supporting community living

according to its ideal of equality and fraternity among men. And finally, in behalf of popular culture, its aim was to bring a knowledge of art and literature to a people which for a century and a half had been æsthetically starved.

As far as the origin of these propositions is concerned, its scheme of social reform was mostly French, while in its philosophical and literary aspect it received its inspiration from German sources. The *Dial*, in its opening number, points to that "current of thought and feeling which [emanating from Germany] had led many . . . in New England to make new demands upon literature." And in an article on German literature in the same periodical (January, 1841) Parker characterizes it as "the fairest, the richest, the most original, fresh and religious literature of all modern times." He predicts the happiest results from a knowledge of it, "the diligence which shuns superficial study, the boldness which looks for the causes of things and the desire to fall back on what alone is elementary and eternal in criticism and philosophy;" while the translator of Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* writes in the *Democratic Review* (September, 1848): "Many have felt that the strong Teutonic intellect and its rich and varied productions have hitherto been too imperfectly known and appreciated among us, that indeed any adequate knowledge of them has been confined to a circle quite too narrow and exclusive; and consequently, that one of the most original, thoughtful and indefatigable of the European races has not exercised its due influence upon our minds;" and he concludes this paragraph with the words: "It is certain that no book or author can exert a wide and pervading influence until translated into the living language of the people by whom it is read."

This group of idealists was convinced, as Ticknor had been before them, that if they could bring the American public into contact with translations of good literature, the

general taste for reading would grow and the general intelligence and consequent civilization improve. They would begin "by translation," as one of the contributors to the *Dial* writes, and then pass on to "original creation as other nations had done," or, as Ripley says in his introduction to *Specimens of Foreign Literature*: "In this enterprise of a very unambitious character the editors are content with the humble task of representing the views of other minds if thereby they may give fresh impulses to thought, enlarge the treasures of our youthful literature or contribute to a small degree to the gratification of a liberal curiosity."

The members of the Brook Farm Association were not the first to translate works from the German, for, as we shall see in the case of Zschokke, translations were made independent of this movement. Ever since the days when Carlyle and Coleridge began to preach German metaphysics and romanticism in England, and American students (*circa* 1820) such as Everett, Bancroft, and Motley began to attend German Universities, scattering translations from the German had appeared in the British and American magazines. Here and there, too, English translations of longer works had been republished in America. But it was nevertheless the Brook Farm movement which let in the full tide of German influence into American life.

Before 1830 the interest in German may be characterized as sporadic.¹ A number of translations appear in this country, mostly as American editions of English publications. They deal with different subjects, and in most cases serve other than purely literary purposes.² As early as 1820 Otto von

¹ For translations from the German previous to 1825, see Frederick H. Wilkens, *Early Influence of German Literature in America*, in *Americana Germanica*, 1899-1900, pp. 103-205.

² For publications up to 1840 the author has followed mainly the quarterly announcements of new books in the *North American Review* and Roorbach's *Bibliotheca Americana: American Publications between 1820 and 1852*.

Kotzebue's *Journey into Persia* was published in Philadelphia. Scholarly interest accounts for Bancroft's translation of some of Heeren's *Historical Works* in 1824 and 1828 (North Hampton and New York); and religious interests for the appearance of the sacred drama, *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, translated from the German (Boston, 1826), and Prince Alexander von Hohenlohe's *Prayer Book* (1827), a Roman Catholic work, which appeared the next year.

Translations from the German also helped to meet the demand for juvenile reading before 1830. Fouqué's *Undine* was published in Philadelphia in 1824,¹ and from the number of times it was repeated I conclude that it was one of the most popular German translations in America about 1840. From a book notice (*North American Review*, 1839) of a new translation of this story we learn that it was already well known, and the Rev. Thomas Tracy, the translator of this story together with *Sintram and his Companions* (New York, 1845), tells us that it was then being printed for the fifth time. This statement, combined with the fact that it was copyrighted this year, probably to prevent pirating, points to a wide circulation. In the same line of juvenile literature an English version of Grimm's *Popular Stories* appeared in Boston in 1826, to be repeated two years later; and faint echoes of Joachim Heinrich Campe's theories of pedagogical reform reached America in Elizabeth Helmes's (English) translations of his *Columbus* and *Pizarro*,² which were published in the same city in 1829.

In the domain of pure literature we may mention Fouqué's

¹According to Wilkens (p. 142), two editions were published this same year, and also Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*.

²Wilkens (p. 184) cites Campe's *New Robinson Crusoe* before 1803. He thinks the *Columbus*, *Cortez* and *Pizarro* were republished in America before 1826. The date here, 1829, is taken from the *North American Review*, October, 1829. These may be new editions.

Minstrel Love,¹ an English version of which was put upon the market in 1824; M. G. Lewis's (English) translation of Zschokke's romance *Abellino* (Boston, 1826); and James S. Knowles's adaptation of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, which was published the same year (1826) in New York, in connection with the performance of that play at the Park Theatre. Toward the end of this decade (1829) two *German Tales* probably of a juvenile character, entitled *Honig's Owl Tower* and *Mary's Journey*, also appeared in Boston, but whether these were actual translations or original productions whose scene was laid in Germany, the announcement does not state. In conclusion it is worthy of note that the *North American Review* for 1823 contains articles on Grillparzer's *Das Goldene Fliess* with a translation of some passages, and on Schiller's life² (April, 1823) and minor poems (October, 1823); while the German edition of Herder's complete works is reviewed³ and two of his minor poems are translated in the same journal for January, 1825.

Between 1830 and 1839, the year in which John S. Dwight's *Select Minor Poems of Goethe and Schiller* and Margaret Fuller's *Translations of Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe* appeared as vols. 3 and 4 of Ripley's *Specimens of Foreign Literature*, the increasing number of translations of literary works bears witness to the growing interest in German Literature. This result was due, at least in part, to Professor Charles Follen's activity at Harvard, but Calvert's work in Baltimore during this decade is also worthy of mention, and the half dozen German grammars, readers, and dictionaries which were published during these years in Boston, Andover, and Philadelphia show that the desire to learn German was not confined to a single locality.

¹ In 1822 a reprint of the London translation by George Soane was published in New York. Wilkens, p. 142 (No. 173, in Appendix).

² Attributed to A. H. Everett.

³ Attributed to Bancroft.

Omitting minor poems published in magazines, and passing over such works as Johann von Müller's *Universal History* (1832), Pückler-Muskau's *Tutti-Frutti* (1834), F. V. Reinhard's *Memoirs and Confessions* (1832), and a book of German Parables (1834), all of which were American editions of translations made in England and owed their publication to other than literary interests, I find during this period some dozen other translations from Herder, Goethe, Schiller, A. W. Schlegel, Tieck, Zschokke, Heine, and others, done in part by Americans.

Reserving the five or six Zschokke tales for separate consideration, the year 1833 brought an American edition of Black's (English) translation of A. W. Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* (Philadelphia) and of Smith's (English) version of Tieck's tale, *The Lover of Nature*. Herder's *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* was translated by James Marsh and published in Burlington, Vermont, in 1834-35. From Goethe I have discovered only one work, *Götz von Berlichingen*¹ (Philadelphia, 1837), but Schiller, as one would naturally expect, received particular attention. In 1833 Carlyle's (?) *Life of Schiller*, with a preface by Follen, was published in Boston; two years later the *Diver* appeared in the *Democratic Review*; in 1837 his *Song of The Bell* was translated by S. A. Eliot for the Boston Academy of Music, and *Wallenstein's Camp* by George E. Moir, with a memoir of Albert Wallenstein by G. W. Havens, appeared in the same city. The year 1837 also witnessed the appearance of *Wilhelm Tell*, translated by C. T. Brooks, in Providence, R. I. In Baltimore, Calvert published in 1836 a *Lecture on German Literature* (being a sketch of its history from its origin to the present day) and the announcement of this publication in the *North American Review* (October, 1836) informs us that he had already translated two acts of *Don Carlos*. G.

¹ Probably Walter Scott's translation. See Wilkens, p. 135.

W. Havens's English translation of Heine's *Letters Auxiliary to the History of Modern Polite Literature in Germany* was republished in Boston in 1836; and of a miscellaneous character we may mention *Henry, or the Pilgrim Hat on the Wessenstein*, translated by a clergyman (1835), and two publications by Herman Bokum, German Instructor at Harvard: *The Chime of the Bells* from the German of Frederick Strause (Boston, 1836) and *The German Wreath, or Translations in Poetry and Prose from Celebrated Writers, with Biographical and Explanatory Notes*. The last noteworthy book before 1839 was Nathaniel Greene's *Tales from the German*, in two volumes, containing Van der Velde's *Arwed Gyllenstierna*, *The Lichtensteins*, *The Anabaptist*, and *The Sorceress* (Boston, 1838).

By 1840 translations from the German had become quite the literary fashion. A reviewer of Mrs. Jameson's *Dramas of Princess Amelia* in the *North American Review* (April, 1841) makes the statement: "It cannot be denied that German Literature has come to exercise a great influence upon the intellectual character of Europe and America. We may lament over this fact or rejoice at it, according to our several points of view; but we cannot disguise from ourselves its existence. It is thrust upon our notice at every corner of the street, it stares us in the face from the pages of every literary periodical. All the sciences own the power of that influence, on poetry and criticism it acts still more sensibly, etc."

When we recall that the *Dial* began in 1840 to make open propaganda for German philosophy and German literature; that Ripley's *Specimens* contain, besides the works already mentioned, Felton's translation of Menzel's *History of German Literature* (Boston, 1840) and C. T. Brooks's *Songs and Ballads from Uhland, Körner, Bürger and Other Lyric Poets* (1842); that Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany* (Philadelphia, 1845) and Longfellow's *Poets and*

Poetry of Europe (Philadelphia, 1845) all emanated from transcendentalists about Boston ; we cannot doubt that it was the Brook Farm movement which gave the strongest impulse to the study of German literature and laid the broad foundation for a popular appreciation of German prose and poetry. But nevertheless the interest in German was not confined to Boston alone. While Philadelphia had always been a centre for the publication of translations from the German, owing probably to the large German population in Pennsylvania, it is worthy of note that at this time the most prominent translator in that city, Rev. W. H. Furness, a Harvard graduate, was pastor of the First Unitarian Church and must have kept in intimate touch with the transcendental movement about Boston. This may possibly have had something to do with the publication of Longfellow's and Hedge's comprehensive works in the Quaker City.

New York, which previous to 1840 had had little share in the publication of translations from the German, through the efforts of Godwin and other Brook Farm sympathizers now followed the general fashion. All her leading publishers after 1840 put English versions of German works on the market in rapid succession. But the movement spread still further. Longer poems, short stories, and articles on German life and literature appear frequently in the Southern periodicals. As early as 1835 the *Democratic Review* (Washington, D. C.) began to publish short poems from the German, and the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Va.) for 1843, besides two of Zschokke's tales, contains stories from the German translated by a "Lady of Virginia" and a Jane Tayloe W—— of Chillicothe, Ohio, showing that the new literary movement had attained wide geographic extent. The frequent translation of German prose and poetry in the Southern periodicals raises the question also whether Dr. Blättermann's activity as professor of German at the Uni-

versity of Virginia between 1825 and 1840 may not have had some share in creating this widespread interest in German literature.

In fact, my researches, as yet by no means exhaustive, lead me to the belief that more translations of German literary works, from a wider range of authors, were published between the years 1840 and 1850 than in any other decade of our history. It seems that almost every German author mentioned in Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe* and Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany* now found a special translator. Of the older writers, I find Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Emilia Galotti* as well as Moses Mendelssohn's *Phædon*, in the *Democratic Review* for 1848 and 1849. Herder's *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* translated by Thomas Churchill was reprinted in New York (1841), and at least a portion of Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* was done into English by G. Henry Lodge (Boston, 1849).

Of Goethe's works I have noted: the first American edition of Hayward's prose translation of *Faust* (Lowell, 1840), repeated in Boston (1851); *Egmont* (Boston, 1841); a reissue of the wretched *Memoirs of Goethe* (New York, 1844) which had appeared in New York first in 1825; Ward's translation of the *Essays on Art* (1845); the *Autobiography* by Parke Godwin (New York, 1846); *Hermann und Dorothea*¹ (*Democratic Review*, 1848); *Alexis and Dora* (*Democratic Review*, 1849); the first three acts of *Iphigenia in Tauris* (*Democratic Review*, 1849); G. J. Adler's complete translation of the same (New York, 1851); and, cited by Roorbach before 1852, *The Sorrows of Werther*² (Ithaca, New York) and *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels*³

¹A reprint of Holcroft's (London) translation was printed and published in Richmond in 1805. Wilkens, p. 147 (No. 108).

²Four editions of this before 1810, cited by Wilkens, p. 136, note.

³Carlyle's probably.

(Boston); not to mention numerous shorter poems, which were published in almost all the periodicals of the time.

Judged by the number of translations, Schiller is again, as in the previous decade, the most popular of the German poets. The *Democratic Review* for 1839 contains translations of his *Ideal* and *Diver*, by the author of *Pocahontas*. The same year Mrs. Ellet published her *Characters of Schiller* (Boston) with translations, and this book went through a second edition in 1842. The years 1840, 1841 and 1843 brought respectively William Peter's (English) translation of *Wilhelm Tell and Other Poems* (Philadelphia), *Mary Stuart*¹ (Philadelphia, 1841) and the *Maid of Orleans*¹ (Cambridge, 1843). *Cassandra* appeared in the *Democratic Review* for 1843; and the next year saw Bulwer's *Life, with the Ballads and Poems* (New York), *The Fight with the Dragon* (*Democratic Review*) and *The Ghost-Seer*² (New York Sun Office). In 1845 Calvert published his translation of the *Schiller-Goethe Correspondence*, and J. Weiss, *The Aesthetic Letters, Essays, and Philosophic Letters* (Boston and London, 1845), while the *Democratic Review* for this same year (January, 1845) offered the *Song of The Bell*. Morrison's version of the *Revolt of the Netherlands* (New York, 1846) and a new edition of Carlyle's *Life* (New York, 1846) followed in the next year; and in 1847, C. T. Brooks's *Homage of the Arts, with Miscellaneous Pieces from Rückert, Freiligrath and Other German Poets* (Boston); while the *History of the Thirty Years' War* translated by A. J. W. Morrison (New York) closes the list in 1847. If we add to this countless repetitions of his minor poems in the magazines, we realize that Schiller outranks his greater contemporary in popular favor.

In passing to the Romantic School, H. Gates translated

¹ By C. T. Brooks.

² Wilkens (p. 137) cites two translations of this tale in America before 1803.

Bürger's *Song of the Gallant Man* (*Democratic Review*, 1842); and according to Allibone (*Dictionary of Authors*) C. T. Brooks, Richter's *Titan*, about 1840. The same author's *Reminiscences of the Best Hours of Life for the Hour of Death* appeared in Boston in 1841, and Eliza B. Lea published a *Life of Jean Paul Richter with his Autobiography translated* (Boston, 1842) and *Walt and Vult, or The Twins* (in the same city four years later). Noel was responsible for *Flower, Fruit and Thorn . . . or the History of Siebenkäs* (Boston, 1845); and if we add an article on Richter by Calvert in the *New York Review* some time before 1848, we realize that Jean Paul, too, must have been a popular favorite.

The productions of the Romantic School proper also enjoyed a wide circulation, both as separate publications and as magazine articles. A. W. Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* (1833) we have already mentioned. Friedrich Schlegel's *Lectures on the History of Literature*—probably Lockhart's translation—(New York)¹ and his *Philosophy of History*, translated by J. B. Robertson (Philadelphia, 1841²) both appeared in 1841, to be followed six years later by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison's translation of his *Philosophy of Life and Philosophy of Language* (New York, 1847).

The *Democratic Review* for 1845 contained Tieck's *The Friends* and the *Klausenburg*, the latter an adaptation by Mrs. E. F. Ellet, while *Puss in Boots*, with the illustrations of Otto Speckler, was published in New York in 1841. Novalis's *Henry of Ofterdingen*, with Weiss's translation of the poetry, appeared in Cambridge in 1842; and the London translation of his *Christianity or Europe* (1844) was familiar

¹ Published first in Philadelphia, as a reprint of the Edinburgh edition, in 1818. Wilkens, No. 166.

² The fourth edition appeared in 1845.

to theologians on this side of the ocean. The *Democratic Review* published Brentano's *The Three Nuts* (May, 1849), translated by Mrs. St. Simons; E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Astrologer's Tower* (March, 1845), translated by Mrs. Ellet, and *The Faro Table* (June, 1845); Hauff's *Sheik of Alexandria* (1845), translated by S. Gardiner Spring, Jr.; Johanna Schopenhauer's *The Favorite* (May, 1846), translated by Nathaniel Greene; and Auerbach's *The Professor's Lady* (July, 1850), translated by Mary Howitt; while parts of Hauff's *Lichtenstein* were translated in the *Southern Quarterly Review* for 1845 and his *True Lovers' Fortune, or the Beggar Girl of the Pont des Arts* appeared separately in Boston in 1842, and the *American Review* (August, 1846) contained Lyser's *Julietta*, by Mrs. St. Simons, and Auerbach's *A Battle for Life and Death* (March, 1849).

If we add now titles like Heinrich Stilling's *Theobald the Fanatic*¹ (Philadelphia, 1846), Stolle's *The Birthday Tree*, translated by Mary L. Plumb (*Democratic Review*, 1839), Spindler's *The Jew* (New York, 1844), Stiefter's *The Condor* (*Democratic Review*, 1850); stories of anonymous authorship like *Christmas Eve* (Boston, 1841), *Günderode* (Boston, 1842),² *Mary Schweidler, the Amber Witch* (London and New York, 1844),³ and at least seven others that I have counted in the pages of the *Democratic Review* and the *Southern Literary Messenger*; collections like Mrs. Follen's *Gammer Grethel, or German Fairy Tales* (Boston, 1840), *Little Stories from the German* (Boston, 1841), *Miniature Romances from the German* (Boston, 1841), *Tales and Sketches from the French and German* (Boston, 1843) by Nathaniel Greene, *Remarkable Visions* (Boston, 1844), a tale of somnambulism, Schmid's *Interesting Stories, Chiefly in Illustration of Providence* (Boston, 1841),

¹ H. J. Stilling's *Scenes in the World of Spirits* was translated by Gottlieb Shoher in Salem, N. C., about 1815. Wilkens, No. 163.

² Translated by Margaret Fuller.

³ Dr. Meinhold's.

Sacred Allegories (Boston, 1841), and vol. 1 of Sara Austin's *Fragments of German Prose Writers* (New York, 1842); short poems in the periodicals from Arndt, Claudius, Freiligrath, Heine, Herwegh, Körner, Mahlmann, Matthiesson, Müller, Novalis, Smets, and Uhland; miscellaneous works like von Raumer's *America and the American People* (New York, 1846), F. Gerstaecker's *Wanderings and Fortunes of Some German Emigrants* (New York, 1848), Lavater on *Physiognomy*¹ (Hartford, before 1852), and a book on *Student Life in Germany* (Philadelphia, 1842) with about forty of the most famous songs; and finally magazine articles on actors like Devrient and his wife (*Democratic Review*, 1845) and on musicians like Gluck (*Democratic Review*, 1846), Händel (*American Review*, February, 1849), Haydn (*Democratic Review*, 1846), Beethoven (*American Review*, June, 1846), and Mozart (*Democratic Review*, 1847)—we gain some conception of the wide range as well as the popularity of translation from the German at this period. And when we remember that there was no international copyright law, and uncopyrighted translations in the periodicals could be repeated without let or hindrance in weeklies and dailies, the wide publicity given to German literary works is really surprising.

During this period no German writer was more popular than Heinrich Zschokke. In an article on German novelists in the *Southern Quarterly Review* the writer tells us that "no German author of fiction had been so extensively translated;" and a writer in the *Democratic Review* (July, 1845), in all probability Godwin himself, for he was a frequent contributor to this magazine, in a sketch entitled *The Life and Writings of Heinrich Zschokke*, makes the statement: "Hardly a day passes that we do not see in one periodical

¹According to Wilkens (p. 149) an abridged edition of Holcroft's (English) translation was published in Boston not later than 1803.

or another a selection from the almost inexhaustible source which Zschokke supplies."

The reasons for Zschokke's popularity are not far to seek. This teacher, lecturer, dramatist, poet, historian, traveler, diplomatist, stadtholder, newspaper editor, popular instructor, and above all social reformer and philosopher enjoyed a popularity at home which had never been equaled by any previous German author. This is clear from the fact that his *Ausgewählte Dichtungen, Erzählungen und Novellen* ran through nine editions up to 1851, and his *Gesammelte Schriften*, first published between 1851 and 1854, lived through a second edition in 1865, not to mention the frequent reprints of individual publications.

Moreover we learn from his autobiography (*Selbstschau*, Aarau, 1842) that he was already known and read by the Germans in America. Wm. Radde, a New York publisher of German books who flourished about 1850, found it profitable to publish some of the Aarau editions here in America. The Library of Congress possesses a copy of the seventh edition of his *Novellen und Dichtungen* (Aarau and New York). If this corresponds to the seventh Swiss edition, the date would be 1845, and in the same library there is also to be found a copy of the "11te Vermehrte Ausgabe in Commission bei Wm. Radde," with the date 1859. Besides these, the Catalogue of American Publications of 1876 cites—alas! without date—a paper edition of his *Werke* in forty-six volumes at ten and twenty cents per number, by F. W. Thomas in Philadelphia, and a three-volume edition of his *Novellen und Dichtungen*, likewise without date, was published by the same house. These different editions show that Zschokke was well known as a "Volksdichter" by the Germans in America and must have enjoyed a wide popularity. His strong democratic sympathies, his indirect criticisms of social conditions in Germany, and his tolerant

religious views were all sure to find a cordial response in the heart of those Germans who had quitted the fatherland as sufferers from social or religious oppression.

Moreover Zschokke had been long favorably known to both English and Americans as a historian. His *History of the Invasion of Switzerland by the French* appeared in an English version in London as early as 1803, and his *Popular History of Switzerland* (original edition, Aarau, 1822), first translated by an Englishman in 1833, was a popular book in America, being either reprinted or republished as early as 1834, and running through two more editions in 1855 and 1875 (New York).

But most of all, perhaps, Zschokke's *Religious Meditations* paved the way for a ready acceptance of his literary productions. The years 1830–1860 were probably the most religious in our history. Eighteenth century rationalism had spent its force, the higher criticism had not yet appeared to cast doubt on the inspired Word of God, evolution was hardly born, and the scientific spirit had made little or no headway. The pulpit still dominated the thinking and feeling of the middle classes. When we recall the opposition which transcendentalism met with both within and outside of New England, Bancroft's criticism of Goethe for his irreligion and immorality, and the misgivings with which the works of the great poet were received by the orthodox everywhere, the advantage enjoyed by a thoroughly Christian believer in gaining public approbation is at once apparent, though that believer, as Godwin says, "passed from the dark and tempestuous abyss in which he floated into the serene heaven of living faith—not through the gate way of a wretched logic, but along the long and beautiful road of actual work."

Zschokke's *Stunden der Andacht* (1809–1816) ran through twenty-nine editions in Germany up to 1852. In 1835 a

second American edition, *Hours of Devotion*, translated by Morris Mattson, was published in Philadelphia. The translator omits the name of the author, but the fact that his version was made from the 13th German edition leaves us no room to doubt that it was Zschokke. The book was translated once more in London by Burrows in 1838, and again by J. D. Haas in 1843. The Haas edition, under the title *Hours of Meditation and Reflection* was republished by Redfield in New York (1844). To this was added Zschokke's *Thoughts on the Religious, Moral and Social Duties of Life*, by the same publisher in the same year, and the popularity of these books of devotion among the middle classes caused them to reappear under varying titles until the year 1863.

However glaring his deficiencies as a writer, however humble the place that must be assigned him in the German literary hierarchy, Zschokke, nevertheless, from the point of view of the social forces then at work both in Germany and America, possessed those qualities which were bound to make him a power in the struggle for the elevation of the masses. The man who had made the native land of Rousseau and Pestalozzi the scene of his multifarious activity could hardly fail to become a social and political reformer. In Germany his significance lies in the fact that his works gave voice to the discontent at the frivolity and the worthlessness of the ruling aristocracy, and made a plea, on behalf of the people, for a share in the government. Though never radical in tone, they are none the less manifestations of that democratic movement in Germany which culminated in the popular uprisings of 1848.

In America his strong democratic sympathies, his religious orthodoxy, the fact that the purpose of his writing was to produce healthier reading for the public and often to teach some lesson in social ethics, made his works admirable instruments in the hands of those who were eager to

improve the tone of culture among the people. Though he had no literary or æsthetic mission to fulfil and lacked both the sustaining power of imagination and deep emotional draught, his simple and natural style, combined with the qualities of easy sentimentality and folk-humour, was such as to secure for his tales a far greater popularity than was won by works of a much more enduring character. It was therefore most natural that his writing should take a strong hold on such men as Godwin and other advocates of social and political regeneration.

The first American version (and probably also the first translation into English) of any of Zschokke's works takes us back to the year 1800.¹ In his history of the American stage (New York, 1834) Wm. Dunlap, manager of the Park Theatre, tells us that, without knowing until years afterwards who the author was, he translated from the German and adapted to the New York Theatre *Abaellino, the Great Bandit, a grand Dramatic Romance in Five Acts*. This rather lurid melodrama of blood and braggadocio, which is not to be confused with the Zschokke romance of the year previous bearing the same title, was written in 1795, and belongs to Zschokke's period of Storm and Stress. In the words of the author's autobiography, "It flew on the wings of the press into almost all the theatres of Germany." He might have said more, for it was translated into almost all European languages—French, Spanish, Danish, Polish, and, under various disguises, was brought forward on most of the European stages. The play was performed, as the translator says, for the first time in the English language on February 11, 1801, and was a success. Dunlap's comment is interesting. He remarks: "Never was a play more successful or a successful play less productive to its author or translator."

¹ See Wilkens, in the article cited above, pp. 119, 128 and 130 (note).

Abellino must have kept the boards for almost a quarter of a century. The only copy that I have yet discovered is a little 16mo exemplar of the fourth edition preserved in the Lenox library in New York, which was published by Thomas Longworth at the dramatic repository, Shakespeare Gallery, New York, January, 1820. The names of the actors with their respective rôles are printed on the first page, showing that the play must have been performed that winter.¹ In conclusion, it is worth noting that this play² also found its way into English through the French. In the catalogue of the British Museum three editions of such a translation are recorded for the years 1805, 1806, and 1820.

Turning now to the history of the Zschokke *Tales* in America, it would be a wellnigh impossible task to trace them through all their manifold repetitions and adaptations. They were published mostly in periodicals of a popular character, and it is exactly periodicals of this kind which are least likely to be preserved in complete sets and are almost never properly indexed. Further difficulty arises from the fact that the same tale is sometimes published under different titles. At times even the fact that it is a translation from the German is not mentioned. Nevertheless the data that I have been able to gather from many different sources will serve to demonstrate the popularity of this prolific writer and show how his stories passed from one magazine to another.

The first Zschokke translations to reach America came by

¹Since completing this article, the author has discovered a copy of the 2nd edition, 1807; of the 3rd edition, 1814; and a second copy of the 4th edition, 1820, in the C. Fiske Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays, Brown University Library.

²According to a note of Wilkens (p. 120) this adaptation was made by R. W. Elliston for the English stage and reprinted in New York in 1806. See Wilkens, No. 146, for Lewis's dramatization of this same play under the title, *Rugantino; or the Bravo of Venice*. Reprinted in New York, 1810.

way of England. We have already mentioned M. G. Lewis's (English) translation of the romance *Abellino*,¹ made in 1805. This bandit story, like the drama which was based on it a genuine "blood and thunder" production, ran through six editions in England up to 1809, and continued to be republished there until 1857. In 1809 an American edition of this English one was published in Baltimore and Boston, a second in 1826, and a third in 1844, showing that the book must have had a considerable sale on this side of the Atlantic.

In 1833 a Miss M. Montgomery published a book in London and Philadelphia entitled *Lights and Shadows of German Life* (Philadelphia, 1833). This book contained three Zschokke translations: *The Military Campaigns of a Man of Peace*, *The Fugitive of the Jura* (sometimes known as *Florian*), and *It is very Possible!* This Miss Montgomery, who afterwards gained some reputation as a novelist,² was a Welsh lady and the wife of Baron Tautphoeus, Chamberlain to the King of Bavaria. With her literary tastes, she no doubt was familiar with Zschokke's *Tales* in Germany, and took advantage of the growing interest in things German to give the English-speaking world some specimens of popular German literary workmanship.

One of these stories, *Florian or the Fugitive of the Jura*, was translated again ten years later by L. Strack and incorporated into his *Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps* (New York, 1844). Both Miss Montgomery's and Strack's books were no doubt inspired by Zschokke's collection of three tales entitled *Bilder aus der Schweiz* (Aarau, 1824-26). The frequent translation of the same story by different authors is one of the common discoveries in tracing

¹See Wilkens (p. 140) for an account of this story. Reprinted in Baltimore, 1809 (Wilkens, No. 138), and Boston, 1809 (Wilkens, No. 139).

²She is the author of the *Initials* (1850), *Cyrella* (1853), *Quits* (1857), and *At Odds* (1863). Two of these novels were published in London and Philadelphia the same year.

the history of Zschokke's *Tales*, and bears further witness to the hold which he had upon the public.

Three years later, in 1836, *The Creole* (*Der Creole*, Aarau, 1830), one of the least significant of Zschokke's *Tales*, was published by W. H. Colyer in New York. Roorbach (*Bib. Amer.*) cites this book, but does not name the translator. As I have been unable to find any trace of this work elsewhere, I cannot say whether it is an American translation or the reissue of an English edition.

The *Metropolitan Magazine*, a London publication with an American edition in New York, for July, 1838, contains Zschokke's tale, *The Bean*, without even vouchsafing the information that the tale is from the German. This story was again published in *The Journal of a Poor Vicar, Walpurgis Night and other Stories from the German* (Philadelphia, 1845),¹ and this collection was apparently repeated in London in 1856.

The next translation brings us to the year 1840 and the American periodicals of the day. The *Democratic Review* of this year contains the story, *Who governs then? a tale of the court of Louis XV.* This story, according to an article on Zschokke in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* (1845), was published in that periodical sometime before 1845, and the frequent appearance of a story in America in one year and in a British magazine the next, or *vice versa*, lends color to the presumption that these were one and the same translation. Who the translator was, is not stated in the *Democratic Review*, but there are some reasons for thinking that it was Godwin, not on the basis of higher text criticism, but from the fact that the subject of this story is one which would strongly appeal to an enthusiastic advocate of social and political reform.

The theme of the tale is the unsatisfactory position in

¹ Probably translated by the Rev. W. H. Furness.

which all rights and all duties stand in a country whose inhabitants are not protected by a free constitution. When we remember that Godwin was an abolitionist and as a member of the Free Soil Convention in 1848, wrote the brief resolution which proclaimed freedom as the sole object of rational government, the attraction which the topic of this story would have had for him is at once apparent. At any rate we are certain that he translated *The Fool of the Nineteenth Century*, a tale of similar import, for the same *Democratic Review* two years later, and this story, together with *The Sleep-Waker* (Boston, 1842), led up to Godwin's collection of Zschokke's *Tales* which appeared in New York in 1845.

About the year 1840 the firm of Wiley & Putnam, after the fashion of the time, decided to publish a "Library of Choice Reading." E. A. Duykinck was the supervising editor. German literary productions were then the fashion, and Duykinck, who of course knew of Godwin's translations, chose the latter to prepare a collection of Zschokke's tales for the "Library." We may observe in passing that the English translation of *Mary Schweidler, the Amber Witch* (1844) and Godwin's translation of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1846) were also published in this serial.

In the Introduction to Zschokke's *Tales*, Godwin tells us that he "is rather the editor than the translator of these tales, that several of the stories were furnished by friends whose names or initials are attached to the respective translations, and that two others were taken from magazines or newspapers. The account of Zschokke's *Life and Works* in the *Democratic Review* (July, 1845) further informs us that his chief co-translators were Christopher Pearse Cranch, his own wife (Fanny Bryant Godwin), and Gustav C. Hebbe. The collection in its two parts contains ten stories fairly representative of all phases—historical, satirical, mystical, humorous, and moral—of Zschokke's genius.

In the first two stories selected we at once recognize the atmosphere of Brook Farm. *The Fool of the Nineteenth Century*, which Godwin had already published in the *Democratic Review* (1842), reappears with very slight revision. The story tells us how a peasant community, reduced through misgovernment to the depths of poverty and wretchedness, was socially regenerated within the space of five years. While Zschokke at the end does not fail to shrewdly warn the reformer not to make himself too conspicuous by trying to be different from other people, he apparently had never heard of Carlyle's wise dictum: "If you want to reform a man, you must begin with his grandmother." However, the story harmonizes with the idealistic point of view, and must have been popular, as I find it again in Strack's *Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps* already mentioned.

The second story, *Harmonius*, is from the pen of Christopher Pearse Cranch; I imagine this was the only time that it was ever translated and published, for it is too visionary and mystical to suit the average reader. To a very slender thread of incident surcharged with sentimentality, *Harmonius*, the aged philosopher, attaches a discourse which contains elements of Pythagoras's doctrine of the transmigration of souls, Rousseau's "return to nature" dictum, Fichte's theory of the finite, and Goethe's elective affinities. Cranch, it will be recalled, was a frequent visitor at Brook Farm and subsequently became an artist. In 1844 he published a volume of transcendental poetry. The reviewer of this book in the *Southern Quarterly Review* (July, 1844) remarks: "German is a good thing—the language, the literature and to some extent the philosophy—but it has sadly addled some weak minds in and about the precincts of Boston." However, when Cranch died in 1892, Curtis wrote, "He was of that choice band who are always true to the ideals of youth, and whose hearts are the citadels which conquering time assails in vain."

To the social and philosophical character of the first two stories *Jack Steam* stands in striking contrast. It may be defined as an extravaganza in folk-humor, satirizing the narrowness and pedantry of the citizen in small towns and the frivolity of court life in the duodecimo principality. I conjecture from its character that this is the story which Godwin took from a newspaper. I have not discovered it elsewhere, and hardly think that it can come from Godwin's pen, for it is literally honeycombed with inaccuracies and mistranslations. Coming from so many different sources, the versions of these stories naturally differ widely in quality. On the whole, however, it may be said that the Brook Farmers are not model translators. Their inability to speak German has caused them to miss the real import of many idiomatic expressions. On the other hand, they were men of decided literary taste, and in the majority of cases they give us a good story in good English, although their works cannot always pass as faithful reproductions of the original.

Jack Steam is followed by that charming historic idyll, *Floretta, or the First Love of Henry IV.* This story touches on the evil consequences of social inequality, one of Zschokke's favorite themes. It portrays in the simplest manner the love affair of Henry IV with a gardener's daughter and its fatal consequences to the latter. It is to be regretted that Godwin did not republish this story when he edited a second edition of the *Tales* in 1889. This translation, I conclude, is by Godwin himself, although another version of it by G. F. Struve had appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1843. A careful comparison has failed to reveal any connection between the two. In 1846 this story appeared again in vol. 10 of the *Parlor Novelist*, a Belfast (Ireland) serial which was published in 1846-47.

The last story in Part I is the *Adventures of a New Year's*

Eve,¹ the tale which perhaps will prove the most enduring of the Zschokke productions. Godwin did not translate this, but took it from *Blackwood's Magazine* of May, 1837. The English translator shows a decided tendency to lapse into elegance of diction, which is relieved, in the scenes between the police and night watchmen, by a dash of 'cockney.' Godwin has removed the latter and brought the whole nearer to the simplicity and directness of the original. From the article on Zschokke in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* (1845) we learn that this story was very popular in England and furnished the materials for a farce at one of the London theatres.

Illumination, or the Sleep-Waker, a tale of clairvoyancy, the first story of Part II, leads us into the region of the mysterious and supernatural. An age which lays exclusive emphasis on the psychical or spiritual element in man's nature is very prone to seek for supernatural manifestations of this mysterious element. Transcendentalism brought a number of fads—such as spiritualism, mesmerism, animal magnetism, etc.—in its wake. A glance at the literature of this period reveals tales of somnambulism, wonderful visions, mysticism, witchcraft, and the like. Many of these stories were translated and published in America, as we have noticed above; and Poe's tales, it may be observed in passing, though infinitely superior in everything that pertains to artistic workmanship, were likewise the children of a transcendental age. Zschokke himself believed that he possessed the power of clairvoyancy, and in his *Verklärungen* (sometimes known as *Hortensia*) he has wandered into the misty region of the supernatural.

That Godwin and his wife were deeply impressed by these

¹As early as 1821 Wilkens, p. 142 and Appendix, 172, cites a translation made by Tobias Watkins in Baltimore, in *Tales of a Tripod; or a Delphian Evening*.

stories appears from the fact that they had already translated the *Verklärungen*, under the title of *The Sleep-Waker*, and published it in Boston in 1842. That Godwin was the translator of this story follows from a book notice in the *Democratic Review* (February, 1843), which states that the *Sleep-Waker* was by the same translator as the *Fool of the Nineteenth Century* (*Democratic Review*, 1842), the text of which is identical with that of the same story in Godwin's collection.

Godwin himself is also responsible for *The Broken Cup*, or, as it is more correctly translated in the 1889 edition, *The Broken Pitcher*, unquestionably the best of Zschokke's humorous pieces. In spite of some lapses from the simple into a literary tone, Godwin has on the whole well preserved the serio-comic character of this story with all its shortness and crispness. It probably deserves to rank as the best of his own translations.

The version of *Jonathan Frock* contained in this collection we owe to Gustave C. Hebbe. This is a story which hinges on the ever present question of Jewish social disability. As a translation it is by far the best in the whole book. Hebbe was evidently a master of both German and English, and his work shows no signs of that struggle with a resisting medium which is so noticeable in many of the others. He is also the translator of *The Princess of Wolfenbüttel*, which was published in the *Omnibus of Modern Romance* (New York, 1844). We hear of him later also as the aspiring author of a *Universal History*. *Jonathan Frock* was one of the popular favorites. In 1846 it appears in Belfast as a contribution to the *Parlor Novelist*, and four years later is to be found in vol. VI of the *People's Journal* (London, 1850).

Fannie Bryant Godwin contributed the next tale, *The Involuntary Journey*. This story, in epistolary form, of the misfortunes of a count who leaves a ball-room in Moscow during the Napoleonic invasion to fetch his sister's pearl

necklace and through the vicissitudes of war is carried off to France and Spain, is one of Zschokke's weakest productions. It was evidently not popular, for I have found no mention of it elsewhere.

The last story of the collection, however, is one which was probably translated oftener than any other. It is *The Vicar of Wiltshire*, and Zschokke's pathetic tale is said to have been occasioned by the same *Journal of a Vicar in Wiltshire*, published in the *British Magazine* (1766), which led Goldsmith to write his *Vicar of Wakefield*. In a note Godwin informs us that his version is based on two previous translations, that of Mrs. Ellet in a New York magazine—I conjecture the *New York Review*—and the Reverend W. H. Furness's translation, which first appeared in *The Gift* (1844), one of those "richly embellished" annuals of the period. This was later incorporated into Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany*.

Still another translation by S. A. (Sara Austen) was printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for October, 1843. This version was made in England, if my conjecture as to the translator is correct. The same story turns up again in that collection of Zschokke's tales already mentioned, *Journal of a Poor Vicar, The Walpurgis Night and other Stories* (Philadelphia, 1845), which probably comes from the pen of W. H. Furness. Its immense popularity is further attested by the book announcement of *The Gift* in the *Southern Quarterly Review* for 1844. The writer remarks: "We may mention to the editor, however, that the article from Zschokke, 'The Journal of a Poor Vicar,' though very pleasant reading, has been too frequently translated and republished in this country not to be sufficiently well known to the reader."

In 1889 Godwin was called upon to reëdit a little volume of Zschokke's tales for the "Knickerbocker Nugget" series

which G. P. Putnam's Sons were then publishing. Over forty years had passed since the first edition had been put into the hands of the public. Transcendentalism had completed its task of bridging the chasm between the mechanical theories of the 18th century and the great organic conception of the universe which was destined to control the thinking of the last quarter of the 19th. The all-comprehensive idea of evolution was teaching men that the hope of transforming society otherwise than by the slow process of gradual change was vain. Accordingly Godwin winnowed the chaff from the wheat. He rejected all those stories which smacked of the social reforms and vagaries of transcendentalism, and for the new edition chose only three of the old : *The Adventures of a New Year's Eve*, *The Broken Pitcher*, and *Jonathan Frock*, stories which for their literary merit could be accepted as classics.

To these were added a fourth story, *Walpurgis Night*, translated by William P. Prentice. This story in the uncanny and horrible, which reminds us of Poe or Hoffmann, with its moral lesson on the blessings of a pure heart and sound conscience, was also a popular story. It is to be found in the collection, *Journal of a Poor Vicar*, etc., which has just been mentioned. In 1850 an adaptation of the story, under the title *Phantasies of Walpurgis Night*, was published in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine*, and still another translation is to be found as late as 1870 in *Temple Bar*. This version was reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine* for the same year. Mr. Prentice, the translator of the story in Godwin's collection, informs me that his version was made independently of these others. His letter throws still more light on the Zschokke vogue. He himself translated other Zschokke stories which have never been published, and he distinctly remembers that George W. Curtis also turned two or three into English, which likewise were not destined to see

the light of publicity. It is interesting to note in closing that these four stories seem to have found a permanent place in American literature. At the beginning of the 20th century they had been republished as one of the "Ariel Booklets" by the Putnams.

The subsequent history of the *Zschokke Tales* can be briefly told. My researches have brought to light at least a dozen other translations besides those already mentioned. Their history is substantially the same as the foregoing. The dates and places of their publication, with the names of the translators so far as they can be determined, can be seen in the bibliography which will follow this paper as an appendix. By 1850 Zschokke's popularity had begun to wane. Between 1850 and 1860 new editions of the old translations were republished, and one or two new ones added. Since 1860, so far as I am aware, no new editions, except that of Godwin, have appeared.

It would be useless to seek for any great literary significance in the history of Zschokke's *Tales* in America. He was not artist enough to inspire other men with new literary ideals. But his works, conservative and healthy in tone, did serve to increase the taste for good reading among the people, to give popularity to the short story, and to break down popular prejudice against German philosophy and German literature.

In conclusion we must refer to another, and in some respects more important, translation of Godwin's, that of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, published in 1846. This book brings us back to the Brook Farmers again. Only the first five books were done by Godwin. John Henry Hopkins, son of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, was responsible for the second five, while his Brook Farm friends, Charles A. Dana (who had taught German and Greek there) and John S. Dwight, completed the remaining ten books.

This was the first translation of Goethe's autobiography into the English language, for the *Memoirs of Goethe*, which was an English version of a French translation, was so garbled that it is unworthy of the name. This American translation, as H. S. White informs us in his article, *Goethe in America* (*Goethe Jahrbuch*, 1884), was subsequently sold to Bohn in London, and after revision by Oxenford now holds its place as the standard English version of the great poet's autobiography.

But Godwin's service is not merely to have added a few tales and a celebrated autobiography to the store of English literature. All his life he kept in touch with German literary and philosophic development, and through reviews, essays, and addresses interpreted its significance to his fellow countrymen. Before Emerson's famous essay on Goethe was published (1850), Godwin's critical insight and sense of justice had already assigned to the great poet the place in modern civilization which the world has since accorded him. And in one of his last essays on the *Germans in America* (*Liber Scriptorum* of the Authors' Club, New York, 1893) he pays a noble tribute to German research, German criticism, German philosophy, and German music. The enthusiasm for the ideals which had inspired his youth flashes out again in the opening paragraph of this essay, and with it I shall close this paper: "Goethe means the German race, and as Homer meant Greece, Dante meant the Middle Ages, as Shakespeare meant awakening, world-exploring England, so the German race means the highest aspirations and attainments of the modern world."

JOHN PRESTON HOSKINS.

APPENDIX.

The following bibliography of Zschokke translations is based on a consultation of the following :—

Roorbach's *Bibliotheca Americana*: Catalogue of American Publications, 1820-1852.

Catalogue of the Library Company, Philadelphia, 1856.

Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.

Printed Catalogues of :

Library of Congress.

Peabody Museum, Baltimore.

Mercantile Library, Philadelphia.

Astor Library, New York.

Lenox Library, New York.

Boston Athenæum.

British Museum.

Also a number of Private Libraries, such as Cambridge, Mass., High School.

Indexes and Book Announcements in :

North American Review, 1820-1851.

Democratic Review, 1835-1852.

American Review, 1845-1851.

Southern Literary Messenger, 1838-1851.

Southern Quarterly Review, 1842-1851.

Metropolitan Magazine, 1836-41.

Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1834, 1835, 1838, 1840, 1844, 1845, 1847.

(A complete file of this magazine could not be found in New York. The volumes consulted belong to Princeton University Library.)

Blackwood's Magazine, up to 1857.

London Quarterly Review, 1830-1850.

People's Journal (London), 1850.

(Only one volume attainable.)

Poole's *Index*: Of value where the title of the story is known.

Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*, also of value when the translator is known.

The German titles of the Tales are taken from the First Edition of Goedecke's *Grundriss*, and only the date of the first appearance is given. Goedecke is not particularly full in regard to Zschokke.

An exhaustive bibliography of Zschokke translations would be well-nigh an impossibility at present. If the statements of book reviewers of the time are correct, his stories appeared frequently in weeklies and even dailies. Few of these can now be found, and none of them are indexed.

Indeed, some of the magazines mentioned are now seldom to be found in complete sets. The present bibliography is therefore as complete as the author can hope to make it with the means at his command. English translations have been given because their presence in American Libraries show that these works were also known in America.

1. ARTICLES ON ZSCHOKKE.

Chamber's *Journal*, Edinburgh, 1845, repeated in *Eclectic Magazine*, 8, 299.

Democratic Review, 1845, by Parke Godwin?

London Quarterly Review, 21, 1.

Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine*, N. S. 12, 1845.

A brief account of some instances in the Life of Zschokke, by J. Crawford Woods, Adelaide, Australia, 1863. (British Museum.)

2. GERMAN EDITIONS IN AMERICA.

Zschokke's Werke: 46 vols. Pap. at 10 and 20 cts. per vol. F. W. Thomas, Philadelphia. No date. For titles of separate volumes see Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.

Novellen und Dichtungen: 3 vols. F. W. Thomas, Philadelphia. No date.

Novellen und Dichtungen: 7 Auflage; Aarau und New York. At New York by William Radde. 1845? (Library of Congress.)

The Same: 11^{te} Vermehrte Ausgabe. In commission bei William Radde. New York. 1859. (Library of Congress.)

Stunden der Andacht: Kohler, Philadelphia. No date. (See Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)

Der Tote Gast, eine Erzählung. New York, 1839. (Astor Library.)

3. TRANSLATIONS.

Abellino, the Bravo of Venice. A Romance. (Abellino der grosse Bandit. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1794.) Translated from the German by M. G. Lewis. London, 1805, 1809 (6th ed.), 1830, 1856, 1857. (British Museum.)

The Same: Boston, 1840, Boston Public Library.

Abellino, the Great Bandit. A grand dramatic Romance in Five Acts. (Abellino, der grosse Bandit. Ein Trauerspiel nach der Geschichte dieses Namens, Frankfurt a. d. O. 1795.) Translated from the German and adapted to the New York theatre by

- William Dunlap, Esq., 1800. 4th Edition. New York, 1820, published by Thomas Longworth, 16°. (Lenox Library.)
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- Alamontade or the Galley Slave. (Alamontade der Galeeren-Slave. Zürich, 1802.) In Tales from the German, by J. Oxenford and C. A. Feeling [London, 1844]. (British Museum.)
- According to Goedecke's *Grundriss*, translated in London in 1827.
- The Same : translated from the 45th Edition by Jno. T. Sullivan, Philadelphia, 1845. (Catalogued in the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1856.)
- Autobiography : (Selbstschau, Aarau, 1842). London, 1845. 33rd Part of "Foreign Library." Chapman and Hall. (Library of Congress.)
- The Bean : (Die Bohne, eine Erzählungen, in Die Erheiterungen, 1811.) *Metropolitan Magazine*, London and New York (July), 1838.
- The Same : in Walpurgis Night, Journal of a Poor Vicar, and other stories, [by W. H. Furness], Philadelphia, 1845.
- The Broken Cup : See the Broken Pitcher.
- The Broken Pitcher : (Der zerbrochene Krug, in Die Erheiterungen, 1813) translated by Parke Godwin in Zschokke's Tales, New York, 1845. Wiley and Putnam. Also in Tales by Zschokke, by P. G., 1889 (G. P. Putnam's Sons : Knickerbocker Nugget Series.) Reprinted as Ariel Booklet [1900].
- The Canary Bird : See Story of Fritz, the bird catcher.
- The Creole : (Der Creole. Eine Erzählung, Aarau, 1830) published by W. H. Colyer, New York, 1836. (Cited by Roorbach.)
- The Dead Guest : (Der tote Gast, cited by Goedecke first in vol. XVIII of *Sämmtliche Ausgewählte Schriften*, Aarau, 1824-28). Published by Radde, New York. (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
- The Same : translated by G. C. McWhorter. D. Appleton & Co., New York. (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
- Floretta, or the First Love of Henry IV. (Florette oder die erste Liebe Heinrichs IV, Die Erheiterungen, 1818, L. Weber unterzeichnet) translated from the German of Henry Zschokke by G. F. Struve. *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1843.

- The Same : translated by Parke Godwin, in *Zschokke's Tales*, New York, 1845.
- The Same : in *Parlor Novelist*, vol. 10. Belfast, 1846. (Probably Godwin's or Struve's Translation.)
- Florian, the Fugitive of the Jura (*Der Flüchtling im Jura*, 1824, in *Bilder aus der Schweiz*, Aarau, 1824-26) in Miss M. M. Montgomery's *Lights and Shadows of German Life*. London and Philadelphia, 1833.
- The Same : in *Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps*. Translated by L. Strack, 12°, New York, 1844. (Boston Athenæum.) Reprinted in 1845 under the title : *A Fool of the Nineteenth Century, and other stories*.
- A Fool of the Nineteenth Century (*Ein Narr des 19^{ten} Jahrhunderts*, in *Rheinisches Taschenbuch*, 1822), translated by [Parke Godwin] in *Democratic Review*, October, 1842.
- The Same : the foregoing in *Zschokke's Tales* by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.
- The Same : *Oliver Flyeln, a Fool of the Nineteenth Century*, in *Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps*, translated by L. Strack, New York, 1844.
- A Fool of the Nineteenth Century and other stories, New York, 1845. See *Incidents of Social Life*, etc.
- The Free Court of Aarau ; see *Veronica*.
- Fritz, the Bird Catcher ; see *Story of Fritz, the Bird Catcher*.
- The Galley Slave ; see *Alamontade*.
- Goldenthal : (*Das Goldmacherdorf*, Aarau, 1817) a tale translated from the German. London, 1833. (British Museum.)
- Goldmaker's Village, translated from the German. Burns, London, 1845. (British Museum.)
- The Same : G. S. Appleton, Philadelphia, 1845. (Roorbach.)
- The Same : in *Chamber's Miscellany of Instructive and Entertaining Tracts*, Edinburgh and London. No date. (Catalogue of Cambridge, Mass., High School.)
- Harmonius : (*Harmonius*, in *Vignetten*, Basel, 1801) translated by Christopher Pearse Cranch in *Zschokke's Tales*, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.
- History of the Invasion of Switzerland by the French. (Not cited by Goedecke.) London, 1803. (Library of Congress.)
- (Popular) History of Switzerland (*Des Schweizerlands Geschichten für das Schweizervolk*, Aarau, 1822, 5^{te} Aufl., 1834). From the German with the author's subsequent alterations of the original work. Translated by [W. H. Howe]. Frankfurt a. M. 1833.
- (Popular) History of Switzerland : Boston, 1834. (Library of Congress.)

- The Same : with a continuation to the year 1848, by F. G. Shaw, New York, 1855. Reprinted 1875. (Library of Congress.)
- The Same : Mason, Boston. (No date.) (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
- Hortensia : (Die Verklärungen, in Die Erheiterungen, 1814).
- Also called : Illumination or the Sleep-Waker, a tale from the German 'translated by [Parke Godwin and Fanny Bryant Godwin]. Monroe & Co., Boston, 1842.
- The Same : in Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps, translated by L. Strack, New York, 1844.
- The Same : under title : Illumination or the Sleep-Waker in Zschokke's Tales, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.
- The Same : Published by J. Winchester, New York (before 1852). Roorbach.
- The Same : under title, Hortensia or the Transfigurations, in A. J. Davis' *Memoranda*, 1868. (Astor Library.)
- Hours of Devotion : (Stunden der Andacht zur Beförderung wahren Christenthums und häuslicher Gottesverehrung, 1-8 Jahrgang, Aarau, 1809-1816) translated by Morris Mattson. 2nd American from the 13th German Edition. Philadelphia, Kay and Brother, 1835.
- The Same : translated by Burrows. London, 1838. (Library of Congress.)
- Hours of Meditation and Devotional Reflection : translated from the German by J. D. Haas, London, 1843, 1847. Reprinted, London and Manchester, 1863.
- Hours of Meditation and Reflection : Haas's translation. J. S. Redfield, New York, 1844.
- Illumination : see Hortensia.
- Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps. Translated by L. Strack, New York, 1844. Contains
- Florian, the Fugitive of the Jura.
- Oliver Flyeln, A Fool of the Nineteenth Century.
- Hortensia.
- The Same : reprinted in New York, 1845, under the title : A Fool of the Nineteenth Century and other stories. Translated by L. Strack.
- The Involuntary Journey (Die Reise wider Willen, in Die Erheiterungen, 1814). Translated by Fanny Bryant Godwin, in Zschokke's Tales, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.
- It is very Possible. (Es ist sehr möglich, in Die Erheiterungen, 1817. L. Weber unterzeichnet) translated in Miss M. M. Montgomery's Lights and Shadows of German Life. London and Philadelphia, 1833.

- Jack Steam, the busy-body :** (Hans Dampf in allen Gassen, in *Die Erheiterungen*, 1814) in *Zschokke's Tales*, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.
- Jonathan Frock :** (Jonathan Frock, in *Die Erheiterungen*, 1816) translated by Gustav C. Hebbe, in *Zschokke's Tales*, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845, 1889, 1900.
- The Same :** translated from the German, in *Parlor Novelist*. Vol. 10. Belfast, 1846-47.
- The Same :** in *People's Journal*. Vol. 6. London, 1846-51.
- Journal of a Poor Vicar :** see *Leaves from the Diary of a Poor Vicar of Wiltshire*.
- Julius :** (Julius, oder die zwei Gefangenen, in *Genfer Novellen*, nach dem französischen, von R. Töpffer, Aarau, 1839) in *Julius and other Tales*, translated from the German by W. H. Furness, Philadelphia, 1856.
- The Walpurgis Night, Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar, the Bean, Julius, and other tales from the German.** [London], 1856. (British Museum.)
- Labor stands on Golden Feet :** (Meister Jordan, oder Handwerk hat goldnen Boden, Aarau, 1848) translated by J. Yeats Cassell, New York. (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
- The Same :** London, 1852. 3rd Ed., 1870. (British Museum.)
- The Lace Maker of Namur :** (Der Blondin von Namur (?), in *Die Erheiterungen*, 1813.)
- According to Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine*, 1845, p. 436, this story appeared in England about 1845.
- Leaves from the Diary of a Poor Vicar of Wiltshire. A Fragment :** (Das Neujahrgeschenk aus dem Tagebuch des Armen Pfarr-Vikars von Wiltshire, in *Die Erheiterungen*, 1819) translated by S. A. (Sara Austen) from the German. *Southern Literary Messenger*, October, 1843.
- Journal of a Poor Vicar :** translated by W. H. Furness in *The Gift*. Carey and Hart, Philadelphia, 1844.
- The Same :** by W. H. Furness in *Hedge's Prose Writers of Germany*, Philadelphia, 1845.
- The Same :** in the *Journal of a Poor Vicar, the Walpurgis Night and other stories* (by W. H. Furness?) Philadelphia, 1845.
- The Same :** in *The Walpurgis Night, Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar, the Bean, Julius, and other tales from the German*. London, 1856. (British Museum.)
- The Same :** An Abridgment, in *Chamber's Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts*. London, circa 1845.
- Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar in Wiltshire :** in *Zschokke's Tales*, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845. (Godwin informs us that

- his translation is based on W. H. Furness's and one by Mrs. Ellet, which appeared in a New York monthly magazine.)
- Journal of a Poor Vicar : published by J. S. Taylor, New York, 1852. (Roorbach.)
- Lights and Shadows of German Life, by Miss M. M. Montgomery, London and Philadelphia, 1833. Contains
The Military Campaigns of a Man of Peace.
The Fugitive of the Jura.
It is very Possible.
- Lover's Stratagem and other tales : (Wie man lieben muss, or Eros) published by Linton, London, 1848. (Library of Congress and British Museum.)
- Marble and Conrad : (? ?) in Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps, by L. Strack, New York, 1844.
- Meditations on Death and Eternity : translated by F. Rowan, London, 1862, 1863. (Boston Athenæum.) See Hours of Devotion and Meditation.
- The Military Campaigns of a Man of Peace : (Kriegerische Abenteuer eines Friedfertigen, in Die Erheiterungen, 1811) in Miss M. M. Montgomery's Lights and Shadows of German Life. Philadelphia, 1833.
- New Year's Eve : see Adventures of a New Year's Eve.
- Oliver Flyeln : see A Fool of the Nineteenth Century.
- Phantasies of Walpurgis Night : see Walpurgis Night.
- The Present State of Christianity : (Darstellung gegenwärtiger Ausbreitung des Christenthums auf dem Erdball, Aarau, 1819) founded on a work by J. H. D. Z., London, 1828. (British Museum.)
- The Prime Minister (?) : published by J. Winchester, New York, before 1852. (Roorbach.)
- The Princess of Wolfenbüttel : (Die Prinzessin von Wolfenbüttel, Zürich, 1804, 1810) translated from the German by G. C. Hebbe, in Omnibus of Modern Romance, New York, 1844. (Astor Library.)
- A Psalm : (Sehnsucht nach dem Schauen des Unsichtbaren, Ein Psalm, Die Erheiterungen, 1819) translated by C. T. Brooks, in *Christian Examiner*, 1851.
- Reactions : see Who Governs then?
- On the Religious, Moral and Social Duties of Life (see Hours of Devotion) : translated from the German by J. D. Haas, published by J. S. Redfield, New York, 1844.
- Rose of Disentis : (Die Rose von Disentis, in Aahrenlese, Aarau, 1844) published by Sheldon, New York. (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
- The Rum Plague, a narrative for the admonition of both old and young : (Die Brautweinpest, Eine Trauergeschichte zur Warnung und

Lehre für Reich und Arm, Alt und Jung, Aarau, 1837, 1838, 1842) published by J. S. Taylor, New York, 1853. (Roorbach.)

The Sleep-Waker : see Hortensia.

Story of Fritz, the Bird-catcher and his Canary (? ?): in Chamber's Miscellany of Instructive and Entertaining Tracts, vol. VI, London. (Catalogue of Cambridge, Mass., High School.)

The Canary Bird and other Tales, originally German, translated from the French. R. Donahue, Philadelphia, 1836.

Stray Leaves from the German, or Select Essays from Zschokke, translated by W. B. Flower and E. F. S., Knutsford (Printed), 1845. (British Museum.)

Tales from the German of Heinrich Zschokke by Parke Godwin: New York, Wiley and Putnam, 1845.

Part I contains :

Fool of the Nineteenth Century. Translated by Parke Godwin.
Harmonius. Translated by C. P. Cranch.

Jack Steam.

Floretta, or the First Love of Henry IV. By Parke Godwin.

Adventures of a New Year's Eve. (From *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1837.)

Part II :

Illumination ; or the Sleep Waker. By Fanny Bryant Godwin and Parke Godwin. (See Hortensia.)

The Broken Cup (Pitcher). By Parke Godwin.

Jonathan Frock. By Gustav C. Hebbe.

The Involuntary Journey. By Fanny Bryant Godwin.

Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar in Wiltshire. (Based on W. H. Furness', and Mrs. Ellet's translations of the same.)

Tales by Heinrich Zschokke : A selection from the foregoing and one additional tale. By Parke Godwin. New York, 1889, G. P. Putnam's Sons. Knickerbocker Nugget Series.

Contains : Adventures of a New Year's Eve, The Broken Pitcher, Jonathan Frock, and Walpurgis Night, translated by William P. Prentice.

The Same : Reprint of the foregoing. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York [1900], in Ariel Booklets.

Veronica ; or the Free Court of Aarau. (Der Freihof von Aarau, in Vols. 25, 26, 27, of *Sämmt. ausgewählte Schriften*, Aarau, 1826-28). Translated from the German of Zschokke by the author of *Giafar al Barmeki* (i. e. Samuel Gardiner Spring, Jr.), New York, 1845. Harper & Bros. Library of Select Novels.

The Same : in *Parlor Novelist*, vol. XIV, Belfast, 1846-47.

Vicar of Wiltshire : see *Leaves from the Diary of a Poor Vicar of Wiltshire*.

Village Mayor : (??) according to the Cambridge High School Catalogue in Chamber's Miscellany of Interesting and Entertaining Tracts, vol. vi.

Walpurgis Night : (Die Walpurgis Nacht, in Die Erheiterungen, 1812) in The Journal of a Poor Vicar, the Walpurgis Night and other Stories. W. H. Furness (?) Philadelphia, 1845. (Library of Congress.)

The Same : in The Walpurgis Night, Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar, The Bean, Julius and other Stories from the German. [London.] 1856. (British Museum.)

The same : translated by William P. Prentice in Tales by Heinrich Zschokke. By Parke Godwin, 1889 (Knickerbocker Nuggets) and [1900] Ariel Booklets. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Phantasies of Walpurgis Night : (H. Zschokke) Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine*, N. S. 17, 1850.

Walpurgis Night : in *Temple Bar* 28, 370, 1870, and reprinted *Eclectic Magazine*, 41, 516.

Who Governs Then? A Tale of the Court of Louis XV : (Rückwirkungen oder : Wer regiert denn? in vol. xx of *Sämmt. ausgewählte Schriften*, Aarau, 1824-28) translated by Parke Godwin (?) in *Democratic Review*, 1840.

Reactions, or Who Governs Then? in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* before 1845. (Acc. to article on Zschokke in this Magazine for 1845.)

VII.—THE DETECTION OF PERSONALITY IN LITERATURE.

Most literary productions are definitely accepted as the work of certain men, whose personality is associated with, and in a measure fixed by, their writings. Cases are not uncommon, however, in which the originality of a book is dubious, or its authorship uncertain ; and students of literature are then called upon to decide whether a work, or a passage in a work, is the product of one man's brain, or of another's. In other words, they must determine the personality back of the written words.

The problem is ultimately psychological. It will be admitted by all, I suppose, as almost impossible that two independent writers, with all their inevitable differences in temperament and education, should look at a subject from exactly the same point of view, and then express their idea in exactly the same wording. A coincidence in idea alone would be unusual enough, and identical terms in addition, hardly short of miraculous. But in practice the difficulty of identifying a writer's touch wherever it may appear is often insurmountable. There are some attributes of existence in which all men are interested,—love, death, deceit, loyalty ; and each writer cannot coin new words to represent those facts. Whenever the author's individuality does not amount to mannerism, there must often be an approximation of utterance which defies the critic's power of discrimination. To settle such questions would require that the critic penetrate the spirit of his subjects until he can put himself in their places, can substitute their thoughts for his own ; a feat hard enough to accomplish with respect to living persons, whom we meet every day ; and far more difficult

with a dead name, whose personality is transmitted to us very likely chiefly through literary remains, which may show only one side of the man's real nature. And the critic's own bias may be such as to warp all his decisions.

These considerations will become more clear in concrete examples. Disputes concerning personality fall naturally into two general divisions: first, plagiarism versus originality, that is, an author's claim to priority of invention in some phrase, idea or plot which he has used, and second, the less common but more weighty cases where the real author of some play, or novel, or essay is unknown, and the claims of several men are upheld by as many critics.

PART ONE.

The first division, which covers the subject of interinfluence between writers, may be split into its component sections as follows: (1), similar literary form, specifically, verse form; (2), similar word or phrase; (3), similar subject or plot; and (4), similar mode of thought. I wish to consider these cases in order, trying to determine what relative value one can assign to each as proof of plagiarism or lack of originality.

1. The simplest kind of reliance upon the work of another involves neither words nor ideas, but only external form, the mould in which the words are run. Such moulds may easily be traced in their passage from the hands of one to another, but they are more likely to be the product of a period than of an individual. Prose forms are in general more loose and less characteristic than poetic ones, although one can perceive in the vogue of the essay, the three-volume novel, and the short story, guiding influences which have bent the natural tendency of writers. In poetry the exterior is more distinct in outline, and is reduced to fixed combinations of rime and

metre, which afford such possibility of variety that one may well accept identity as proving connection. The sonnet is a name for a certain very definite order of rimes, and when the poets of France, Spain and England adopted that form they were confessedly relying on an Italian invention for part of their labor. No one thought the worse of them, for they were not in that depth of degenerate ingenuity to which the Provençals descended, by whom a novel scheme of rime or metre was considered requisite for an original poem. The skill with which a form is used is our test of ability and the merit of the invention,—which may be very great,—must be scattered over a nation. It would be hard, I imagine, to fix upon any one man the credit for the sonnet, the rondeau, the ballade, or any other accepted poetic form, though their dominance may sometimes be established by the brilliant handling of a single master.

I said that resemblance of poetic forms is as reliable a proof as exists of the communication of methods from one to another. Yet even here there may be some coincidences due to pure chance. A stanza of the 10-line type of *ballade*, as used by Villon in the *Prayer to the Virgin* and elsewhere, has an arrangement of rimes almost identical with that of the Spanish popular form called the *décima*, but I do not know that anyone ever suggested a connection between them.¹ According to the theory generally accepted at present, however unreasonable it may seem to some, the poetic forms of the old Spanish and Provençal literatures owe nothing of their character to the songs of the Spanish Arabs. Yet Baist says, in comparing an Arabic verse-form with the Spanish *villancico*, "Die Ähnlichkeit ist allerdings frappant, dabei muss aber beachtet werden, dass die gleiche Form sich nicht nur bei der sizilischen Dichterschule sondern auch in den

¹ The order of rimes in the *décima* is abbaacddc; in the *ballade* it is ababbcedd. The latter is exactly equal to two *quintillas*.

provenzalischen *Dansas* wiederfindet.”¹ If it be not possible to see traces of the Arabic anywhere in Sicily or Provence, this is a remarkable example of independent development along similar lines.

2. Similarity of phrasing, which of course implies community of idea, must be viewed in the light of many modifying circumstances. If I read in a student's thesis a paragraph which startles me by its maturity, and if then upon search I find the passage word for word in a volume of Charles Dudley Warner's *Library of the World's Best Literature*, I do not hesitate to refuse the student credit for his smooth English. The improbability that he could write so well, the accessibility of the book, which is on the shelves of the Union, the exact identity of a long sentence, everything points to mere copying. But that is an exceptionally patent example. Much more often there is room for doubt about the borrowing.

In these days when the degree of Ph. D. sometimes lends itself to the interpretation, “doctor of parallel-hunting,” the possibility of chance coincidence of phrase has been almost excluded. A German critic, Bock, has thus stated his creed: “Under the circumstances,” says he, discussing the possibility that Molière copied an obscure Spanish version of the *Amphitryon* story, “I think it more natural and simpler to assume some relation between the respective passages, than to explain them by chance coincidence, which would be more remarkable and therefore has less claim to probability.”² No doubt, as Bock says, it is *easier* to affirm

¹ Gröber's *Grundriss*, II. Band, 2. Abteilung, p. 385.

² Unter den obwaltenden Umständen, meine ich, ist es natürlicher und einfacher an eine Verwandtschaft der betreffenden Stellen zu denken, als an eine zufällige Uebereinstimmung, was als wunderbarer doch weniger Anspruch auf Wahrscheinlichkeit hat. N. Bock, in *Zts. für neufr. Spr. und Lit.*, vol. x (1888), p. 86.

"He borrowed," especially when one desires to set up a theory more attractive in point of novelty than soundness; but that should not lead us to untenable conclusions. For short phrases Bock's working hypothesis seems to me too radical. It is quite as probable on the face of it that Molière and Fernán Pérez de Oliva should have used like words in treating a subject which both derived from Plautus, as that the Frenchman should have dug phrases from the bookish version of a Spanish pedant.

Resemblances are important directly in proportion to the length of the passage, and to the closeness of parallel in wording. Each case must be decided on its merits. One should ask one's self such questions as these: Is the later author known to have read the earlier? If not, is it likely that his course of reading led in that direction? Was it physically possible for him to know his predecessor's works? was he acquainted with the language? were the books easily accessible? either in the original or through some medium? Is the common nature of the subject such that similarity of phrase might well be expected? Does any striking and unusual word occur in both? The answers to such queries may at least create a presumption for or against the borrowing. Thus one might expect to find reminiscences of Virgil and Horace in an enthusiastic classicist, whilst it would be folly to search for Homeric phrases in a mediæval epic. The middle ground between the two extremes affords plenty of opportunity for the exercise of careful judgment.

3. The same considerations hold in the broader field of ideas, which joins that of mere phraseology without any sharp line of demarcation. From the single conceit, worked out in one line or one stanza, to the elaborate plot of a Don Juan play, handed down from one author to another with trifling changes in detail, the critic, for his own satisfaction, tries to determine what each owes to his predecessors.

In the case of the isolated thought I do not believe it just to throw the burden of proof on the defendant—the writer whose originality is questioned. The odds are at least even that the coincidence is a chance one, until the answers to some of the questions given above have weighted the scales on one side or the other. Striking examples of the “effects of hazard,” to use an old play-title, are not lacking. One, which might equally well have been set in the preceding section, may be found in the tragi-comedy of Jean Rotrou called *Laure persécutée*, Act II, scene 5. The heroine says of herself, after relating the story of her dishonor :—

De ce mortel affront rien ne peut me sauver,
Et la mer n'a pas d'eaux assez pour m'en laver.

Compare these words with those of Leonato to his daughter in the fourth act of *Much Ado about Nothing*, scene 1 :—

She is fallen
Into a pit of ink, that the wide sea
Hath drops too few to wash her clean again.

Rotrou's piece dates from 1637, but he certainly knew nothing of Shakespeare.¹ There is no question of reminiscence, conscious or unconscious, on the part of the Frenchman; the figurative exaggeration is such as would suggest itself naturally to the mind of a poet, without need of foreign stimulation.

Another example: Recently a student of German literature noticed certain poems of the minnesingers which he thought resembled some of Goethe's. Upon closer inspection he became convinced that Goethe had really drawn inspiration for both thought and metre from certain of those mediæval lyrics. Thus he had a novel theory well under way, when he learned, in the course of his investigation,

¹ Cf. J. Jarry, *Essai sur les Oeuvres de Jean Rotrou*, Paris, 1868, p. 92. Other comparisons of Rotrou with Shakespeare are there made.

that there was only one collection of minnelieder printed in Goethe's time, and that the particular poems in question were not in it! So the embryo theory was temporarily checked in its growth by a physical impossibility. But the student then set himself to examine the poems which Goethe *could* have seen, and found other resemblances quite as serviceable as the first. He continued his theory upon that basis, and for aught I know it may represent truth. But one may pertinently ask whether the arguments adduced to show Goethe's indebtedness to the poems *in* the collection would not apply equally well to those *not* in it; and, if so, what conviction arguments can bring with them, which have already proved valueless in a specific instance. One is reminded of the conversation which took place between Lavengro and Parkinson the poet:—

Lavengro :—"Mr. Parkinson, you put me very much in mind of the Welsh bards."

Parkinson :—"The Welsh what?"

"Bards. Did you never hear of them?"

"Can't say that I ever did."

"You do not understand Welsh?"

"I do not."

"Well, provided you did, I should be strongly disposed to imagine you imitated the Welsh bards. . . . The subjects of hundreds of their compositions are the very subjects which you appear to delight in. . . ."

"I can't help it," said Parkinson, "and I tell you again that I imitate nobody."

It is usually not hard and comparatively safe to trace the course of a complex plot, especially when there appear in it names which serve as ear-marks. The more involved the action, the more unusual and striking the details, with so much greater certainty may one determine the lineage of an outline, the dose of originality injected into it by each re-handler. Take the Don Juan theme, for instance, and the series of plays and poems each one of which owes its being to the Burlador de Sevilla, the fountain-head. The

names Don Juan, Elvira, the moving statue, are links which connect any work of any country with Spanish literature; and by the use of them each and every author acknowledges his indebtedness to the Spaniard who, from whatever sources he drew his material, established in its broad lines a type. That some of his followers greatly modified the type and presented it in more artistic form, there can be no doubt; none of them succeeded in concealing the source of his theme, if indeed any attempted it. So with other stock subjects, Sophonisba, Iphigenia, Amphitryon, ready-made stories, which offer to a writer an opportunity to exercise his skill in workmanship upon a design proved worthy, instead of inventing a plot of uncertain promise.

Not all stories, to be sure, are so distinctly branded by name or incident. There must be, I imagine, a broad and hazy middle ground in the field of folklore, upon which the critic must pick his way with care. Since all men have a common basis of experiences, it is reasonable to suppose that similar stories may arise independently in different quarters of the globe, just as similar events take place, and similar lines are written. Must every anecdote of the fickleness of a bereaved wife be regarded as descending in direct line from the famous Widow of Ephesus? Anthropologists do not believe that the myths of deluges and giants which exist among primitive races everywhere indicate one place of origin for all, or intercommunication between continents; they regard the stories as representative of a certain stage in the development of man's mind, and therefore likely to appear spontaneously anywhere on the globe. And in like manner themes of greater refinement may be only manifestations of more advanced stages of progress in any part of the world.

4. The broadest kind of influence is that of a man's general point of view. Here is no longer a question of

parallel phrases, or conceits, or incidents, but of a whole current of thought which a man or group of men has set in motion. The subject is a vast one and I cannot more than touch upon it. It would include the influence of Plato, of Aristotle, upon the world's thought; it would include the inner history of every literary movement, great or small, as for example the impetus given to French romanticism by the Germans, or Gautier's relation to the realists. To determine the extent of power wielded in each case would demand extraordinary breadth of knowledge.

For we are not here dealing merely with an external force acting upon an inert body. One must determine the natural bent of the one acted upon. It is not impossible that a thinking man might independently arrive at the same conclusions as Plato concerning duty, or adopt of his own motion an analytical method like Aristotle's. The romantic tendency in a man might be as much the product of his own temperament as of the example and writings of a group of persons with whom he came in contact. In short, the critic must try to settle, by all the means at his disposal, the hard problem, whether a writer is carried away by a current of ideas, or whether he is himself a moving force in the same direction. Probably something of each enters into most cases.

PART TWO.

I pass now to the second main division of my subject, which treats of questions of disputed authorship. Such cases are not exceedingly common in the history of literature, but they are interesting when they do occur, because they affect directly our notions about the literary characters involved. The personality of an author might appear much modified if the disputed work were definitely assigned to him.

And, before going farther, it should be noted that we obtain our chief impression of a dead author from his own writings. A few men have their Boswells to transmit to posterity their idiosyncracies in a hundred characteristic anecdotes, but most often the ultimate mirror of a writer's character is the product of his pen. The living people with whom we are acquainted impress us with their personality not only by what they say, but by their appearance, their voices, their gestures, their acts. From a multitude of details we form an idea which we may afterward apply as a test of authenticity to printed words. Such a criterion is more accurate than any which can be compiled from the records of the past. Yet even with such an aid, can one bind one's self to select unerringly an article by his friend James Smith from among a dozen others? Has not everyone experienced that feeling of surprise which comes from seeing the name of some acquaintance at the bottom of an article of unexpected merit, and has he not exclaimed "I never thought Smith was capable of writing that?" If we are thus fallible with respect to persons known to us, are we not much more so when dealing with authors whose acts are veiled behind the interpretation of biographers, and whose only means of direct appeal is through printed pages which may represent only a small per cent. of their real activity? The probability that some sides of their natures are hidden from us makes it possible that some one phase, otherwise unknown, may have been expressed in a work dissimilar from the rest. A genius has always some unexplored recesses of his personality. It is dangerous to say with assurance, Such a man could not have written this. No doubt many a critic would have been ready to affirm that the abbé Prévost could not have written *Manon Lescaut*, if he had not firmly attached his name to the book. And who, knowing Anatole France only through the wholesome

charm of *le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, would ever guess him capable of the sticky sensuality revealed in *la Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque*?

On the other hand, I am not sure that it is not equally dangerous to use the opposite formula and say: "No one but such a man can have written this." The expression is a familiar one. "Who but Mendoza can have written *Lazarillo de Tormes*?" is a question which was long considered final. "Who but Cervantes can have written *la Tia fingida*?"—the argument is still thought valid. Perhaps these stories really are the work of those famous men, but they may also be single gems of some obscure artist, spurred on by personal experience or by the example of his betters to put all his talent into one supreme achievement. So it was with Fernando de Rojas, of whom not a line is known outside his master-piece, the *Celestina*, and the prologues which accompany it.

Returning now to the main matter, I will state again, what I do not think anyone will gainsay, that style is an absolute criterion of authorship. If it is only by a striking coincidence that two men write a phrase in the same words, it is inconceivable that they should frame a page of thought in identical language. Even if the subject were assigned and carefully laid out in divisions by a third party, no two men could express it alike. John La Farge tells an incident which illustrates the fact in the realm of painting, and it would be just as true in literature. He went out with two friends, he says, to sketch a landscape, each one intending to make as nearly as possible a mere photographic reproduction of what lay before his eyes. And yet, when the sketches were done, no two were alike. "Two were oblong, but of different proportions; one was more nearly a square. In each picture the distance bore a different relation to the foreground. In each picture the clouds were treated with

different precision and different attention. In one picture the open sky was the main intention of the picture. In two pictures the upper sky was of no consequence—it was the clouds and mountains that were insisted upon. . . . The color of each painting was different—the vivacity of colors and tone, the distinctness of each part in relation to the whole; and each picture would have been recognized anywhere as a specimen of work by each one of us, characteristic of our names.”

Prof. Van Dyke, who quotes the above story in illustration of the individuality of style which painters cannot avoid,¹ goes on to comment upon the ease with which an observer can from a distance pick out familiar hands in a strange gallery,—tell at a glance a Corot, a Titian, or a Holbein. And as to literature, he says: “Suppose you should have read to you extracts from a hundred famous authors, do you think you would have much difficulty in recognizing Shakespeare from Victor Hugo, Carlyle from Cardinal Newman, or Walter Scott from Swinburne?” No doubt we could distinguish between the pairs he mentions, but he has picked out as examples figures among the most prominent in literature, whose mode of expression is characteristic even to mannerism. A novice in art can detect a painting in the style of Botticelli or Rubens as far as he can see it, and a single word might sometimes suffice to identify Carlyle, but the problem is not always so easy as that. When it comes to fixing the assignment of a picture to Rubens or one of his pupils, the best critics may disagree, and the most microscopic study of the brush-strokes hardly bring a solution. Giorgione and Titian were painters of very unlike temperament, yet to-day nobody knows which one of them painted the famous work in the Pitti gallery,

¹ J. C. Van Dyke, *The Meaning of Pictures*, N. Y., 1903, p. 35, note.

entitled *The Concert*. The European galleries are full of paintings of uncertain authenticity, and many an art-critic has established a reputation by reversing the judgment of centuries on the strength of the painting of a finger.

In the field of literature there is not so much uncertainty, but the principle is the same. It is true I have heard the statement made that one should be able to fix the date of a piece of writing within ten years, by style alone. I do not remember that the gentleman who made the statement offered to perform the feat himself in all cases with absolute accuracy, though he is undoubtedly as well equipped for it as anyone. That would mean that he must not only distinguish between writers, but he must differentiate the styles of the same man at different ages. Could he tell a letter of Voltaire's written in 1750 from one dated 1760, apart from their matter? I should incline to doubt it.

But that would be a self-imposed task of unnecessary difficulty, and really outside the subject. If it is possible always to detect a writer's individuality through his words that is quite enough. Unquestionably this is often possible. If Rudyard Kipling and Swinburne were both to describe a white billiard ball, it would probably be easy to fit each set of words with the right author; and the broader the scope afforded by the subject the greater would be the divergence. It would be as impossible for the two versions to be just alike in phrase as it would be impossible that a tracing of Mr. La Farge's sketch, laid upon his friend's, should coincide with it, line for line, throughout. But sometimes the choice lies, not between two, but among many; and the candidates may not be as unlike in temperament as Kipling and Swinburne. Then it is that style becomes a standard as dubious as the critics who interpret it are various in their ideas; the fault, however, lies not in the standard, which is infallible, but in the knowledge of the critics, which is

incomplete. So in newspaper articles evidences of individuality are either non-existent or imperceptible. Students of literature seldom have to consider the work of reporters, but sometimes the problem before them is no less great.

In periods of production in which the spirit of the times casts into the shade individual differences, periods like those of the Provençal lyric or the Spanish drama of the *siglo de oro*, there is a great deal of confusion as to authors. Look over a catalogue of Spanish plays from 1600 to 1650, and see the number of titles followed by a mark of interrogation. Many of them are of insignificant value, and not worth controversy, but others are among the most brilliant dramas of the age. From a list which includes the *Burlador de Sevilla* itself one may select as the most noteworthy example *el Condenado por desconfiado*, a play usually assigned to the friar Téllez. Without going into details in the matter, it may be said that there are no certain data which confirm his authorship. Menéndez y Pelayo, while admitting that the style is not like Téllez's, thinks the play his because only a friar knew enough theology to conceive the fine scholastic distinctions upon which its plot is based. Menéndez Pidal accepts Téllez as the author without discussion. So weighty an authority as Baist, however, declares the play certainly not Téllez's.¹ Unless some bit of evidence now hidden comes to light, the matter will probably never be settled to the satisfaction of all, and yet the play is anything but commonplace. The plot is unusual and fraught with meaning, the versification careful and varied, the characters subtle, the feeling profound; it was written, I feel sure, by one hand alone, and that a master's. Who was he? Who can so subtly divine the characters of all the dramatists of that day as to solve the riddle?

¹ Gröber's *Grundriss*, II. Band, 2. Abteilung, p. 465.

Another interesting case is offered us in the recent controversy concerning *le Paradoxe sur le comédien*. A dialogue always ascribed to Diderot, and even thought one of his most characteristic performances, it was suddenly taken from him by a French critic and assigned to a relatively obscure publicist named Naigeon, on the strength of a new manuscript in the latter's handwriting. Some defend Diderot's claim, others declare it had always seemed suspicious to them. Finally comes a critic, more painstaking and more perspicuous than the rest, who restores the dialogue to Diderot with some appearance of definitiveness; basing his argument on what may be termed purely mechanical grounds, quite apart from any question of style.¹ If style furnishes a safe guide to authorship, the question ought to have been settled beyond a doubt on that basis. Does anyone believe that both Diderot and Naigeon were capable of writing *le Paradoxe sur le comédien*? Surely not; the difficulty lay with the critics, who were not possessed of data enough or delicacy of perception sufficient to detect the personality behind the work.

It is not that the personality is a weak one. Dante certainly possessed an individuality as powerful as any in the annals of literature; unique, striking, which seemingly left its impress upon everything which it touched. It is not that the personality succeeds but weakly in making itself felt through its medium of communication. Dante was one of the greatest of all masters of language, moulding it to his thought with marvellous skill. Yet no critic will affirm with absolute certainty that he did or did not write *il Fiore*, and there are numerous sonnets and *ballate* published with his works, the genuineness of which is in dispute. The fact is that style alone, however infallible in theory, can never

¹ See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, March-April, 1904, p. 97.

be accepted as proof positive by the common run of men. The critics competent to pass on such a matter must be few in number, for they must have imbued themselves to the marrow with the spirit of their author by long and intimate association. Perhaps a single man, thus equipped, may have settled the question in his own mind; he may see in a writing evidences of a man's handiwork which convince him utterly; and he may be right; but he can never convince the world of scholars, because the world demands evidence more ponderable than a turn of speech, more tangible than a favorite subtlety of thought.

CONCLUSION.

The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing considerations are, I think, chiefly three.

1. The fact that the same phrase appears in authors having no special connection is not sufficient proof that one copied from another.

2. In judging matters of interinfluence and authorship, the most mechanical evidence is the most weighty; wording is less subject to wrong interpretation than idea, and tangible extrinsic facts are to be preferred to arguments based on spirit or style.

3. There is always reason to distrust an individual opinion on a question involving an author's personality. The critic's own bias inevitably sways the balance. Hence problems which depend for their solution on subjective evidence can never be considered definitely settled.

I have not even considered the matter, entirely distinct, of plagiarism in relation to an author's merit. I doubt if there are many writers in the history of literature whose reputations have suffered extensively from the borrowings

with which they are charged. Neither are there many works of real importance which are still at large without known sponsors. That is the same as saying that the matters under discussion are merely themes for academic curiosity, without much practical import. Yet they afford the student an excellent opportunity for the exercise of care, acute perception, and sound judgment.

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY.

VIII.—SOURCES OF THE LAY OF YONEC.

The lay of *Yonec* is composed of 562 lines of eight syllables, riming in couplets. The substance of this charming lay of Marie de France is as follows :¹—

There lived in Britain an old knight, who was so jealous of his young wife's beauty that he confined her in a tower and placed her under the care of his sister, an aged widow. The knight passed his time in the chase, while his young wife had no solace but in her tears. One morning in April, after he had set off on his usual occupation, the fair lady began her lamentations as she was wont to do. She execrated the hour when she was born, and the avarice of her parents, who had married her to an old jealous tyrant. She said that she had heard that gallant knights and beautiful and affectionate mistresses used to meet, without blame, and prayed that God might grant her a similar adventure. Scarcely had she finished this request when a large falcon, entering her room, was gradually transformed into a young and handsome knight. The lady was frightened at first, but the knight, asking her not to be alarmed, told her that he had long known and loved her, and that he could never have made her this visit, if she had not first expressed a desire to see him. The young woman then indicated her willingness to accept him as her lover, provided he was a Christian. Thereupon the knight convinced her of his faith in God, and they considered themselves as man and wife. At the moment of separation the gallant lover told his fair mistress that whenever she expressed an ardent desire to see him he would instantly be at her side,

¹See *Die Lais der Marie de France*, herausgegeben von Karl Warnke. Halle, 1900, pp. 123-145.

but predicted that the old woman who guarded her would finally betray their love. On his return from the chase, the jealous old man discovered in the features of his young wife traces of unusual satisfaction and delight, whereupon he commanded his sister to conceal herself in his wife's apartment in order to find out the cause of her great joy. After learning that this remarkable change in the conduct and appearance of his wife was due to the visits of the falcon, he placed before the window a trap composed of sharp steel arrows, and went to the chase as was his custom. Soon after his departure, his wife summoned Muldumarec, her lover, in the usual manner. He flew at once to the window, but before entering her room was wounded by the arrows. Thereupon, taking leave of his mistress, he announced to her that she would give birth to a son, whom she should call *Yonec*, and that this son would be the avenger of his parents. He then hastily departed through a window, followed by his mistress, who, guided by the trace of his blood, finally reached the castle where he lived. He there gave her a gold ring, and told her that, while she kept it, she would escape the persecution of her jealous husband. He also gave her his sword, asking her to deliver it to his son when he should be dubbed a knight. The bird-man soon died of his wounds and the lady delivered the sword to *Yonec* at the tomb of his father, as she had been requested to do. After receiving the sword and learning the history of his parents, *Yonec* slew his step-father and became king of the country and hero of the tale.

I. PREVIOUS TREATMENT.

1. Reinhold Köhler, in his remarks on the lay of *Yonec* in the introduction to Warnke's¹ edition of the lays of

¹ See *op. cit.*, pp. cxxii-cxxvi.

Marie de France, mentions a number of similar tales, but does not enter minutely into a discussion of the different *motifs* of the lay. No special attempt is made to show which of the various stories cited by him could have been used in the composition of the legend as related by Marie.

2. Toldo, in an article recently published in the *Romanische Forschungen*,¹ calls attention to stories resembling parts of the lay of *Yonec* in Russian and Oriental literature. He refers to the knight who had long loved the young woman in the tower without having seen her, and could not visit her until she manifested a desire to see him, citing in this connection several Oriental tales in which two persons, after having seen each other in a dream, fell in love without having known each other.² However, in none of these stories does the lady have the power of summoning her lover to her side as in the lay of *Yonec*.

Toldo also refers to the Indian story of the *Fan Prince*,³ in which a young woman causes a prince to come from a distant land by the use of a magic fan. The prince is wounded by means of pieces of broken glass placed on the bed in which he lies, whereupon he disappears and returns to his realm;

¹ See vol. xvi, pp. 609-629.

² See *op. cit.*, p. 521: "Dans le *livre des Rois* du poète persan Firdusi, Zâl et la belle Tehmîneh se prennent d'amour l'un pour l'autre sans s'être jamais vus. Firdusi conte aussi que Ketâyûna, fille de l'empereur de Constantinople, voit Gushtâsp, pour la première fois, dans un rêve et le reconnaît ensuite au milieu de sa cour, et la même histoire est racontée par Giâmi, à propos de Zalikha, qui voit son Yûsuf dans son sommeil et se prend également d'amour pour lui. C'est là une légende répétée dans le *Roman de Odati et Zariadre* composé par Carète de Mithilène d'après les récits des soldats macédoniens revenus de la Perse et dans l'histoire de *Striangée et Zairinaie* d'origine orientale très ancienne. Dans l'Occident l'aventure a été attribuée, comme tout le monde sait, à Jauffré Rudel et à Mélisande comtesse de Tripoli; un récit pareil explique comment Durmart s'éprit de la reine d'Irlande; à son tour Else de Brabante fait la connaissance de Lohengrin, de la même manière."

³ See *op. cit.*, p. 621.

there he is found and healed by his mistress, to whom he is afterwards married. It will be observed that in this tale the prince comes in human form, while in the lay of Marie de France he comes in the form of a bird.

However, the legend that recalls the story of *Yonec* in almost all of its details, according to Toldo, is found in Russia under the title *Le faucon resplendissant*.¹ In this tale a falcon enters the room of the lady whom he loves and is suddenly changed into a charming knight. The knight then goes in and out at the window whenever he wishes to do so, and the young lady, happy because of her love, becomes more and more beautiful. Jealous sisters, however, place broken glass, needles, and sharp knives on the window through which the bird is accustomed to enter. Thereupon the knight is wounded and bids farewell to his *fiancée*, telling her to seek him in the thirtieth empire, beyond twenty-seven meadows, and adding that she will wear out iron sandals and eat bread as hard as stone before she finds him. The lady sleeps quietly while her lover is suffering. In her sleep she hears his words, but cannot awake. However, the next morning when she wakes she notices blood on the window, and sets out at once to seek her *fiancé*. On arriving at his palace, she learns that the young prince, believing that he has been deceived, has already thought of giving his heart to another. Nevertheless, she throws herself at his feet, proves her innocence, and is married to him.

While the *Faucon resplendissant* and the lay of *Yonec* are analogous stories, the two tales differ in several important points. In the first place, the marriage of the bird-man and the birth of a son who becomes the hero of the story, which are very important incidents in the lay of *Yonec*, do not occur in the Russian story. Furthermore, the Russian

¹ See *op. cit.*, p. 628.

tale says nothing about the power of the lady to summon her lover to her side, as in Marie's lay. A third very important difference lies in the fact that the *motif* of the jealous old man who confines his young wife in a tower is not found in the *Faucon resplendissant*. Finally, in the lay of *Yonec* the bird-man dies of his wounds, while in the *Faucon resplendissant* the ending is happy.

II. SOURCES AND COMPOSITION OF THE LAY OF *YONEC*.

A comparison of our lay with the various tales related to it shows that the lay represents a fusion of two cycles of stories with jealousy as the principal *motif*.

1. *Motif of the Jealous Husband.*

This *motif* constitutes the principal theme of the well-known legend bearing the name *Inclusa*, according to which a young wife imprisoned in a tower by a jealous husband is visited by a lover, who finally succeeds in carrying her off.

In the eighth story of the *Dolopathos*¹ it is related that the son of a Roman senator, who despised the love of women, was so annoyed by the entreaties of friends who endeavored to persuade him to marry, that he had a stone-carver cut in stone the image of a beautiful woman and declared that he would never marry unless he found a lady as beautiful as the statue. One day some Greeks were looking at the statue and on being questioned by the senator's son told him that they knew a young woman in Greece who was as beautiful as the stone image, but that she was imprisoned by her jealous husband in a tower by the sea. The handsome youth sailed to the tower and after

¹ See edition by Brunet and Montaiglon. Paris, 1856, vv. 10, 324-11, 218.

finding that the lady was the most beautiful creature in the world, avowed his love for her. He then obtained permission from the lord of that country to build a castle near the tower in which the fair lady was imprisoned and had an underground passage constructed which communicated with her room. By means of this passage he visited her secretly for some time and finally carried her to Rome with him. This legend occurs with slight variations in the various versions of the popular collection of stories known as the *Historia septem sapientum* or the *Sept sages*.¹ That it was also well known to the *conteurs* from whom Marie de France heard the stories related in her lays is shown by the fact that the same tale forms an episode in her lay of *Guigemar*.²

Guigemar, a valiant knight of Bretagne, who despises love, is one day chasing a stag in the forest of Liün. Seeing a doe with her fawn in a thicket near by, he draws his bow and shoots at her, but the dart after wounding the doe rebounds and strikes Guigemar in the thigh. The prophetic doe then cries out that Guigemar has killed her and tells him that his wound will never be healed until he has undergone great suffering for a lover who will have suffered in like manner for him. Guigemar, then deciding to seek the land where he shall be healed, rides until he comes to the sea, where he sees a ship anchored in a harbor. Going on board, he finds that the ship is without a pilot and that he has no companions. Nevertheless, the magic vessel soon bears him to the city where his wound is to be healed. The lord of that city is an old man who has a young wife of whom he is exceedingly jealous, and whom he has confined in a tower where her only companion is a niece. On learning the history of Guigemar, the lady invites him to the

¹ See *Modern Language Notes*, xvii, 336-37.

² See vv. 209-882.

tower where she tends his wound. They soon avow their passion for each other, and Guigemar remains with her for a year and a half. Finally, the lord of the castle learns of his presence and forces him to go on board the magic ship, which bears him safely to his native land. At length his fair mistress escapes from her prison in the tower and is also borne by the same magic vessel to Bretagne, where, after some adventures, the lovers are reunited.

After comparing the lay of *Guigemar* with the eighth story of the *Dolopathos*, Lucy Allen Paton¹ finds certain resemblances in phraseology, idea, and structure which lead her to suggest that the two versions probably have an ultimate common source. Whatever may have been the direct source from which the author of Marie's original derived the *motif* of the jealous old man who confines his young wife in a tower, it seems certain that this *motif* in the lay of *Yonec* as well as in the lay of *Guigemar* was taken from the *Inclusa*.²

2. *Motif of the Bird-man.*

The episode in which a lady is visited by a bird that is suddenly transformed into a handsome youth, and a son is born who becomes king of the realm and hero of the legend, occurs in an early version of the story of the *Jealous Stepmother*, in a form similar to that found in the lay of

¹See "Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance" (*Radcliffe College Monographs*, No. 13), Boston, 1903, p. 68:

<i>Guigemar</i> , vv. 43-44	<i>Dolopathos</i> , vv. 10, 325-26
" vv. 57-58	" vv. 10, 330-31
" vv. 211-212	" vv. 10, 408-9
" vv. 306-315	" vv. 10, 532-42
" vv. 337-352	" vv. 10, 505-28

²For a Provençal version of the *Inclusa*, compare *Le Roman de Flamenca*, ed. by Paul Meyer, Paris, 1901, vv. 1304 ff.

Yonec. The *Togail Bruidne Daderga*, an old Irish legend, contains the following incident.¹ "Cormac mac Airt, King of Ulster, wedded to the daughter of Eochaid Feidlech, High King of Ireland, puts her away 'because she was unfruitful, save that she bore a daughter to Cormac.' He then weds Etain, a dame from faery, who had been the lady-love of his father-in-law, Eochaid. 'Her demand was that the daughter of the woman who had been abandoned before her should be killed. Cormac would not give her (the child) to her mother to be nursed. His two servants took her afterwards to a pit, and she laughed a love laugh at them when being put into the pit. Their courage left them. They placed her subsequently in the calf-shed of the cowherds of Etirscel, the great-grandson of Iar, King of Tara, and these nurtured her till she was a good embroideress; and there was not in Ireland a king's daughter more beautiful than she.' She is afterwards possessed by one of the fairy folk, who comes in to her as a bird and then assumes human shape, and he tells her that the king, to whom report of her beauty has been made, will send for her, 'she will be fruitful from him (the bird-man), and will bear a son, and that son shall not kill birds.' This happens, and the son (Conaire Mor) afterwards becomes High King of Ireland, and is hero of the tale."

In this Irish story, just as in the lay of *Yonec*, the lady is visited by a bird that assumes human form, and she gives birth to a son who becomes king of the country and hero of the legend. In the *Togail Bruidne Daderga* version the lady is confined in a calf-shed, while in the lay she is placed in a tower. Although it is impossible to say from what particular version of the *Jealous Stepmother* tale the lay derived the *motif* of the bird-man, it seems fairly certain

¹Alfred Nutt: *Folk-Lore. A Quarterly Review of Myth, Tradition, Institution, and Custom.* London, 1891, II, pp. 87-89.

that this story was current in the early legendary history of Ireland in a form similar to that given above, and we have every reason to believe that the author of *Yonec* knew and used it. The version of the *Jealous Stepmother* found in the *Togail Bruidne Daderga* occurs in a fourteenth century manuscript, the *Book of Lecan* (H. 2.16). However, Alfred Nutt¹ says it is almost certain that this episode existed in the old Irish manuscript, *Leabhar n-a h' Uidre*, copied at the end of the eleventh century, since the passages that these two manuscripts have in common are very similar. Furthermore, according to Professor Zimmer (Y. V. S., 1887, p. 583) the *Book of Lecan* version was copied from the *Book of Druim Snechta*, a lost manuscript of the tenth or early eleventh century, and the *Book of Druim Snechta* was used by the compiler of *L. n-H*.

3. *Motif of the Wounded Bird.*

As has already been seen, the early Irish version of the *Jealous Stepmother* found in the *Togail Bruidne Daderga* does not contain the incident of the broken glass, or the trap composed of sharp instruments by which the bird is wounded. This *motif* occurs, however, in the countess of Aulnoy's story of the *Blue Bird*, a seventeenth century reworking of the tale of the *Jealous Stepmother*. King Charmant, who by a malevolent fairy has been transformed into a blue bird, visits every night his *fiancée*, the princess Florine, who is confined in a tower by a jealous stepmother. Finally the stepmother, learning of these visits, has knives, razors, and daggers fixed in the branches of a cypress tree near Florine's window, where the blue bird is accustomed to perch. The bird then being wounded by the sharp instruments disappears, but is

¹ See *Folk-Lore*. London, 1891, II, p. 88.

at length found, in human form and completely healed, in his own realm, where Florine, after convincing him of her innocence, is married to him.

The versions of the *Jealous Stepmother*¹ current in the folklore of to-day also contain the incident of the trap or snare by which the bird is wounded. In the modern forms of this folk-tale a young woman, usually the daughter of a king, persecuted by a jealous stepmother on account of whom she is rudely separated from the rest of the family, is visited by a bird that is suddenly transformed into a handsome youth in her presence. These visits are continued until the stepmother, discovering their relations, fixes scissors, needles, or some sharp instrument in the window where the bird enters. The bird-man is then wounded and goes back to his realm. Thereupon the lady sets out to seek him, and learning on the way the means of curing him, finally finds him and heals his wounds.

The fact that the *motif* of the wounded bird occurs in all the versions that we know of the story of the *Jealous Stepmother*, except in the *Togail Bruidne Daderga*, leads one to believe that this early Irish version is incomplete and that the incidents of the snare and the wounded bird were probably contained in the original form of the legend. The occurrence of these incidents in the modern versions of the story, existing in the folk-lore of different countries, points to the fact that similar incidents probably existed in the ultimate common source of all these versions.

4. *Death of the Bird-man in the Lay of Yonec.*

In Marie's lay, Muldumarec, after being wounded by the arrows placed in the window, hastens to his castle, where his

¹ See Reinhold Köhler, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxv-vi; Toldo, *op. cit.*, p. 620, note 2.

mistress later finds him in great pain. On her arrival he announces to her that he shall die about noon of that day, and after giving her a magic ring and placing in her care his sword destined for *Yonec*, bids her depart lest, their relations being known to his subjects, she might be obnoxious to them. She has gone only a short distance when she hears the ringing of the bells which announce the death of her lord. This sad ending probably represents the form of the tale of the *Jealous Stepmother* as it was known at the time the lay of *Yonec* was written. In the modern versions of the legend the wounds of the bird-man are such that physicians are unable to heal them, but his mistress, following him, learns on the way from ravens,¹ witches,² or by some other means, how she may cure him, and on arriving at the castle where her lover is suffering and expected to die, she applies the remedy and heals him. As the healing *motif* occurs neither in the *Togail Bruidne Daderga*, nor in the lay of *Yonec*, nor in the *Blue Bird*, the three oldest known versions of the *Jealous Stepmother*, it seems almost certain that it did not exist in the original form of the legend, but was added from some other source. The story of the *Fan Prince*,³ which was confused with the *Jealous Stepmother* tale, contains this *motif*, and it was probably from this story that the modern versions of the *Jealous Stepmother* borrowed it. The substance of the story of the *Fan Prince* is as follows :

A prince, before setting out on a long voyage, asks six of his seven daughters what they wish him to bring them on his return. Some ask for jewels, others for precious stones,

¹ See *Dänische Volksmärchen*. Nach bisher ungedruckten Quellen erzählt von Svend Grundtvig. Uebersetzt von W. Leo. Leipzig, 1878, pp. 125-147.

² See Toldo, *op. cit.*, p. 620, note 2.

³ See Toldo, *op. cit.*, pp. 621-23 ; *Romania*, x, pp. 123-24.

another for a necklace, and still another for silk. The youngest one, being asked by the prince's messenger, merely replies by saying *Sabr* (which means 'wait'). The messenger, however, thinking this is the name of the article that she desires, returns to the prince and tells him that his daughter wants *Sabr*. The father, on reaching the end of his voyage, purchases the presents for six of his daughters, and then goes on board the ship to return home, but the ship will not move, because he has not kept the promise made to his youngest daughter. In his search for the *Sabr*, he finds that the son of the king of that country is called *Sabr*. After hearing the request of the prince's youngest daughter, the king's son sends her a box containing a fan by means of which she can summon him to her side whenever she desires to do so. Love grows apace between them, and the day that they are married her jealous sisters place pieces of broken glass on the bed where the prince is to lie, whereupon he is wounded and returns to his distant realm. His lady follows him and learns on the way, from a parrot and a starling, the means by which she cures him.

The same story with slight variations is found in Italian folk-lore.¹ In this tale the youngest of three daughters desires that her father, a rich merchant, bring her a *vaso di ruta*, a kind of plant. Here again the father forgets his promise, and when he wishes to return home the ship will not move until he has fulfilled it. He learns that the king of the country to which he has gone is the only one who possesses the plant that he desires. At the request of the merchant, the king sends the plant to his daughter, instructing her to burn a leaf every evening. This she does, and every time she burns a leaf of the plant the son of the king

¹ See *Romania*, x, 122-123.

appears. One evening when she is absent, however, her jealous sisters put fire to her room and burn the plant with the rest. The prince comes, as usual, but is badly burned and also wounded by pieces of glass. On her return, the merchant's daughter disguises herself as a man and goes in search of the prince. On her way she learns from an ogre and an ogress the means by which she cures him.¹

The confusion of the legend of the *Fan Prince* and that of the *Jealous Stepmother* probably took place very late, since the healing *motif* is found only in the modern versions of the tale of the *Jealous Stepmother*. In the lay of *Yonec* the mistress of Muldumarec knows nothing of the art of healing wounds, and hence the bird-man dies. Likewise, in the story of the *Blue Bird*, Florine does not cure King Charmant, but fortunately, when she finds him, his wounds have already been healed. In the Portuguese² version of this legend the bird is also wounded and dies just as in the lay of *Yonec*. In the Portuguese tale, however, the bird never assumes human form.

The confusion of the story of the *Fan Prince* with that of the *Jealous Stepmother* seems also to account for that variant of the latter tale in which jealous sisters are substituted for a jealous stepmother. The substitution probably represents a blending of themes originally distinct, and therefore indicates a close association of the two narratives.

In an Italian story entitled *King Bean*³ an old man has three daughters, the youngest of whom loves King Bean

¹ For a comparison of the different stories related to the theme of the *Fan Prince* compare *Romania*, x, 117-143.

² See *Portuguese Folk Tales*, collected by C. Pedroso, and translated from the original ms. by Miss Henriqueta Monteiro. London, 1882, No. xii.

³ See *Fiabe e Novelle Popolari Veneziane raccolte da Giuseppe Bernoni*, Venezia, 1873, No. xvii; *Italian Popular Tales*, by Thomas Frederick Crane, A. M., London, 1885, pp. 12-17.

without having seen him; and after she has sent her father to him three times, requesting him to marry her, the king finally consents, saying that she must first prepare three vessels,—one of milk and water, one of milk, and one of rose-water. He also sends her a bean, saying that when she desires to see him she has only to go out on the balcony and open the bean. The young lady prepares the vessels as directed, and opens the bean, whereupon a bird comes and bathes in the three vessels and then comes out the most handsome youth in the world. The other two sisters, learning of these visits, place broken glass in the vessels, thus causing the bird to be wounded. The wounded bird then flies away, followed by the young woman, who learns from witches the means by which she cures it.

That the story of the *Jealous Sisters*¹ represents a fusion of the tale of the *Jealous Stepmother* with the theme of the *Fan Prince* appears clearly in the Greek² version of the *Jealous Sisters*, which gives us enough of the original themes of the two earlier stories to show that they were being confused. It therefore affords strong corroborative evidence. According to this Greek tale a merchant, before starting to India, asks his three daughters what presents they wish him to bring them on his return. The eldest daughter desires a dress, the second a kerchief, and the youngest a golden switch. On reaching India he buys the dress and the kerchief, but forgets the golden switch. Consequently, when he goes on board the ship, he finds that, in spite of the favorable winds, it will not move until he has fulfilled the promise that he had made to his youngest daughter. Thereupon he goes to a large castle where dwells the king's son, who is called the

¹ I have named this story the *Jealous Sisters* in order to distinguish it from the closely related tale of the *Jealous Stepmother* from which it is derived.

² See *Griechische und albanische Märchen, gesammelt, übersetzt und erläutert von J. G. von Hahn*. Erster Theil. Leipzig, 1864, pp. 97-102.

golden switch. The prince shows the merchant the portrait of a lady whom he has seen in a dream, and tells him that he has dreamed that he will marry her. It happens to be the portrait of the merchant's youngest daughter, to whom the prince then sends a letter, a basin, and a ring. In the letter he tells her that if she wishes him to come to her, she must fill the basin with water, throw the ring into it, and call him three times. This she does, and a dove comes, which, after having bathed in the water, assumes human form. The visits of the prince to the merchant's daughter are continued until her sisters become very jealous. Finally one of them places a knife in the basin, and the prince, being wounded, disappears. The youngest sister then following him learns on her way the means of healing his wounds.

In this Greek story the long voyage of the merchant, the presents promised to his daughters, the ship that will not move until he has fulfilled his promise to his youngest daughter, and the fact that the article desired by the youngest daughter bears the name of the prince to whom she is afterwards married, certainly represent the first part of the story of the *Fan Prince*. On the other hand, the bird that assumes human form is the subject of the *Jealous Stepmother* tale. Some features of the *Fan Prince* are found combined with the theme of the *Jealous Stepmother*.

The story of the *Jealous Sisters*, the tale in which the jealous stepmother has been replaced by jealous sisters under the influence of the *Fan Prince*, is very closely related to that of the *Jealous Stepmother*, as is shown by the fact that jealousy and the bird which has the power of assuming human shape are the principal *motifs* in both cases. However, a careful examination of the different versions of these two legends reveals some very important differences. In the first place, not only is the relation that the jealous one sustains to the fair lady visited by the bird-man entirely

different in the two tales, but in the story of the *Jealous Sisters* there are always three or more sisters, while in the *Jealous Stepmother* tale there is one step-sister, or a sister-in-law, as in the lay of *Yonec*. In the second place, in all the versions of the *Jealous Stepmother* story that I have examined, the stepmother has her step-daughter either sent away from home or confined in a tower. In the early Irish version contained in the *Togail Bruidne Daderga*, the step-daughter is placed in a calf-shed, while in the Danish version given by Grundtvig¹ and in an Italian story published by Rua in the *Archivio per le tradizioni popolari* (vol. VI), she is sent to a remote castle. In the lay of *Yonec* and in the story of the *Blue Bird*, on the other hand, she is confined in a tower.

5. *The Motive that probably led to the Fusion of the Two Stories used in the Composition of the Lay of Yonec.*

The principal motive for combining the theme of the *Inclusa* and that of the *Jealous Stepmother*, the two legends from which the lay of *Yonec* was probably derived, doubtless lay in the desire of the minstrels or story-tellers, from whom Marie heard the tale, to substitute a supernatural for a natural means of reaching the imprisoned lady. The first part of the story of the *Inclusa*, the theme according to which a jealous old man has a young and beautiful wife whom he confines in a tower, was used in the lay. On the other hand, the second part of the *Inclusa*, where a handsome youth visits by means of an underground passage a fair lady imprisoned in a tower, has been omitted in Marie's lay, and the story-tellers substituted for the *motif* of the underground passage the theme of the *Jealous Stepmother*,

¹See *Dänische Volksmärchen*, translated by W. Leo, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 125-147.

according to which the gallant lover assumes the form of a bird in order to reach his lady.

If my conclusions in this paper be correct, they show that the lay of *Yonac* is composed of traditions gathered from different sources. Of the material used in its composition the legend of the *Jealous Stepmother* is a Western tale (perhaps of Celtic origin), while the *Inclusa* is probably an Oriental story. Speaking of the *Inclusa* episode in the lay of *Guigemar*, William Henry Schofield¹ designates it as "a transformed Oriental tale of a harem adventure in which a jealous, spy-setting husband detects the *amour* of his young wife, whom he has kept confined in a place apart, and of whose attendant it is stated euphemistically (l. 257) that he was an eunuch." In view of Marie's slender claim to originality, the work of combining the themes of the *Inclusa* and of the *Jealous Stepmother* should doubtless be attributed to the story-tellers from whom she received the tale.

OLIVER M. JOHNSTON.

¹ *The Lays of Graelent and Lanval, and the Story of Wayland* (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. xv, 2. New Series, vol. viii, 2, p. 173). For other lays which show a mixture of Celtic and foreign material, compare Schofield (*op. cit.*, pp. 172-179).

IX.—ROMANCE ETYMOLOGIES.

I.

French *fléchir* < Old French *fleschir* < *fleschier*, "to bend,"
< **flexicāre* < *flexus* < *flectere*, "to bend."

French *fléchir*, O. F. *fleschir*, *fleskir* has been derived by Förster, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, III, p. 262, from a Latin **fleskire* < **flescus* < *flexus*. The assumption of the shift of *ks* to *sk* is defended by an appeal to *alaskir* from *laxus*, seemingly showing the same metathesis. This phonetic step, which must be assigned to a Latin period, is in both instances certainly unjustifiable, although it has been admitted by excellent authorities. In the *Dictionnaire général* we find French *lâcher* derived from a type **lascare* < *laxare*. Here the assumption of metathesis seems to go back to Diez, *Etymologisches Wb.*, pp. 188 f., who cites as analoga Campanian *fisquer* for *fixer* and *lusque* for *luxe*; but these forms clearly represent popular deformations of learned words and are accordingly irrelevant. French *lâcher* has also been derived by Gröber, who evidently objects to the dubious metathesis, from Old High German **lasc*, a type assumed to account for Middle High German *lasch*, "schlaff," and Old Norse *laskr*, "schlaff," "lass." Kluge, however (*Etymologisches Wb.*, 6th ed.), is inclined to derive the Germanic from the Romance group. Gröber's derivation has also been disputed on phonological grounds by Mackel; cf. Körting, s. v. **lask*, who rejects the Germanic etymon. The correct etymon for *lâcher*, namely **laxicare*, was first suggested by Ulrich, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, IX, p. 429; is rejected by Körting, who says that the assumption of the type is unnecessary and seems to consider the derivation of the

French word unsettled; but is accepted by Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gramm.*, II, p. 608. It will be seen later that **laxicare* presents a perfect phonetic type for the derivation of the French form. The cognate Romance forms (Provençal *lascar*, etc.) present no difficulty. Returning to *fléchir*, we need only mention the derivation of the word from *flectere*, adopted by Diez, which is phonetically impossible. Paris, *Rom.*, VIII, p. 628, has explained *fléchir* as derived from the adjective *flesche*, "bent," and the latter as a postverbal from *fleschier*, which he derives from **flescicare* for *flexare*. My objections to this etymology are as follows. In the first place, the existence of the adjective *flesche* is extremely doubtful. Scheler and Paris (*l. c.*) thought it occurred in one Old French passage, namely, in the *Saint Eloi*, 92 b: *Genous fleches, enclin le chief*. Here Förster, however (article cited), reads *flechés*, and the passage is also quoted in this form by Godefroy. No evidence for the existence of the word has appeared in Godefroy's *Complément*, and under the circumstances it should doubtless be regarded as imaginary. In the second place, the phonetic step from *flexare* to **flescicare* is without support. Finally Gröber, *Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gr.*, II, p. 285, explains *fléchir* as a collateral form of *flechier* showing a change of conjugation. This explanation certainly seems to be the correct one. A glance at the lexicon is sufficient to convince one that verbs fluctuating between the *-ir* and *-(i)er* conjugations were fairly common in Old French: note, e. g., *refroidier*, *refroidir*; *embalsemer*, *embalsamir*; *engrossier*, *engrossir*; *amplier*, *amplir*; *empoenter*, *empoentir*; *empreignier*, *empreignir*. The list could undoubtedly be greatly lengthened.

Now, to explain this earlier form *flechier*, Gröber (article cited) sets up a type **flecticare*, which is accepted by Körting, but which does not account for the Old French form *fleschier*. Paris and Förster (articles cited) assume that the regular

Old French form of both *flechier* and *flechir* had an *s*, and, in view of the spellings with *s* cited by Förster, this opinion certainly seems to be correct. Several forms with *s* will also be seen in Godefroy.

The right etymon is **flexicare*. This type was first suggested by Gröber (article cited), who rejected it on the ground that it should have given O. F. **fleischier*. For a similar reason the *Dictionnaire général* rejects **taxitare* as the etymon of O. F. *taster*, Modern French *tâter*, alleging that this Latin type would have given O. F. **taister*. But both authorities are in error regarding the sound-law here in question, which is stated by Schwan-Behrens, *Altfranz. Gramm.*, 4th ed., § 158, 2, as follows:—

“Völlige Assimilation des Palatals an den folgenden Konsonanten trat in vortoniger Stellung in der Verbindung ks + Kons. ein: Beispiele: *sextariu* > *sestier*, *dextrariu* > *destrier*, **tax(i)tare* > *taster*, *entox(i)care* > *entoschier*, *extendere* > *estendre*, *extorquere* > *estordre*, satzunbetonte *extra* > *estre* und *joxta* > *juste*.”

To these examples we may now add **flexicare* > *fleschier*, which is perfectly analogous to *intoxicare* > *entoschier*, **laxicare* > *laschier*, and **taxicare* > *taschier*. *Tâcher*, the modern form of *taschier*, is derived by the *Dictionnaire général* from **tascare*, a metathesized form of *taxare*. But, as has been shown above, the analoga seemingly justifying the assumption of a metathesis of the group *ks* in a Latin period are of no value. The etymon **taxicare* is due to Ulrich, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, ix, p. 429. It is put in brackets by Körting, but is accepted by Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gramm.*, II, p. 608.¹ The fact that a so-called epenthetic *i* does not appear in developments like that of **taxitare* > *taster* is to be explained

¹ The daring etymology *tâche* < **tasca* < **τάσχις* < *τάξις*, recently suggested by T. Claussen, *Romanische Forschungen*, xv (1904), p. 847, scarcely deserves mention. The *Dictionnaire général* correctly states that *tâche* is a postverbal from *tâcher*.

by the chronology of the sound-change. It is well known that the pretonic vowel in paroxytones and the posttonic vowel in proparoxytones dropped at different dates. Thus **taxitare*, as is evidently assumed by Schwan-Behrens, *l. c.* had been reduced to **tastare* in a period when **taxitat* was still trissyllabic. One might of course also expect a form of the verb with epenthetic *i*, preserved from the proparoxytone forms, to survive, and this actually did happen in some cases. We need only cite the postverbal *test* beside *tast*, presupposing a form **taister* beside *taster*, and the still more striking form *entoischier* beside *entoschier* < *intoxicare*.

If this reasoning is correct, we have established a conclusion diametrically opposed to that of the *Dictionnaire général*, s. v. *fléchir*, which says with regard to the etymology of the word: "Origine inconnue. La forme du mot ne permet pas d'y voir un représentant, direct ou indirect, du latin *flexere*, qui a cependant le même sens."

II.

Spanish *rosca*, "screw" < **rōsicāre* < *rōsus* < *rōdere*, "to gnaw."

In Monlau's *Diccionario etymológico* we find the following note: "Rosca: 'Es del vascuence *errasca*, y se dijo de *erruzca*, á fuerza, por la grande que tiene para mover grandes pesos.' (Larramendi.) Según Covarrubias viene del latín *ruere*, lanzarse, arrojarse, porque gira sobre sí misma. Diez afirma, con más acierto, que el origen de *rosca* es todavía desconocido." The word is missing in Körting's index. On consulting the recent edition of the dictionary of the Spanish Academy, we are told that *rosca* is derived from an absurd Greek etymon.

I derive the word from **rosicare*, "to gnaw," the existence of which in late Latin is rendered certain by Italian

rosicare, Provençal *rosegar*, "to gnaw." The etymology presents no phonetic irregularity. For the *c*, cf. *rascar*, "to scratch" < **rasicare*, "to scratch." There is no reason for doubting that intervocalic *c* in this position, in Spanish as in Provençal and French, may either remain a surd or become a sonant, according to the date at which the preceding vowel dropped. The formation of *roscā*, "a gnawing instrument" as a postverbal from **rosicare*, "to gnaw," has countless parallels, for which I refer to Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gramm.*, II, pp. 444 ff. I need only mention Italian *leva*, "lever," from *levare*, "to raise." For the sense-development we may compare English *bit*, *i. e.*, apparently "a biting instrument," and Italian *succhiare*, "to bore," generally derived from **suculare*, "to suck." **Rosicare* may have a direct descendant in the Spanish technical word *roscar*, "to furrow," which, however, may also be a recent derivative from *roscā*.

III.

Spanish *sesgo*, "oblique" < *sesgar*, "to cut obliquely" < **sēsecāre*, "to cut apart."

To explain Spanish *sesgo*, "oblique," Baist, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, VII, p. 122, sets up a type **sēsecus*, which he attempts to support by the analogy of *circumsecus*, *extrinsecus*. The formation of **sēsecus* is not made sufficiently probable, and the etymon is rightly rejected by Körting, who favors the derivation from **subsecare*. The latter type, however, presents insuperable phonetic difficulty, to say nothing of semantic obscurity. Ulrich, *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, IV, p. 383, derived *sesgar* from **sēxicare* < **sexus* < *sectus*, but Körting objects to the etymology on the ground that **sexus* for *sectus* is a monstrosity. **Sēxicare* also presents phonetic and semantic difficulty.

The right etymon is **sēsecāre*, "to cut apart," an unim-

peachable formation presenting no phonetic irregularity. This type was also thought of by Baist (article cited), who dismissed it on account of the existence of the adjective *sesgo*. But the derivation of *sesgo* as a postverbal from *sesgar* presents no difficulty. On the formation of postverbal adjectives I refer to Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gramm.*, II, p. 448, and to the *Dictionnaire général*, I, § 53. The sense-development also presents no difficulty: 1) "to cut apart," "to cut across;" 2) "cut across," "oblique."

IV.

French *ruche*, "hive" (beside *rouche*, "hull of a ship on the stocks") < O. F. *rusche*, Prov. *rusca*, Piedmontese and Lombard *rusca*, "bark," < Comascan *ruscá*, "to scale off," < **rŭspicare* < **ruspare*, "to scratch."

In the *Dictionnaire général* we are told that *ruche* is of Celtic origin. Körting's article on the word reads as follows:—

"*Rŭsca* ist das vorauszusetzende, aber bezüglich seines Ursprunges ganz dunkle Grundwort zu prov. *rusca*, Baumrinde (auch piemont. und lomb. *rusca*); altfrz. *rusche* (norm. *ruque*), neufz. *ruche* (aus Baumrinde gefertigter Bienenkorb, Schiffsrumpf). Diez 673 hielt das Wort für keltisch, Thurneysen, p. 111, verneint dies."

To make it clear that the words for "hive" and "bark" are identical, Diez, *l. c.*, cites Spanish *corcho*, meaning both "bark of the cork-tree" and "bee-hive." I propose to derive the group from the verbal type **rŭspicare*, which seems to explain perfectly all the forms. For the dropping of the middle vowel in Provençal and French we may compare Latin *hospitale* > Prov. *ostal*, O. F. *ostel*. In Tuscan, *hospitale* becomes *ospedale*, retaining the pretonic vowel. But Meyer-Lübke, *Italienische Grammatik*, p. 71, notes that the Italian dialects diverge widely from Florentine in their

treatment of syncope, and in view of the vagueness of our present knowledge of the whole question I hold that, unless the contrary assumption can be supported by evidence, we should admit the regularity of the development of **ruspicare* into an early Italian **ruscare*, surviving in Comascan as *ruscá*, whence as postverbals Piedmontese and Lombard *rusca*. We may perhaps cite Tuscan *tastare* < **taxitare*, *destare* < **de-excitare* as showing a development parallel to that assumed, though, to be sure, the consonant-groups in question are quite different. This verb **ruspicare* is derived readily enough, by the elimination of the common suffix *-icare*, from **ruspare*, the existence of which in Latin with the original meaning of "to scratch" is generally admitted by Romance scholars, e. g., by Diez, Körting, and Schuchardt (*Romanische Etymologien*, I, p. 27) on account of the existence of Latin *ruspari*, "to examine," and Italian *ruspare*, "to scratch." The semantic series,—1) "to scratch off," "to peel," 2) "peel," "bark," 3) "hive made of bark," 4) "hive,"—seems perfectly legitimate, particularly in view of the fact that the first stage is supported by Comascan *ruscá*, "to scale off."

CARL C. RICE.

X.—SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON THE SQUIRE'S TALE.

Among unfinished stories the *Squire's Tale* holds a prominent place. Milton, in a familiar passage, lamented its fragmentary condition,¹ and all other lovers of good literature have shared his regret. Two persons have attempted to finish the tale "half told." Spenser's completion is well-known.² Well known, and somewhat notorious, too, is the laborious ambition of John Lane.³ His dull lines, having neither anything in common with Chaucer nor any native worth, can be of only curious interest to students of literature. They but remind us that the story of "Cambuscan" will never be wholly told.

I.

The fragmentary condition of the *Squire's Tale* makes very difficult the task of establishing its source. So far, at least, the patient thought of scholars has met with slight reward. Professor Skeat proposed a connection with Marco

¹ Milton, *Il Penseroso*, 109 ff. :

"Or call up him that left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold,
Of Camball, and of Algarsife,
And who had Canace to wife,
That own'd the virtuous ring and glass,
And of the wondrous horse of brass
On which the Tartar king did ride."

² *Faerie Queene*, Book IV, Canto II, st. 30, to end of Canto III. This, perhaps, should not strictly be called a completion, as Spenser took up only one of the threads which Chaucer had let fall.

³ John Lane, *Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, Chaucer Society, 1887.

Polo,¹ and Dr. Brandl constructed an ingenious allegory as the true foundation of the story.² Professor Manly has at least shaken confidence in Skeat's theory,³ and Professor Kittredge has cleared away Brandl's obstruction from the path of research, affirming at the close of his searching criticism in *Englische Studien*, that, "for all that appears to the contrary, the world has been right for the last five hundred years in regarding the *Squire's Tale* as nothing more or less than a romance."⁴

Although the source of Chaucer's romance is far from discovery, a number of analogues have been collected. Most of these are contained in Mr. Clouston's substantial *Magic Elements in the Squire's Tale*.⁵ We are safe in saying that Chaucer never knew the greater number of Mr. Clouston's stories, although the like of some of them may have come to his attention. The *Cléomadès*, in some form, he probably did know. Professor Skeat refers to this long romance of Adenès le Roi, but presents no extended comparison between Chaucer's story and that of the French minstrel.⁶ Mr. Clouston, on the other hand, summarizes the *Cléomadès*, indicates the main points of difference between the two poems, and concludes that these differences could not have been "merely fortuitous."⁷

There is an antecedent probability that Chaucer knew the *Cléomadès* story. The romance was in vogue during the fourteenth century. Allusions to it are found in Froissart and in the poems of Chaucer's friend Eustache Deschamps.⁸

¹ *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, III, 470 ff. ; v, 371.

² *Englische Studien*, XII, 161 ff.

³ *Publs. of M. L. A.*, XI, 349 ff.

⁴ *Englische Studien*, XIII, 1 ff.

⁵ *Chaucer Society*, 1889 (Lane, *Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale*, Part II).

⁶ *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 475 f.

⁷ Lane, *Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale*, Part II, 382 ff.

⁸ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XX, 718.

This antecedent probability that Chaucer knew the *Cléomadès* is strengthened by the fact that its author, Adenès le Roi, was once honored by an English king. In British Museum MS. No. 6965, is the following entry:—"Firmaculum aureum pretii LX s. datur per Ricardum vidulatore[m] regis, nomine regis, Adoe menestrallo comitis Flandriae, apud Gand, VIII die novembris." The entry was found in a statement of expenses of Edward the First of England by M. le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, who concluded from it that Adenès was still living in 1297. Edward the First, who had affianced one of his sons to Philippine, daughter of Adenès' patron, Gui de Dampierre, count of Flanders, went to Flanders in 1297 to help the count against his over-lord Philippe le Bel, king of France. The accounts of Edward's household tell us that the king was at Ypres on the fifth of November, where two minstrels were admitted to the honor of giving him proof of their talent. Three days later the king was at Gand, where he gave to Adenès the *firmaculum aureum*, mentioned in the royal accounts.¹ The facts that Edward thus honored Adenès and that the poet was a minstrel in the family of his daughter-in-law, might well be considered as strengthening in England the popularity of the *Cléomadès*. If so, Chaucer, though he wrote his poem almost a century later, would have been the more likely to have known the story.

Another romance, written in the latter part of the thirteenth century and closely resembling the *Cléomadès*, deserves our attention. It is the *Méliacin* by Girard of Amiens.² The romance, as a whole, is still in manuscript, although excerpts have been published by Stengel³ and Keller.⁴

¹ André Van Hasselt, *Li Roumans de Cléomadès*, par Aedenes li Rois, 2 vols., Bruxelles, 1865; I, xvi ff.

² *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxxi, 171 ff.

³ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, x, 460 ff.

⁴ *Romvart*, 99 ff.

Gröber supposes that Girard wrote the poem for Marguerite, daughter of Philip the Bold, at the instance of some knight who was acquainted with Adenès' *Cléomadès* through a "blosse Nacherzählung."¹ Chauvin,² Tobler,³ and Paris,⁴ on the other hand, think that Girard and Adenès were indebted to a common source, Chauvin holding that this source was a Spanish poem printed with an old Spanish translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*, and Paris thinking that it was an abridged French form of a Spanish oral version.

Whichever of the above views is accepted, the *Méliacin* is of interest in connection with the English poem. Here, as in the case of the *Cléomadès*, there are points of contact with England. Girard dedicated his *Escanor* to Eleonore, wife of Edward the First. Moreover, he shows in that story such familiarity with the topography of England as to warrant the supposition that he once resided at the English court.⁵ Granted this, his poems were probably well known in England fifty years before Chaucer was born, and the *Méliacin*, closely resembling the *Cléomadès*, may have done something to strengthen the popularity of the story in Chaucer's country.

What I have said of the association between Adenès and Girard and the English court may be gratuitous. Chaucer, who was a hungry reader, would probably in any case have known romances which were well liked across the channel. But I would not only show that Chaucer probably knew the *Cléomadès* story, but would further seek to explain why he selected a tale which, in itself, did not seem to attract him.

¹ *Grundriss*, 2, 787 ff.

² *Pacolet et les Mille et une Nuits*, Wallonia, Janvier-Février, 1898, 5 ff.

³ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XI, 421 ff.

⁴ *Romania*, 27, 325 ff. (Review of Chauvin, *Pacolet et les Mille et une Nuits*).

⁵ Gröber, *Grundriss*, 2, 786.

He may well have chosen the story of the *cheval de fust*, not simply because the tale was famous, but because Adenès and Girard, though dead for almost a hundred years, were still remembered at the English court. Just which version of the story Chaucer followed, and to just what extent he changed that version, are questions yet to be answered. For the present it may be of interest to indicate the points of similarity and difference between the English fragment and the French romances, and then to point out some noteworthy associations of the *Cléomadès* story with magic elements found in the *Squire's Tale* but not appearing in the narrative proper of either the *Cléomadès* or the *Méliacin*.

Assuming on the part of my reader an acquaintance with the *Squire's Tale*, I shall give a brief summary of the *Cléomadès*:—Marcadigas, son of Calvus, king of Sardinia, marries Ynabele, daughter of the king of Spain. They have one son, Cléomadès; and three daughters, Elyador, Feniadis, and Marine. Marcadigas is visited on his birthday, May the first, by three kings: Melocandis, king of Barbary; Baldigans, king of Armenia; and Crompart, king of Bugia. They bring rich and curious gifts: Melocandis gives a golden hen and three golden chickens, capable of walking and singing; Baldigans, a man of gold, who blows a golden trumpet at the approach of treason; Crompart, a horse of ebony, which is governed by pins. In return for these gifts the three kings ask the three daughters of Marcadigas in marriage. Elyador and Feniadis are well pleased, because to their lot have fallen the handsome knights, Melocandis and Baldigans. Marine, the most beautiful of the daughters of Marcadigas, is, on the contrary, sorely grieved, because Crompart, who wishes to marry her, is marvellously ugly. Turning in distress to her brother, Cléomadès, she begs him to deliver her from the loathsome knight. The prince takes his sister's part, and, in quarrelsome mood,

tells Crompart that his horse is no good. "Try it," says Crompart. Cléomadès, mounting, turns a pin which sets the horse flying through the air. The prince, unacquainted with the use of the pins, is unable either to guide or to stop his steed.

Cléomadès hastens over the country until by persistent experiment he has learned the mechanism of his horse. He then alights upon a tower, and, passing through a trap-door, finds his way to a chamber in which the fair Clarémondine is asleep. As soon as she awakens, he declares his love for her; but shortly after he is taken by the lady's angry father. Condemned to death, he asks the privilege of dying upon his horse. The request is granted; but no sooner has the prince mounted than he makes off. He proceeds to the court of Seville, where the marriages of Melocandis and Baldigans are celebrated. Crompart, in the meanwhile, had been banished, and resided in the neighborhood of Seville attending the sick.

Soon after his sisters are married, Cléomadès sets out to obtain Clarémondine. He succeeds without difficulty in finding her and in bringing her back to Seville. Unfortunately, however, he leaves her outside of the city while he goes to prepare for her arrival. Crompart finding Clarémondine pretends that he has been sent to escort her into the city. They mount upon the horse and Crompart carries her away for the satisfaction of his lust and his revenge. The rest of the romance recounts the various adventures of Cléomadès in recovering Clarémondine and in bringing her back to Seville.

One incident in these adventures is worthy of special comment. Cléomadès, having directed his search toward the kingdom of Tuscany, comes to a castle, where he asks hospitality. After he has been well received he is told that a strange custom prevails at that castle: every man enter-

tained there should the following morning either leave his arms and his horse behind or should singly engage two brave knights. Cléomadès chooses the latter alternative and next morning engages the two knights. He is victorious.¹

The points of difference between the *Cléomadès* and Chaucer's story are numerous and obvious. In *Cléomadès* three kings come to the king of Seville, and in return for their three gifts ask his daughters in marriage; in Chaucer one knight from "the king of Arabie and Inde" brings to the king of Tartarye four gifts, asking nothing in return. Moreover except in one instance the gifts are different. In *Cléomadès* they are: a horse of ebony, a golden man with a golden trumpet, which he blows at the approach of treason, and a golden hen with three golden chickens. In Chaucer: a horse of brass, a magic mirror, a magic ring, and a magic sword. The names, too, of places and persons are wholly different in the two stories. In the *Cléomadès*, moreover, there is nothing corresponding to the incident of Canacee and "the falcon peregrine."

On the other hand the occasion is in each case a birthday feast with the making of gifts. In each there are: a magic horse, operated in like manner, although of different material; a present which has the virtue of discovering treason, although Chaucer's mirror is more useful than the golden man in that it discovers treason in love as well as treason against the state. Moreover the following passage seems to point to some such adventures as those of Cléomadès and Clarémondine:

"And after wol I speke of Algarsyf,
How that he wan Theodora to his wyf,
For whom ful ofte in greet peril he was,
Ne hadde he ben holpen by the stede of bras."²

¹ *Cléomadès*, 9486 ff.

² *Squire's Tale*, 655 ff.

Besides, this other passage may allude to the contest with the two knights at the castle of the discourteous custom :

“And after wol I speke of Cambalo,
That faught in listes with the bretheren two
For Canacee, er that he mighte her winne.”¹

Notwithstanding, then, many points of difference between the *Cléomadès* and the *Squire's Tale*, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Clouston that the similarity of the two stories is not “merely fortuitous.”

What has been said for the *Cléomadès* may, for the most part, be said for the *Méliacin*. There are, indeed, obvious particulars in which Girard's romance differs from *Adenès*.² The names are wholly different ; the scene of the *Méliacin* is laid in Asia ; the three visitors to the king of the *Grande Ermenie* are clerks, not kings ;³ the figure with the trumpet is made of brass and the trumpet of silver ; moreover the figure is to be placed over the gate of a city or of a castle, where it will sound the trumpet whenever anyone enters. There are, too, many divergencies in the incidents. *Méliacin*, taken captive by Célinde's father, does not as *Cléomadès* in the same situation ask for the privilege of dying upon his horse, but proposes to fight five warriors and for this purpose asks for his horse. Moreover, there is in the *Méliacin* after the hero's first return to *Ermenie* a long episode, to which nothing corresponds in the *Cléomadès*. There is in the *Méliacin* a contest with a giant Robéron, corresponding to *Cléomadès*' contest with the two knights at the castle of the discourteous custom. These are only a few of the differences between the *Méliacin* and the *Cléomadès*. They are sufficient, however, for our purpose. The setting of the

¹ *Squire's Tale*, 659 ff.

² *Histoire littéraire*, XXXI, 183 ff.

³ In the Arabian Nights story they are sages. Lane, *Arabian Nights*, II, 464.

Méliacin is, like that of the *Squire's Tale*, Eastern; on the other hand the contest with "the brethren two" does not appear.

II.

The interest of the *Cléomadès* and the *Méliacin* as analogues to the *Squire's Tale* would, of course, be enhanced, if we could account in some measure for the divergences between the French romances and Chaucer's story. With this in view I shall indicate some associations of the *Cléomadès* with magic elements, found in Chaucer but not appearing in the stories of Adenès or Girard.

Corresponding to the figure with a trumpet we find in the *Squire's Tale* a magic mirror. With this magic means of discovering treason Chaucer must have been more familiar than with that employed by the French romancers. It is similar to Virgil's mirror, which is described in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*,¹ and in the English metrical version of the *Seven Wise Masters*.² The piece of poetical machinery appears to have been well known; whereas the man with the trumpet was at least not common. There are, moreover, two allusions to mirrors, magic in one case and not magic in the other, which may lead to an explanation of the gift to Canacee. Their interest largely consists in their association with the *Cléomadès*. They are to be found in Adenès' poem itself, and in Froissart's *L'Espinette Amoureuse*.³

The writer of the *Cléomadès*, speaking of the magic gifts, says: "People sometimes ask how such things, of which I have told you, can be done. Do you know what I tell

¹ *Confessio Amantis*, Book v, 2031 ff.

² Weber, III, *The Sevyng Sages*, 2070 ff.

³ *L'Espinette* appears to have been written before November, 1373. Compare *Le Joli Buisson*, 443 ff. (II, 14) with *ib.*, 859-60 (II, 26). See *Eng. Stud.*, XXVI, 327-9.

them? I say that negromancy is a very wonderful clergy ; for one has done many a marvel with it." The poet then indulges in a long digression in which he tells of the wonders of Virgil. First comes the story of two castles founded upon two eggs in the sea ; then an account of Virgil's bath which gives healing to the sick ; of a horse of metal upon a pillar, by being tied to which sick horses were cured. After narrating these wonders the poet continues :—"At Rome, in truth, Virgil made a very much greater thing ; for he made there a mirror from which one could know well, by the reflection in it, if any subject planned treason against Rome." Then follow the stories of a mouse of brass, which kept all mice out of Naples, and of Virgil's fire, near which was an archer, made of copper. On his forehead was written in Hebrew : "If any one strikes me, I shall shoot." One day a man struck the figure, which forthwith shot an arrow into the fire, extinguishing it. There is, further, the account of four men of stone, representing the different seasons ; as the seasons changed they passed from one to another a large brass apple.

This passage occurs in the *Cléomadès* where the poet is describing the gifts presented to king Marcadigas.¹ As it has a two-fold interest I quote it at length. In the first place we have here the magic mirror that reveals treason. Then, too, it will be noticed that most of Virgil's images are made of metal : the horse upon the pillar, the mouse, the archer, the apple. If Canacee's mirror may be traced directly or indirectly to the stock of Virgil's wonders, may we not find there also a reason for the horse of brass, instead of Adenès' horse of wood?²

Another association of a mirror with the *Cléomadès* appears

¹ *Cléomadès*, 1639 ff.

² In the English prose Virgil there is actually a magic horse of copper. See Thom, *Early Prose Romances*, II, x.

in Froissart's *L'Espinette Amoureuse*. At line 700 of this poem the knight asks his lady what she is reading. "It is called Cléomadès," she answers, "I shall read of it to you, and you will tell me how you like it." She then reads, while the knight is busy studying her conventional charms. Somewhat over 1650 lines further on¹—not so far, as distances are reckoned in romances—the hero determines to cross the sea that he may restore his health. Before he leaves his lady, however, she gives him a mirror. When far away, he is once looking in this mirror. Thinking how often it has reflected the face of his love, he seems to see her. On another occasion he puts the mirror under his pillow, goes to sleep, and sees the loved one in his dream. In his sleep he says, "This a phantom! by no means;" and then recalls a story of Papius and Ydorée, which Froissart is pleased to attribute to Ovid. At line 2583 ff. we read:—

" Se Diex me gart,
 Je vodroie qu'il peuïst estre
 Que je ressamblasse le mestre
 Qui fist le mireoir à Romme
 Dont estoient veü li homme
 Qui chevaugoient environ.
 Se le sens avoie ossi bon
 Que cils qui le mireoir fist,
 En cesti ci, par Jhesu Crist,
 En quelconques lieu que j'iroie
 Ma dame apertement veroie."²

Scheler, in his edition of Froissart, suggests that the poet here recalls the passage which I have already quoted from the *Cléomadès*.³ If so, and even if a magic mirror were not one of the gifts in any form of the *Cléomadès* story, Chaucer, who very probably knew Froissart's poems, might have

¹ *Cléomadès*, 2382 ff.

² *L'Espinette*, 2583 ff.

³ M. Aug. Scheler, *Œuvres de Froissart*, Bruxelles, 1870, I, 384.

associated these lines with the *Cleomadès*; especially since that romance had been previously mentioned by name in *L'Espinette*. Certainly the passage in which Froissart prettily describes the lover going to sleep with the mirror under his pillow, as well as the pleasing narrative of Papius and Ydorée, would have served to impress the mirror fiction upon Chaucer's mind. Yet we need not rest our case for the Froissart passage solely on these grounds. There are more definite reasons for connecting the passage in *L'Espinette* with the *Squire's Tale*.

Before advancing these reasons I need to present two quotations from Chaucer's poem. The first will be found at line 132 ff. :—

“This mirour eek, that I have in myn hond,
Hath swich a might, that men may in it see
When ther shal fallen any adversitee
Un-to your regne or to your-self also ;
And openly who is your freend or foo,
And over al this, if any lady bright
Hath set hir herte on any maner wight,
If he be fals, she shal his treson see,
His newe love and al his subtiltee
So openly, that ther shal no-thing hyde.”

The other passage is at line 367 ff. :—

“And slepte hir firste sleep, and thanne awook.
For swich a joye she in hir herte took
Both of hir queynte ring and hir mirour,
That twenty tyme she changed hir colour ;
And in hir slepe, right for impressioun
Of hir mirour, she hadde a visioun.”

The mirror, as described in the first passage by the messenger from the king of Arabie and of Inde, makes sorrowful revelations : it shows a lady the falseness of her lover. In the second quotation Canacee, in her first sleep, “right for impressioun of hir mirour” had a vision, from

which she awakes to have such joy of her gifts that she changes color twenty times. Are we to suppose that Canacee has been dreaming either of the messenger from the Eastern king or of that king himself, and that she has had sweet dreams, not from any magic property of the ring and mirror, but simply from remembrance of them? The passage would be more easily intelligible if we could suppose here a reminiscence of Froissart's mirror rather than Virgil's. Some lines from *L'Espinette* seem to give a degree of likelihood to this conjecture. The knight in a portion of that romance already alluded to puts his mirror under his pillow and goes to sleep. He dreams that he sees a reflection of his lady:—

“De mon mireoir me prenc garde,
Que g'i voi l'impression pure
De ma dame et de sa figure
Qui se miroit au mireoir.”¹

I suggest that Canacee's dream was similar to the knight's here described, and that “impressioun of hir mirour” may be an echo of “l'impression . . . qui se miroit au mireoir.”

There are, moreover, other lines in the *Squire's Tale* which are of interest in connection with another portion of this same passage in *L'Espinette*. We read in Chaucer's poem:—

“Another answerde and seyde it myghte wel be
Naturelly, by composiciouns
Of angles and of slye reflexiouns,
And seyden, that in Rome was swich oon.”²

We have here possibly an allusion to Virgil's mirror. The description, however, answers as closely at least to the mirror in Froissart's episode of Papius and Ydorée; and there are, besides, similarities of wording between the passages in the English and in the French poem. The knight, still dreaming of his lady and his mirror, says:—

¹ *L'Espinette*, 2623 ff.

² *Squire's Tale*, 220 ff.

"*C'est fantomme !*"¹

*Non est ; car jà avint à Romme
De deux amans l'uevre pareille
Tele, si n'est pas grant merveille
De ceste ci, quant bien m'avise,
Ensi qu' Ovides le devise."*²

It is to be noted that the mirror in this episode is, unlike that in the narrative proper of *L'Espinette*, a magic mirror. It is like Canacee's mirror, as described by the messenger from "Arabie," but unlike Virgil's, in that it is useful in affairs of love. It is, too, so closely associated with the other mirror in *L'Espinette* that Chaucer might have combined the two.

These possible echoes of Froissart in the *Squire's Tale* seem to ring true. If we credit them, we have one more instance of the influence of the famous poet-chronicler upon Chaucer.

Should we further believe that our poet knew the *Cléomadès* and was directly or indirectly indebted to it for prominent incidents in his proposed narrative, we might be led to ask under what circumstances the *Squire's Tale* was composed. The question is a perilous one; and with the data at hand no answer can safely be given. In general, however, two possibilities face us: on the one hand that the *Cléomadès*, retaining much of Adenès' plot, was in some redaction brought nearer to Chaucer's poem; on the other, that Chaucer, taking suggestions from many quarters, was trying to write a romance for himself. All that we now know of Chaucer's work-shop certainly favors the former alternative.

H. S. V. JONES.

¹ Professor Kittredge has suggested to me this punctuation. Scheler puts no exclamation point after *fantomme*.

² *L'Espinette*, 2661 ff.

XI.—REPETITION AND PARALLELISM IN THE EARLIER ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

The main object of this study is to call attention to certain characteristics of style that may serve as evidence in determining questions of authorship and relation of plays within the period treated; to develop a small and, perhaps, rather rough instrument of research, which will hardly rise to the dignity of a "test," but may serve as a useful auxiliary to more significant criteria. No attempt has been made to complete the study on the rhetorical side; attention has been given generally only to such matters as seemed important for the main purpose. A simple but sufficiently precise terminology has been used, and it has not been thought worth while to discuss its relation to the formal terminology of ancient or modern rhetorical treatises. All the forms here discussed are found in contemporary poetry other than the drama, especially in the work of the sonneteers.

By repetition is meant the use of the same word or words in the same line, or in succeeding lines of verse; where there is more than one word in the unit repeated, the term repetition implies the same words in the same order.

Examples: ¹

¹ The following editions are referred to:—

The Cambridge Shakespeare, edited by W. A. Wright.

The Works of Christopher Marlowe, edited by A. H. Bullen, London, 3 vols., 1885.

The Life and Works of Robert Greene, edited by Rev. A. B. Grosart, Huth Library, 15 vols., 1881-86.

The Works of George Peele, edited by A. H. Bullen, 2 vols., London, 1888.

The Works of Thomas Kyd, edited by F. S. Boas, Oxford, 1901.

Lochrine, The Doubtful Plays of William Shakespeare, by William Hazlitt, London, 1859, pp. 57-104.

"Locrine, draw near, draw near unto thy sire."

Locrine, I, 1, 146.

"If all my care, if all my grievous wounds."

Locrine, I, 1, 122.

"And lastly for revenge, for deep revenge."

Battle of Alcazar, IV, 2, 94.

By parallelism is meant the use of the same *form* of expression in the same line, or in succeeding lines of verse, the parallel expressions occupying the same relative place in the structure of the verse.

Examples :

"Witness this wretched stump, witness these crimson lines."

Titus Andronicus, V, 2, 22.

"Short is the race, prefixed is the end ;

Swift is the time, wherein man's life doth run."

Misfortunes of Arthur, Epilogus.

"O life, the harbour of calamities !

O death, the haven of all miseries !"

Locrine, IV, 1, 56-7.

It will at once be apparent that the terms repetition and parallelism, as it is proposed to use them, are not mutually exclusive. In all repetition where the repeated unit consists of more than a single word parallelism is found. On the other hand, in any case of parallelism, in addition to correspondence of form, we may have identity of words to a greater or less extent. Repetition, where the repeated unit consists of more than one word, necessarily implies parallelism, but parallelism does not necessarily imply repetition. As a matter of fact, however, there are very few examples of parallelism without some repetition.

In verse, parallelism is usually related to verse structure,

Misfortunes of Arthur, *Old English Plays*, Dodsley-Hazlitt, vol. 4, pp. 249-343.

Wounds of Civil War, *Old English Plays*, Dodsley-Hazlitt, vol. 7, pp. 97-197.

that is, the first half of a line is parallel to the second half of the same line, or one line is parallel to the next line, or the first half of one line is parallel to the first half of the next line, or alternate lines are parallel in whole or in part. For this reason the study has been limited to only those cases in which the parallel expressions occupy the same relative place in the structure of the verse. Of parallel expressions that are found in the same line only one case has been considered, namely, where the first half of a verse is parallel to the second half. No particular attention has been given to cases where the second half of one line is parallel to the first half of the next line, although some examples have been noted.

Both repetition and parallelism appear in a great variety of forms in the earlier Elizabethan drama; a complete description and classification of these forms would be a long and tedious matter, and not particularly profitable for the purpose of this study. I shall, therefore, describe and illustrate only the more common forms, and those that appear to be most significant as evidence in helping to determine the authorship and relation of plays. In the following pages ten forms are described and illustrated.

FORMS OF REPETITION AND PARALLELISM.

1. *Simple repetition of a word or two.*

Examples :

"Follow me, soldiers, follow Albanact."

Lochrine, II, 5, 20.

"The babe is sick, sick to the death, I fear."

David and Bethsabe, 4, 12.

"Deep night, dark night, the silent of the night."

2 *Henry VI*, I, 4, 16.

"All truth, all trust, all blood, all bands be broke!"

Misfortunes of Arthur, III, 4.

2. *Repetition of a word or words with an added epithet.*

Examples :

- "These arms, my lords, these never-daunted arms."
Lochrine, I, 1, 12.
- "But this foul day, this foul accursed day."
Lochrine, II, Prol., 12.
- "Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds."
1st Henry VI, III, 3, 50.
- "And in the morning sound the voice of war,
 The voice of bloody and unkindly war."
David and Bethsabe, 10, 107-8.

This form is comparatively rare ; I have found it only in *Lochrine*, *1st Henry VI*, and *Peele's* plays.

3. *The first half of a line is parallel to the second half of the same line.*

Examples :

- "Iniurious traytour, monstrous homicide."
Spanish Tragedy, III, 1, 57.
- "Witness this wretched stump, witness these crimson lines."
Titus Andronicus, v, 2, 22.
- "Who spake of brotherhood? who spake of love?"
Richard III, II, 1, 108.
- "That bottled spider, that foul bunch-back'd toad!"
Richard III, IV, 4, 81.

4. *Two or more successive lines begin with the same word or two, or with the same word followed by one in parallel construction.*

Examples :

- "And do him homage as obedient subjects ;
 And I'll withdraw me and my bloody power."
1st Henry VI, IV, 2, 7-8.
- "Your claim required no less than those attempts
 Your cause right good was prais'd and pray'd for most."
Misfortunes of Arthur, v, 1.

"There were prepar'd the foreign aids from far :
 There were the borrowed powers of divers kings ;
 There were our parents, brethren, sons and kin."

Misfortunes of Arthur, II, 1.

This is the most common, and probably the least significant of all the forms ; it is found with varying frequency in all early Elizabethan plays. It is probable, as Sarrazin points out (*Anglia*, 13, 127), that it is to this practice of beginning successive lines with the same word that Nash refers (in the prefatory epistle to Greene's *Menaphon*) in the expression "to bodge vp a blanke verse with ifs and ands."¹

5. *Two or more successive lines end with the same word or two, or with the same word preceded by one in parallel construction.*

Examples :

"As if we should forget we had no hands,
 If Marcus did not name the word of hands!"

Titus Andronicus, III, 2, 32-3.

"Coal-black is better than another hue,
 In that it scorns to bear another hue."

Titus Andronicus, IV, 2, 99-100.

"O, but impatience waiteth on true sorrow.
 And see where comes the breeder of my sorrow!"

3d Henry VI, III, 3, 42-3.

This is a rare form, but it is sometimes used with marked effect, particularly where the repeated words end a number of successive lines.

6. *The first half of a line is parallel to the first half of one or more succeeding lines.*

¹ *Greene's Works*, edited by Grosart (Huth Library), VI, p. 16.

For another explanation of this expression, see Boas, *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, Intro., p. xxix ; Köppel, *Engl. Stud.*, 18, p. 131 ; Schick, *The Spanish Tragedy* (*Temple Dramatists*), Intro., p. xii.

Examples :

- "Dost thou not tremble at our royal looks?
Dost thou not quake, when mighty Loocrine frowns?"
Loocrine, v, 1, 43-4.
- "With sails and oars to cross the swelling seas,
With men and ships, courage and cannon-shot."
Battle of Alcazar, III, Prol., 4-5.
- "Is this the loue thou bearest *Horatio*?
Is this the kindnes that thou counterfeitst?
Are these the fruits of thine incessant teares?"
Spanish Tragedy, IV, 1, 1-3.
- "Thus must we worke that will auoide distrust;
Thus must we practise to preuent mishap."
Spanish Tragedy, III, 2, 105-6.
- "That keeps his seat and sceptre all in fear;
That wears his crown in eye of all the world."
Battle of Alcazar, III, 4, 41-2.

7. *The second half of a line is parallel to the second half of one or more succeeding lines.*

Examples :

- "My bowels cry, Humber, give us some meat
But wretched Humber can give you no meat."
Loocrine, IV, 2, 15-16.
- "On whom I doted more then all the world,
Because she lou'd me more then all the world."
Spanish Tragedy, II, 6, 5-6.
- "*Duch.* What means this scene of rude impatience?
Q. Elis. To make an act of tragic violence."
Richard III, II, 2, 38-9.
- "So am I left to wail my parents' death,
Not able for to work my proper death."
Loocrine, v, 4, 154-5.

8. *Whole lines are parallel in groups of two or more.*

Examples :

- "For now revenge shall ease my lingering grief,
And now revenge shall glut my longing soul."
Loocrine, III, 2, 34-5.

"Lochrine may well bewail his proper grief,
Lochrine may move his own peculiar woe."

Lochrine, iv, 1, 83-4.

"His men are slaine, a weakening to his Realme ;
His colours ceaz'd, a blot unto his name ;
His Sonne distrest, a corsue to his hart."

Spanish Tragedy, i, 2, 141-3.

"She is a woman, therefore may be woo'd ;
She is a woman, therefore may be won ;
She is Lavinia, therefore must be loved."

Titus Andronicus, ii, 1, 82-4.

9. *Alternate lines are parallel.* Of this form there are two principal varieties : A. The first line is parallel to the third, fifth, &c., and the second is parallel to the fourth, sixth, &c. B. The first line is parallel to the third, fifth, &c., but the intervening lines have no parallel structure.

Examples :

A. "Hadst thou no time thy rancour to declare,
But in the spring of all my dignities ?
Hadst thou no place to spit thy venom out,
But on the person of young Albanact ?"

Lochrine, ii, 5, 32-5.

B. "'Tis beauty that doth oft make women proud ;
But, God He knows, thy share thereof is small :
'Tis virtue that doth make them most admired ;
The contrary doth make thee wondered at."

3d Henry VI, i, 4, 128-31.

10. *Progressive repetition and parallelism.* In this form lines or half lines are parallel, and, in addition, words used in the second half of one line are repeated in the first half of the following line. This is the most elaborate and artificial of all the forms ; its occurrence is rare except in *Lochrine* and *The Spanish Tragedy*.

Examples :

"Where'er Aurora, handmaid of the sun,
Where'er the sun, bright guardian of the day,

Where'er the joyful day with cheerful light,
Where'er the light illuminates the world,
The Trojans' glory flies with golden wings,
Wings that do soar beyond fell envy's flight."

Locrine, I, 1, 51-6.

"Bright Bethsabe gives earth to my desires ;
Verdure to earth ; and to that verdure flowers ;
To flowers sweet odours ; and to odours wings."

David and Bethsabe, 1, 67-9.

"And with my wonder hasteth on my woe,
And with my woe I am assailed with fear,
And with my fear await with faintful breath."

The Wounds of Civil War, IV, 1.

"First, in his hand he brandished a sword,
And with that sword he fiercely waged warre,
And in that warre he gaue me dangerous wounds,
And by those wounds he forced me to yeeld,
And by my yeelding I became his slaue :
Now, in his mouth he carries pleasing words,
Which pleasing wordes doe harbour sweet conceits,
Which sweet conceits are lim'de with slie deceits,
Which slie deceits smooth *Bel-imperias* eares,
And through her eares diue downe into her hart,
And in her hart set him where I should stand."

Spanish Tragedy, II, 1, 119-29.¹

¹ This passage is an imitation of Watson's *Hecatompithia*, Sonnet XLI (Arber's Reprint, p. 77), as is suggested in a general way, but not specifically, by Sarrazin (*Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, p. 7). The first six lines of Sonnet LXIII (Arber, p. 100) may also have been imitated here. For other imitations and borrowings from Watson by Kyd, see *Dodsley-Hazlitt*, v, p. 36; Boas, *Works of Thomas Kyd*, Intro., p. xxiv; Schick, *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, 87, p. 300; Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, p. 6.

Watson's introduction to Sonnet XLI is interesting. "This Passion is framed upon a somewhat tedious or too much affected continuation of that figure in Rhethorique, whiche of the Grekes is called *παλιλογία* or *ανάδιπλωσις*, of the Latines *Reduplicatio* : whereof *Susenbrotus* (if I well remember me) alleadgeth this example out of *Virgill*,

*Sequitur pulcherrimus Austur,
Austur equo fidens."*

Æneid, 10.

In the following discussion of the use of the forms of repetition and parallelism in the works of dramatists and in single plays, for purposes of comparison, tables are given showing the number of cases of each form in each play considered. In making the count a little freedom has been given to the limits of the half line. In form 3, where the first half of a line is parallel to the second half, those cases also have been counted in which the line consists of parallel expressions joined by a conjunction, or in common construction with a word or two outside the parallel expressions.¹ In forms 6 and 7, where half lines of successive verses are parallel, in most cases counted the parallelism extends to more than an exact half line, in some cases to a little less. In form 8, parallelism of whole lines, it has not been considered essential that there be exact parallelism in every part; those cases also have been counted in which there is some variation in the middle or at the very end of the lines. In form 9, parallelism of alternate lines, there has been made no subdivision into varieties on the basis of the extent of the parallelism, whether to whole lines, half lines, or less.

THE ENGLISH SENECAN PLAYS.

The Latin plays attributed to Seneca contain a moderate amount of repetition and parallelism. Parallelism that is

¹ Examples: "Thy cursed father, and thy conquered selfe."

Spanish Tragedy, III, 7, 64.

"Thus to forbid me land? to slay my friends?"

Misfortunes of Arthur, III, 1.

"In brief, you fear, I hope; you doubt, I dare."

Misfortunes of Arthur, II, 3.

"If their assents be slow, my wrath is swift."

Misfortunes of Arthur, II, 2.

"Your discipline in war, wisdom in peace."

Richard III, III, 7, 16.

related to verse structure¹ does not generally extend beyond three words; whole line parallels are very rare. The English translations of Seneca ("English Seneca")² have much repetition, but only a comparatively small amount of extended parallelism; almost every page will show one or two examples of successive lines beginning with the same word or two, but half-line parallels, whole line parallels, and alternate parallels are of rare occurrence.

An examination of the English plays that copy and imitate Seneca shows in most cases a large amount of repetition and parallelism. A few of these plays have but a comparatively small amount, but most of them have an amount much larger than that found in other plays of the same period. Generally speaking, the nearer the play is to Seneca the more repetition and parallelism it has. The following table shows the number of examples of each form in each of seven English Senecan plays.

Senecan Plays.

Form ³	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Gorboduc</i> ⁴.....	...	...	3	27	...	14	...	13	3	...
<i>Misfortunes of Arthur</i>	7	3	16	18	...	17	...	23	3	...
<i>Tancred and Gismonda</i>.....	...	...	7	20	...	16	1	9	...	...
<i>Lochrine</i>	5	12	5	21	4	16	4	37	21	3
<i>Spanish Tragedy</i>	1	...	9	26	2	7	1	23	8	2
<i>Soliman and Perseda</i>.....	...	...	5	18	1	8	4	30	4	3
<i>Titus Andronicus</i>.....	...	...	1	29	3	13	1	17	2	1

¹ Cf. pp. 361-2.

² *Publications of the Spenser Society*, Nos. 43 and 44.

³ For description of the forms see pp. 362-7.

⁴ Where no figures are given, no examples have been observed.

THOMAS KYD.

A discussion of all the questions connected with the authorship of the various plays attributed to Thomas Kyd is aside from the purpose of this study. Modern authorities are fairly well agreed that he is the author of *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Soliman and Perseda*, *Cornelia*, translated from the French of Robert Garnier, and the *Ur-Hamlet*.

The author of the *Spanish Tragedy* was excessively fond of parallelism; only one play, *Lochrine*, shows as great a variety of forms as does *The Spanish Tragedy*, and very few plays show so great an amount of parallel structure. *Soliman and Perseda* has almost as great a variety of forms as that found in *The Spanish Tragedy*. A comparative study of the two plays with respect to the occurrence of these forms offers an additional bit of evidence in favor of the conclusion that they are the work of the same author.¹ *The Tragedy of Cornelia* does not show as many examples as the two plays just considered, but the difference is not very marked, except in the case of whole-line parallels, where *Cornelia* has but nine cases, *The Spanish Tragedy* 18, and *Soliman and Perseda* 30. A comparison of Kyd's translation with the French original shows substantially the same amount of repetition and parallelism in each.

In connection with Kyd is to be considered the question of *The First Part of Jeronimo*. Authorities differ widely in regard to the authorship of this play, its relation to *The Spanish Tragedy*, and the relation of the version printed in 1605 to the version of 1592, referred to in Henslowe's diary.² Schick notes that *The First Part of Jeronimo* is inde-

¹ Cf. G. Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1892, p. 3.

² F. S. Boas, *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, Introd., xxxix-xliv; Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, 2d ed., I, pp. 308-9; A. H. Thorndike, *Modern Language Notes*, 17, pp. 143-4; Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und*

pendent of any Senecan model.¹ An examination of the use of repetition and parallelism in the play confirms this, and brings out a striking contrast with *The Spanish Tragedy*. There are in *The Spanish Tragedy* seven cases of half-line parallels (form 6), as against three in *The First Part of Jeronimo*; 23 cases of whole-line parallels (form 8), as against three; four cases of alternate parallelism (form 9), as against none; three cases of progressive parallelism, as against none. Allowance, of course, must be made for the fact that *The First Part of Jeronimo* is less than half the length of *The Spanish Tragedy*; but even then the fact remains that one of the most striking characteristics of *The Spanish Tragedy* is almost entirely wanting from *The First Part of Jeronimo*.

Kyd's Plays and The First Part of Jeronimo.

Form.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Soliman and Perseda</i>.....	...	...	5	18	1	8	4	30	4	3
<i>Cornelia</i>.....	...	...	8	20	...	11	...	9	3	...
<i>Spanish Tragedy</i>	1	...	9	26	2	7	1	23	8	2
<i>First Part of Jeronimo</i>	3	...	7	16	...	4	...	2	...	...

ROBERT GREENE.

The plays of Greene show but a moderate use of repetition and parallelism, with the exception of *A Looking Glass for London and England*. In this play Lodge collaborated with Greene, and it is probable that much of the parallelism found

sein Kreis, pp. 54-58; R. Fischer, *Zur Kunstentwicklung der Englischen Tragoedie*, Strassburg, 1893, pp. 100-112; J. Schick, *The Spanish Tragedy*, London, 1898, Preface, pp. xvi-xviii.

¹ *The Spanish Tragedy*, Preface, p. xvii, "we note, further, its independence of any Senecan model."

in it is from his pen, for the reason that he uses it freely in his own play, *The Wounds of Civil War*.

Dr. Grosart, upon rather scanty and unconvincing evidence, has attributed to Greene *Selimus* and *Titus Andronicus*.¹ *Selimus* contains a comparatively small amount of parallelism; the number of cases is about the same as that found in *Alphonsus of Arragon*, but much smaller than that found in *James IV* and *A Looking Glass for London and England*. *Titus Andronicus*, on the other hand, shows these forms in rather free use. Now one of Grosart's strongest arguments for Greene's authorship of *Titus Andronicus* is based upon points of resemblance between that play and *Selimus*. In respect to the use of repetition and parallelism there is a very marked difference between the two plays.

Greene's Plays; Wounds of Civil War, Selimus, Titus Andronicus.

Form.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>James IV</i>	4	12	1	12	1	10	1	...
<i>Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay</i>	1	20	...	2	1	8	...	...
<i>Alphonsus of Arragon</i>	3	3	...	4	1	3	...	...
<i>Looking Glass for London & England</i>	3	13	1	20	...	17	...	...
<i>Wounds of Civil War (Lodge)</i>	7	14	1	13	2	26	2	1
<i>Selimus</i>	1	25	1	6	...	4	4	...
<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	1	29	3	13	1	17	2	1

GEORGE PEELE.

In Peele's plays there is found a large variety of forms of repetition and parallelism, but the number of cases of any one form is not large. Most noticeable is the number of

¹ *Greene's Life and Works*, Huth Library, vol. I, Introd., pp. lxxi-lxxvii; *Englische Studien*, 22, pp. 389-436.

cases of form 2, repetition with added epithet.¹ This is a very rare form; I have found it outside Peele's works only in *Misfortunes of Arthur* (three times), *1st Henry VI* (once), and *Locrine* (ten times); in Peele I have noted eighteen cases. Peele's plays also afford a few examples of progressive repetition and parallelism (form 10); these are short and simple, very different from the elaborate structures found in *Locrine* and *The Spanish Tragedy*.

By some authorities Peele is held to be the author of *Locrine*.² This play was first printed in 1595 as "Newly set forth overseene and corrected by W. S.;" it was one of the six plays that were added to the 3d and 4th folio editions of Shakespeare. The question of the authorship of the play has long been in dispute, and is still unsettled. It has been considered to be a very early work of Shakespeare's, closely associated with *Titus Andronicus*; some have assigned it to Marlowe, others to Greene, and still others to Peele.³ The latest and most extended discussion of the question is by Mr. W. S. Gaud,⁴ who presents the case for Peele, particularly as against the claims of Greene. The evidence

¹ Examples :

"this sword, this thirsty sword."

Edward I, 5, 27.

"to the gates of death and hell

Pale death and hell."

Battle of Alcazar, I, 1, 122-3.

See p. 363.

² Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, II, p. 220; Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, II, p. 321; Schelling, *English Chronicle Play*, p. 25. Cf. Ulrici, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, translated by L. Dora Schmitz (Bohn's Library), II, p. 378.

³ Tieck, *Alt-Englisches Theater*, Berlin, 1811, II, pp. iv-vii; Malone, *Supplement to the Edition of Shakespeare's Plays*, &c., London, 1780, II, p. 190; Ulrici, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, II, pp. 375-378; J. P. Collier, *Biographical and Critical Account*, &c., New York, 1866, 4 vols., I, 119; J. A. Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama*, p. 368 and note; Sidney Lee, *National Dictionary of Biography*, 56, p. 399.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, I, pp. 409-422.

presented is for the most part negative, and the resemblances pointed out between *Locrine* and the works of Peele are neither numerous enough nor close enough to warrant the conclusion that Peele is the author of the play. I do not wish to enter into a discussion of the question here, but would call attention to one very striking characteristic of *Locrine* that appears to have been overlooked by all who have discussed the question of its authorship; I refer to the excessive amount of repetition and parallelism found in it. No other play of the earlier Elizabethan drama contains so many examples, such elaborate ones, and so great a variety of forms. A comparison of the play with the works of Peele will serve to make this plain.¹ Particularly significant is the difference between *Locrine* and *The Battle of Alcazar*, which is nearest to *Locrine* in form and subject. It may be unreasonable to maintain that the evidence brought out by this comparison is of itself sufficient to prove that *Locrine* cannot be the work of Peele, nevertheless it is surely true that there can be no satisfactory solution of this question of authorship upon internal evidence that does not take into account this very striking characteristic of the play.

Peele's Plays and Locrine.

Form.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Arraignment of Paris</i>	1	...	...	18	...	8	...	2	2	...
<i>Old Wives' Tale</i>.....	...	1	1	6	...	...	...	...	...	1
<i>David and Bethsabe</i>	3	3	4	17	1	4	3	5	...	1
<i>Edward I.</i>	1	9	6	10	...	3	...	8	2	...
<i>Battle of Alcazar</i>	9	6	2	17	1	5	1	6	1	2
Total.....	14	19	13	68	2	20	4	21	5	4
<i>Locrine</i>	5	12	5	21	4	16	4	37	21	3

¹ See table following.

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE.

The last of the predecessors of Shakespeare to be considered is Marlowe. In his plays there is found a rather surprising absence of repetition and parallelism; he frequently begins successive lines with the same word or two (120 cases noted in the seven plays), but other forms occur in small numbers.¹

In an earlier part of this study I have shown that the frequent occurrence of repetition and parallelism is a rather marked characteristic of the English Senecan plays.² Now it is to be noted that Marlowe's plays are in this respect very different from the Senecan plays (compare table, p. 376, with table, p. 369). Marlowe's practice in this matter is entirely consistent with his practice respecting other marked Senecan characteristics. He never makes use of the dumb show; there is no instance of a ghost in his plays; the messenger is never used for narration; the chorus is used only in *Doctor Faustus*, and here it merely supplies information to introduce and connect some of the scenes;³ there are only two instances of stichomythia.⁴ To just what extent Marlowe was influenced by Seneca directly, or indirectly through the English Senecan plays has not been determined. Cunliffe speaks of two particulars, "horror of incident and exaggeration of expression," and notes the absence of "the sage reflections with which Seneca adorned his plays."⁵ In the discussion of Marlowe's influence upon his contemporaries, due consideration has not hitherto been given to the absence from his plays of the Senecan characteristics that

¹ See table following.

² See p. 369.

³ The speech of the chorus at the end of the play is to be excepted from this general statement. Cf. Fischer, *Kunstentwicklung der Englischen Tragödie*, p. 76.

⁴ *Edward II*, I, 4, 319-27; II, 2, 223-35.

⁵ *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, pp. 59-60.

have been mentioned above,—dumb show, the ghost, the messenger, the chorus, stichomythia, repetition and parallelism.

Marlowe's Plays.

Form.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Tamburlaine I.</i>	1	25	...	8	...	4	2	...
<i>Tamburlaine II.</i>	15	...	1	...	4	...	...
<i>Jew of Malta.</i>	3	22	...	1	...	4	...	...
<i>Faustus.</i>	1	13	...	1	1	1	1	...
<i>Edward II.</i>	2	18	...	10	2	6	...	1
<i>Massacre at Paris.</i>	2	14	...	3	1	2	1	1
<i>Dido.</i>	1	13	...	1	1	5	1	...
Total.....	10	120	...	25	5	26	5	2

2D HENRY VI, 3D HENRY IV, AND RICHARD III.

The three Shakespearian plays, *2d Henry VI*, *3d Henry IV*, and *Richard III*, are very rich in examples of repetition and parallelism; *3d Henry VI* and *Richard III* resemble in this respect the most characteristic Senecan plays, such as *Lochrine* and *The Spanish Tragedy*.¹ Of half-line parallels (form 6) *3d Henry VI* has 26 cases, *Richard III* 23, *Lochrine* 16, *Spanish Tragedy* 7; of whole-line parallels (form 8) *3d Henry VI* has 21 cases, *Richard III* 23, *Lochrine* 37, *Spanish Tragedy* 23; of alternate parallelism (form 9) *3d Henry VI* has 8 cases, *Richard III* 11, *Lochrine* 21, *Spanish Tragedy* 4.

These three plays belong to the so-called Marlowe-Shakespeare Group;² the influence of Marlowe upon them and

¹ Compare table, p. 377, with table, p. 369. Cf. Kramer, *Über Stichomythie und Gleichklang in den Dramen Shakespeares*, Duisburg, 1889.

² E. Dowden, *Shakspeare—His Mind and Art*, Preface to 3d edition; F. G. Fleay, *Chronicle History of the Life and Works of William Shakespeare*, pp. 255–283; Schelling, *English Chronicle Play*, chapter IV; Verity, *The Influence of Christopher Marlowe on Shakespeare's Earlier Style*, p. 73, note.

his part in their composition has been variously estimated by Shakespearian scholars. I have shown that Marlowe's plays are devoid of certain marked Senecan characteristics.¹ Now these three plays, which are held to show evidence of Marlowe's influence or collaboration, have in a marked degree these same Senecan characteristics that are absent from Marlowe's work. This fact will have to be taken into account in the discussion of Marlowe's influence upon these plays or his part in their composition. This fact, too, in connection with others too remote to be discussed here, will warrant the general statement that Marlowe is more free from the influence of the English Senecan drama than Shakespeare is.

Shakespearian Plays.

Form.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	1	29	3	13	1	17	2	1
<i>1st Henry VI</i>	1	...	16	1	4	2	15	...	...
<i>2d Henry VI</i>	3	...	4	18	2	11	3	17	2	...
<i>3d Henry VI</i>	5	35	7	26	3	21	8	...
<i>Richard III</i>	8	32	...	23	5	26	11	...

To the discussion of the vexed question of the authorship of the *2d and 3d Parts of Henry VI* and the relation of these plays respectively to *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York*, this investigation brings one point. A comparison of *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*, on the one hand, with the *2d and 3d Parts of Henry VI*, on the other, with reference to the use of repetition and parallelism gives the following results.² There are in *2d Henry VI*, 8 cases in which that play retains parallel structure found in *The Contention*, two cases in which

¹ Pp. 375-6.

² Only those cases have been counted in which the parallelism extends to a half line or more.

parallel structure is not retained, and 22 cases in which parallel structure has been added to *2d Henry VI*. In 12 of the last cases, the parallel structure is found in additions of new material (*i. e.*, material found in *2d Henry VI* that is not found in *The Contention*); in six cases, the substance is found in *The Contention*, but the form has been changed in *2d Henry VI*, to obtain the effect of parallelism; in three cases, a line has been added parallel to its next neighbor; in one case, the wording of a line has been changed, to make it parallel to another, which is kept as in *The Contention*. In *3d Henry VI* there are 28 cases in which parallel structure found in *The True Tragedy* is retained, one case in which parallel structure is not retained, and 34 cases in which parallel structure has been added to *3d Henry VI*. In 20 of the last cases, the parallel structure is found in additions of new material (*i. e.*, material found in *3d Henry VI* that is not found in *The True Tragedy*); in two cases, the wording has been changed to make the parallel closer; in 12 cases, a line has been added parallel to its next neighbor; in one case, a passage of three parallel lines has been expanded to five by the insertion of parallel lines between the first and second, and between the second and third.¹

¹The following examples will illustrate the manner in which parallelism has been added.

"Her looks are all replete with majesty."

True Tragedy, l. 1281 (*Bankside Shakespeare*).

"Her looks do argue her replete with modesty;

Her works do show her wit incomparable."

3d Henry VI, III, 2, 84-5.

"Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece?

Did I impale him with the regal crown,

And thrust king Henry from his native home?"

True Tragedy, ll. 1476-8.

"Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece?

Did I impale him with the regal crown?

Did I put Henry from his native right?"

3d Henry VI, III, 3, 188-90.

2d and *3d Henry VI*, then, have much more repetition and parallelism than *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*, and *3d Henry IV* shows a greater increase than *2d Henry IV*; moreover, this increase in the two plays shows itself not only where there is difference of substance, but also where the substance is practically the same. The points brought out above are in themselves too small to serve as a basis for any large induction; they may, however, be of some service to future investigation into the authorship and relation of these plays.

Shakespearian scholars have for a long time noted the classical or, more particularly, Senecan characteristics of *Richard III*, and some have held that Shakespeare's drama is based upon an earlier play, probably of the English Senecan school.¹ The great abundance of repetition and parallelism in the play is an additional Senecan feature of *Richard III* not noted before; it may help to define further the character of the pre-Shakespearian play upon which *Richard III* is based.

F. G. HUBBARD.

"That knows not how to use ambassadors,
Nor how to use your brothers brotherly,
Nor how to shroud yourself from enemies."

True Tragedy, ll. 1680-2.

"That know not how to use ambassadors,
Nor how to be contented with one wife,
Nor how to use your brothers brotherly,
Nor how to study for the people's welfare,
Nor how to shroud yourself from enemies?"

3d Henry VI, iv, 3, 36-40.

¹Dowden, *Shakespeare—His Mind and Art*, p. 191; Brandes, *William Shakespeare*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 192-3; Moulton, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, chapter v; Schelling, *English Chronicle Play*, p. 94; Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, pp. 73-9; T. Vatke, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, iv, p. 67; Churchill, *Richard the Third up to Shakespeare*, pp. 531-4.

XII.—UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF ITALIAN BESTIARIES.

Before the history of Italian bestiary literature can be satisfactorily written, considerable preliminary work remains to be done. When Lauchert published his *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strassburg, 1889), although he devoted a certain amount of space to the poets from the Sicilian school to Ariosto,¹ he was not aware that any bestiaries earlier than that of Leonardo da Vinci existed in Italian prose. Three years later, Goldstaub and Wendriner, *Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius* (Halle, 1892), published the text of a manuscript belonging to the Biblioteca Comunale at Padua, and also an account of seven other manuscripts, all of which are in Florentine libraries. This book (cited hereafter as G-W) is the most comprehensive study of the Italian bestiaries now available, and may safely be taken as the basis for further investigation. The present paper, based in large part on work done in the libraries of Florence, Naples and Paris, is offered as a contribution to the study of the subject, and will, it is hoped, be of value in indicating a large amount of material, including several important manuscripts, which was entirely unknown to Goldstaub and Wendriner. An important phase of the subject, namely, the use of bestiary material by the Italian poets of the thirteenth century, has been investigated by Dr. M. S. Garver, of Yale University, in a dissertation which he hopes to publish soon.

¹ See pp. 187-91. Cf. his review of Goldstaub and Wendriner, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1892, p. 756: Während Bestiarien in Prosa . . . in italienischer Sprache bisher nicht bekannt waren, haben in jüngster Zeit die Herausgeber der vorliegenden Publication eine Anzahl von italienischen Bestiarien-Handschriften . . . entdeckt.

Of the eight manuscripts studied by Goldstaub and Wendriner, two¹ will be entirely disregarded in this paper, since they present isolated versions that are related only in a very general way to the other Italian, as well as to the Waldensian and French bestiaries. The remaining six manuscripts² form with those to be mentioned presently a group that goes back to a single Italian original. The attempt to determine the date and the contents of this original is complicated by the much later date and the wide divergences of text in the case of the existing manuscripts. In copying works formed of short, independent paragraphs, each scribe was apt to make such additions, omissions, or other changes as he saw fit.³ Goldstaub uses as a guide in determining the date of different portions of the text, the character of the allegorical signification ascribed to the different animals. In the original Physiologus and in derivatives down to the thirteenth century, the allegory was mystical; the animals were used as symbols of Christ, the church, the devil, and so on. In the thirteenth century, this method gave way to a moralizing tendency. Later still,

¹ R₄ and St, although the former in certain parts does show some relationship to the other MSS.; see G-W, p. 104. I disregard also the *Bestiario moralizzato*, in sonnets of the thirteenth century, published by Monaci in 1889; the *Mare amoroso*, sometimes ascribed to Brunetto Latini; and the bestiary portion of Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba*, which latter is being studied by Mr. J. P. Rice of Yale University. An unpublished ms. in the Vatican Library, Cod. Capponiano 200, of the fourteenth century, contains, ff. 233-7, "La proprietà d'alcuno animale;" judging from the brief quotation in Salvo-Cozzo, *Codici Capponiani della Bib. Vat.*, Roma, 1897, this text has no relation to our MSS.

² Three in the Riccardian Library, called in G-W: R₁, R₂, R₃; two in the Laurentian: L₁, L₂; and the text published: P. I keep these symbols, except that I shall call the Padua MS. "Pad" to distinguish it from the Paris MS., "Par." To the other new MSS. I give similar symbols, as N for Naples; St₁ for Strozzi, to distinguish from the St of G-W, which might now be called St₂; etc.

³ Cf. G-W, pp. 10, 90.

the significations were often omitted, leaving merely the quasi-scientific descriptions; and sometimes the characteristics of animals, made known through the bestiaries, were used for comparisons in love-poetry. Additional animals increased the original number, and the original texts were expanded by new characteristics, examples, and illustrations. Thus in many bestiaries the well-known fable of the dog dropping his food into the water in order to get the reflection is told as a regular characteristic of dogs.¹ Now, while the Italian versions as a rule follow the didactic or moralizing type of allegory, some of them have traces of the older mystical interpretation which was characteristic of *Physiologus*-versions proper, as distinguished from bestiaries in general. Hence Goldstaub concludes² that the original Italian version must have been made in the twelfth century, or at any rate not later than the beginning of the thirteenth. The acceptance of so early a date seems to me out of the question when one considers the history of Italian literature. Doubtless the original Italian *Physiologus* was translated about the middle of the thirteenth century, from Latin texts of earlier date. Some time may have passed, after the production of this original Italian version, before the composition of the derivative version (or, possibly, closely related versions) from which were derived in turn the manuscripts now known. Goldstaub assigns a century or more to this period of development, for he dates the archetype of his six manuscripts well along in the fourteenth century; he thinks that while the development may have taken place entirely in Italian, it more probably took place simultaneously in a series of versions, now lost, in Latin as well as in Italian.³ A part of the Latin manuscript known as Cod. Hamilton 390, now in Berlin, dating from the

¹ Cf. G-W, pp. 327-35.

² G-W, p. 230.

³ G-W, pp. 222-32.

thirteenth century, is a stray remnant of some such version.¹ But the date assigned for the archetype of the Italian manuscripts must be scrutinized in the light of the new material now presented.

The oldest of the six manuscripts known to Goldstaub is R₁, of the second half of the fourteenth century. This is also the most voluminous of the whole group of manuscripts; it contains 61 animal-chapters, followed by 16 fables. Closely related to it in text and content are R₂ and R₃, the latter containing 57 animals and 15 fables. Pad, the published text, was written in 1468; it contains 46 animals and 11 fables, all of which are also in the R-texts; but the text of Pad is much condensed, and shows marked influence of the Venetian dialect (the other texts being Tuscan). L₁ and L₂ are still shorter, and do not contain this collection of fables, although L₁ has a different collection of 57 fables, being an unpublished text of the Italian translation from Marie de France.² It must have seemed a natural and obvious expedient to round out a bestiary, or collection of descriptions of animals arranged for a didactic purpose, by adding to it a collection of fables, or tales about animals, which were universally used in the Middle Ages for the same purpose; and in general these two branches of animal-lore mutually influenced one another, and were drawn on indiscriminately by the compilers of such works as the *Fiore di Virtù*, and by sculptors and miniaturists in search of subjects both decorative and symbolic. The collection of

¹ The collection of examples in this ms., which I shall refer to as "Ham," was published by Tobler, *Lateinische Beispielsammlung mit Bildern*, in *Zeitschrift f. rom. phil.*, XII, 57-88. Tobler has also published the rest of the ms. in various periodicals, beginning with the *Abhandlungen der Akademie zu Berlin*, 1883.

² See Brush, *The Isopo Laurenziano*, Columbus, 1899, pp. 9, 44, 66. Brush did not use G-W. For description and table of the six mss., see G-W, pp. 74-89.

fables, sixteen in number, which is found in whole or in part in connection with the bestiary in several of the manuscripts, is a peculiar one. It occurs nowhere else as a collection, except that twelve of the fables are found in Latin in the Cod. Hamilton, already mentioned. Some of them are entirely unknown elsewhere, but six of them come from Avianus. Of these fables, the eleven that are found in Pad, and one other in N (see below), have been published. I add to this paper the text of the sixteen fables, based principally on R₃.

Even a glance at the list of chapter-headings shows that the three R-mss. are closely related. Similarly, the two L-mss. form a group by themselves; while Pad, on account of its peculiar dialect, stands alone, having the fables in common with R, but otherwise being closer to L. In this way Goldstaub classifies the six manuscripts with which he was acquainted; but a study of the other manuscripts which have come to light will perhaps modify the classification. One of them, N, is very closely related to R; while the rest have characteristics, opposed to R, in common with Pad and L. Hence we get two groups, rather than three, and the fables are equally characteristic of both groups. It is easy to infer, then, that the fables belonged to the archetype of all the manuscripts, before the differentiation into groups. The date of this archetype I believe to have been not later than the third quarter of the thirteenth century. In this connection, I should like to call attention to a feature that Goldstaub ignored.

It is well known that the Provençal and Italian poets of the thirteenth century made rather frequent use of metaphors that were derived ultimately from the bestiaries, but had become, more or less, common literary property. One poet, however, Chiaro Davanzati, a Florentine, who died not later than 1280, used these bestiary-metaphors so systematically

that it is evident that he must have had access to some bestiary-manuscript.¹ The investigations of Dr. Garver, already mentioned, show that this manuscript must have been closely related to the R-group. Now, one of Chiaro's sonnets, beginning :

Di penne di paone e d'altre assai
Vestita la corniglia a corte andau,

is a version of the familiar fable of the crow decked in borrowed feathers.² It is, moreover, a version of the popular type, as distinguished from the literary type represented in the fable-books descended from Phædrus and Romulus. Of course, Chiaro might have derived his acquaintance with the fable from one or more of many different sources ; but, as a matter of fact, such versions of Æsopic fables are exceedingly rare in Italian poets of the thirteenth century. It is certainly significant, then, since Chiaro made use of a bestiary-text, to find this particular fable in two of our manuscripts, and in precisely the form desired. It is surely natural to conclude that Chiaro used a manuscript which contained both the bestiary and the fables ; and, consequently, that the archetype of our Italian manuscripts may be assigned to about the middle of the thirteenth century.

In the National Library at Naples is a fifteenth-century

¹ This seems to have escaped the attention of Goldstaub, for there are no references in G-W to the poems of the Cod. Vat. 3793 beyond vol. III of the edition of D'Ancona and Comparetti, *Le Antiche rime volgari*, Bologna, 1875-88 ; whereas the sonnets, containing most of the bestiary material, are in vols. IV and V.

² D'Ancona e Comparetti, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 379 (No. 682). For a full discussion, see K. McKenzie, *A Sonnet ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati and its place in Fable Literature*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XIII (1898), pp. 205-20. Cf. p. 217 : "He [Chiaro] says enough to show distinctly which type he followed, though we are not able to distinguish his immediate source ;" not knowing the text of this fable in R₁ and N, the writer was at that time unable to form the theory now put forward.

paper manuscript numbered XII. E. 11, with 94 folios, containing a text very closely related to the R-mss. There are 54 bestiary chapters and 15 fables, each chapter being illustrated with a water-color drawing, and the whole in excellent preservation. This text is unique in being ascribed to Frate Guidotto da Bologna. It begins (f. 1 a):

Comincia ilibro della virtu e proprieta degli animali
ridotto allo spirito per Frate Ghuidotto da Bologna.
Et e chiamato fiore di virtu maggiore.

and ends (f. 94 b):

Laus deo. A di primo di Marzo 1482. Finito e libro
degli animali chiamato Fiore di virtu maggiore.

This manuscript, which I call N, was briefly described and its table of contents was given by Miola¹ in 1881, together with short extracts from the text (*proemio*, chapter on *formica*, fable of *pastore e serpente*). The contents will be indicated in the comparative table below. The text bears about the same relation to R₁ that R₃ does. Agreements between R₁ and N as against R₃ are about equally frequent with agreements between R₁ and R₃ as against N. R₃ and N, which are about contemporary, rarely if ever agree with one another as against R₁, which is about a century older. It follows that the younger manuscripts are derived from a lost manuscript closely related to R₁, if not from R₁ itself. The three texts agree very closely in substance, and have in

¹ Alfonso Miola, *Le Scritture in volgare dei primi tre secoli della lingua ricercate nei codici della Bib. Naz. di Napoli*, in *Propugnatore*, XIV, ii, pp. 161-7. Mentioned also by Frati, *Ricerche sul Fiore di Virtù*, in *Studj di Filologia Romanza*, VI (1893), 281; and by Gaspari, *Italian Literature* (English edition, 1901, p. 370), notes to ch. VIII. A list of the fables is given by Brush, *Isopo Laurenziano*, pp. 25, 41, who makes them number sixteen by including the chapter on the ibis; he speaks of the work as akin to the *Fiore di Virtù*, and evidently did not know that it was a bestiary, or that other texts of the same fables existed.

common several chapters of a particular character, which are in none of the other manuscripts.¹

All the other manuscripts with which I am acquainted belong to the group represented in G-W by Pad, L₁ and L₂. Par and St₁, as well as N and the R and L manuscripts, I have examined myself. The others I know only through printed references or through information furnished to me by other persons. These manuscripts have never been compared,—indeed, scarcely any two of them have been mentioned together. The most important one of the whole group, Par, has never been mentioned in print at all, so far as I am aware, except by its title in catalogues of the Italian manuscripts in Paris. I will begin with this one.

It is a fine parchment manuscript of the fourteenth century, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, bearing the number Ital. 450 (old number 7740²). Unfortunately, it has been shockingly mutilated by the cutting out of some of the illustrations which adorned it, and by the loss of some entire leaves. In its present state it contains, according to the modern numbering, 73 folios, of which the bestiary and fables occupy ff. 3–36. The leaves are about eleven by eight inches (28 x 21 cm.) in size, written with two columns to a page, about thirty-six lines to a column. The ink has faded slightly, but the writing is generally distinct. Initial letters are in blue, chapter-headings in red. The pictures which remain are skilfully drawn with a kind of wash, several colors being used. The first two folios were apparently taken from some other book to serve as fly-leaves; they are covered with minutely written and much abbreviated Latin, having neither beginning nor end. On f. 3a, which has been rubbed so as to be illegible in part, is the

¹ Chapters 49–61 in R₁, most of which are also in R₂ and N. See G-W, pp. 109–126, and cf. table below.

beginning of the bestiary, with the same introduction that the other manuscripts have :

Qui se cominça lu libro del Animali et de uccielli et
del loro nature per belli exempli.

Belli Singnori tutte le cose che li homini del mondo
sano e puono sapere si sano, ecc.

The bestiary ends on f. 36 b with an unfinished chapter, *Del natura del Boe*, of which twelve lines only are written ; the rest of the page is blank, and on f. 37 a begins another work, with this title :

Incominciase lo libro delli costumi et regimento
delli signori lu quale in altro modo se appella le secrete
delli secreti et fu dicto et facto et composito daristotile
lu quale mando a lu magnifico Re Allexandro.

This work (of which there is another manuscript in the same library,—Ital. 447) occupies thirty-three folios, and is followed by two brief treatises on the moon and other natural phenomena. Marsand gave a confused and misleading description of this manuscript, apparently putting it into his catalogue twice under the impression that there were two manuscripts ; from his description we learn that the missing illustrations had already been cut out in his day, and this fact aroused his quite justifiable indignation : “Sono barbarie anzi infamie tali, che mi rivoltano lo stomaco.” Mazzatinti’s catalogue gives the titles of the different works contained in the manuscript, but no further description.¹

Since no account of this important bestiary-text is now

¹ Antonio Marsand, *I Manoscritti italiani della regia biblioteca parigina*, Parigi, vol. I, 1835 ; vol. II, 1838. See No. 87 in vol. I, (7740 ; “Qui si comincia il libro degli animali,” etc., membr., 2 col., sec. xv) and No. 709 in vol. II (7740² ; same title, membr., 2 col., sec. xiv) ; and cf. No. 88 (7740 bis ; “Cura de’ falconi”). Mazzatinti, *Manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia*, Roma, 1886, vol. I, gives our manuscript as No. 450, formerly 7740², and the work on falcons as No. 928, formerly 7740. Marsand distinctly states that there are two MSS. of the *Libro degli animali*.

available, I give here its chapter-headings without any change except that missing parts are supplied between [], abbreviations are solved, and occasionally words are separated. Pictures have been cut, carrying with them more or less of the text, from the following folios: 14, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 34. Curiously enough, the picture cut from f. 25 has been preserved; it appears as f. 31, a mere fragment which fits into the hole in f. 25. Thus the number of folios preserved, apparently thirty-four, is really thirty-three. Then, as entire leaves are missing after f. 23 and f. 29, the folios of this part of the manuscript originally numbered thirty-five.

Folio 3 a Qui se cominça lu libro del Animalì et de uccielli *et* del loro nature per belli *exempli*.

4 a Dela natura dela Formica

4 b De natura dell'apa

5 a Della natura dello ragno

Dela natura del Gallo

5 b De natura del Lupo

6 b Della natura del asino saluatico

7 a Della natura dela Cichala

Della natura del Ceano

7 b Della natura del Cane

8 a Della natura della vipra

8 b Della natura dela scymia

9 a Del natura del corbo

9 b Della natura del Leone

10 b Dela natura della Bellula

11 a Della natura del Calandrucco

11 b Della natura dela Serena

Dela natura d'uno *serpente* ch'a nome arpis (?)

12 a Della natura di quatro elementi

12 b De natura del Tyro (*text*: thygro)

13 a Della natura del vnicorno

13 b Della natura dela Pantera

14 a Della natura della Grua

14 b Dela natura del Paone

15 a Della natura della Rondina

15 b Dela natura del Riccio

16 a Della natura della calchatrice

- 16^b Del natura dela vipra dragone
 17 a Della natura d'uno pescie lo quale si chiama uiglia
 17 b Della natura del pulichano
 18 a Dela natura del Castore
 18 b Della natura del Piccho
 Della natura de Cigogna
 19 a Della natura delli falconi
 19 b Della natura del Voltore
 20 a [Della natur]a della Aquila (*part cut out*)
 21 a Dela natura del Cauallo
 Della natura delli columbi
 21 b Dela natura dellu Struçço
 22 a Della natura della Balena
 Della natura del vulpe
 22 b [Della natura della Fenice] (*title and several lines of text gone*)
 Della natura del Leofante
 23 b Dela natura del papagallo
 Della natura dela pernice (*title only ; folio lost*)
 [Della natura del Ceruo] (*title and text lost ; picture, f. 24 a*)
 24 a [Lo pelo delo Lefante] (*no title*)¹
 Della natura dele serpente
 24 b Della natura e significança d'un arbore
 25 a Della natura [della Tortora] (*part of title on f. 31 b*)
 D'uno pescatore
 25 b De natura de Thori
 D'uno arbore
 26 a D'una capra
 26 b Da uno uillano
 27 a Della natura dela cichala
 Della natura del Lupo
 27 b D'uno crudelissimo Ladrone
 28 a Della natura della Rana
 28 b Dela natura del Topo
 D'uno pastore

¹ A chapter without heading begins f. 24 a : "Lo pelo delo Lefante ae tale natura che lo fumo che escie de quello pelo si fae fugire," ecc. I do not count this as a separate chapter, in spite of the fact that it appears to be one in this manuscript, because in R₁, R₂, R₃, N and Ham it is appended to the chapter on the elephant. With it on f. 24 a appears a picture illustrating the characteristic of the stag as found in several other manuscripts ; hence I infer that the chapter "Della natura del Ceruo" occupied, with the text of the chapter "Della natura dela pernice," the lost folio that originally came between f. 23 and f. 24.

- 29 a Dela natura del uolpe
D'uno caualllo grasso *et vno magro*
- 29 b Dela natura del Toro (*unfinished; folio lost*)¹
- 30 a Si como lo Leone si a tre nature dele quale se fa molte figure
Si como lo leone si a assai sentimento
- 30 b Si como lo Leone tornaaua al monestero
Della grande fede che lo leone monstro a uno chauallero perche
lu libero del serpente
- 32 a Si como lo Re de francia se daua merauiglia del sopradetto Leone
- 32 b Delle nature e della proprieta et delle figure della leonessa
- 33 a Dela natura del Leopardo
- 33 b Dela natura e dela figura et della proprieta dela Loncia
Della natura dell'artalupo
- 34 a Como li homini sonno ingannati ala dicta similitudine
Della natura et della proprieta del vrsio
- 34 b [Della natura] del lupo (*title partly gone*)
- 35 a Della natura della lupa et dele sue figure
Della natura *et* proprietade del leofante
- 36 a Del natura del Volpe
- 36 b Del natura del Boe (*unfinished*)

The text divides itself naturally into three parts: the bestiary (ff. 3 a–25 a), the fables (ff. 25 a–29 b), and a number of supplementary chapters which do not appear in the other manuscripts (ff. 30 a–36 b). The fables follow the bestiary without break and without any distinction in regard to the character of the material used for moral instruction.² Likewise, no indication of a new division separates the second part from the third, although it is possible that some such indication existed on the folio that has been lost. The third part is, however, written in a different spirit from the rest,

¹ The unfinished fable of the bull [lion, and goat], f. 29 b, was undoubtedly finished on the next page, now lost, and followed, as in R₁, R₃, and N, by the fable of the lion's share.

² This is true in the other manuscripts also, where the *explicit* follows the fables, and applies to the whole work; that of N has been already given, that of R₃ reads (f. 108 b): "Finiscie Ilibro della natura degli animali deo grazias amen." R₁, Pad, and Par have no *explicit*. That the copyist of Par, at least, regarded the fables merely as so many bestiary-chapters, is indicated by his chapter-headings; e. g., f. 27 a, "Della natura de la cichala" is really the fable of the grass-hopper and the ant.

as is shown by the extraordinary remarks that open it, f. 30a :

Si como lo Leone si a tre nature dele quale se fa molte figure. Pone fucloco, lo quale si come se sa fo grande autore e sauiò, che leone ha tre proprieta e nature delle quale fae tre figure. Lassaremo le figure alli predicatori e ali sermonatori che ad ogni materie lo uognono adattare e diremo deli suo nature. La prima si e ch'ello diuenta irato, fero e fellone quando ello vede li suoi figlioli nati morti sença neuno sentimento. La seconda e ch'elli gridando piu uolte fortemente, allora quelli figlioli se rescuteno, aprendo li occhi, monstrando quasi che resuscitasseno da morte, ecc.

There seems to be no doubt that in the strange form *fucloco* we have the name *Physiologus*, here, as often in the Middle Ages, taken for the name of a person.¹ As a matter of fact, when treated in his regular place in the bestiaries, the lion has considerably more than three characteristics: he is the noblest of all animals, wipes out his tracks with his tail, sleeps with his eyes open, pays no attention to a person who does not look at him or who begs for mercy, and so on; one characteristic is that his cubs are born dead, but after three days the lion roars and brings them to life.² Now, why

¹ Cf. Lauchert, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Gaston Paris, in *Romania*, xxii, 626; G-W, pp. 123-6. I have not, to be sure, found the name elsewhere in a form resembling *fucloco*; presumably the copyist of Par heard it given orally, and reproduced the sound as best he could.

² Text, hitherto unpublished, of the chapter on the lion in R₁, f. 12 b: Lo leone si è la piu nobile bestia che sie, ed è apellatto signore del' altre bestie per le nobile chonperacioni ch' egli a in se. E questa è una delle sue nature, ch' egli chuopre e disfa le pedate cola choda sua acio che chaciatori no lo trouino ne sapiano la uia onde egli è andato. La sechonda natura si è che quando egli è ala cima del monte si disiende ala valle per gran forza e se alchuno chaciatore s'è pasatto per la uia ond' egli vane, si lo chonosie per l'odore. E anche n'è un altra che dorme chogli ochi aperti. Anchora n'a un altra, ch' egli fa i figliuoli suoi morti, e stano chosi tre die, e in chapo di tre di viene lo padre e mughia sopra loro si fortemente che lioncini si fano viui. L'altra natura si è che quando egli mangia se alchuno gli pasase dinanzi e nol guardono in visso si gli lascia andare senza fargli

does the author of Par, after giving (f. 9 b) a chapter on the lion as the other manuscripts do, devote to the same subject another chapter, which is in part a repetition of the former one? Evidently, because the source from which he drew this third part of the manuscript is different from the source of the first two parts,—the latter source being common to the whole group of manuscripts. In other words, after making his declaration of independence in the matter of allegorical significations, he added, for entertainment merely, the supplementary chapters, which he derived from a source or sources (whether in Italian or in some other language), which cannot at present be pointed out. Following the chapter in which the Physiologus is quoted come several stories about lions,—neither bestiary material nor fables; then the descriptions of several animals. Of these, *lupo*, *leofante* and *volpe* have already appeared in the bestiary; while *leonessa*, *loncia*, and *urso* do not appear in the Italian manuscripts, although known in other bestiaries. Of these additional animals, only the so-called *artalupe* appears either in the other related Italian manuscripts or in the original Physiologus. In the latter it appears as *antholops*,—a name which goes through strange transformations, appearing in Latin as *antilops* and *antula*, in Brunetto Latini's *Trésor* as *antelu*, in Spanish as *altilobi*, and in Italian as *entulla* (R₁, R₃), *centula* (N), *antalos* (St₂), *antelleup* (R₄), *antalupe* (Bestiario moralizzato), finally becoming transferred to an entirely different animal, the *antelope*.¹ The text of this chapter in Par begins as follows (f. 33 b):

alchuno male; e s'eglino il guatano in visso, inchantanente chore loro adosso et fa loro quello male che puote. L'altra natura si è che quando egli è nella selua e l'uomo gli passa dinanzi e inginochigli si a mano gunte e domandigli mercedie lo leone a mercedie di luy . . . (The allegorical interpretation follows. Cf. text of Pad and elaborate discussion, G-W, pp. 24, 167 f., 287 f.)

¹ See *Century Dictionary*, s. v. *antelope* and *antilope*; Lauchert, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 301; G-W, p. 158, etc.; B. Latini, livre I, c. 177; Monaci, *Un Bestiario*

A quello tempo uno Re de Francia, el quale ebbe nome lodogio, lo quale fu auno di quel lodogio che passo oltramare e presso fu a la misura, questo uecchio Lodogio fece grandissimo e alto passaggio oltramare, en el quale meno de molta bona gente *et assay*; *et* fra gli altri meno uno nobele chaualliero francesco, lo quale ebbe nome Golfieri de lastore, sicche essendo lo dicto Re a campo indella parte di dannaca, questo Golfieri de lastore andando uno giorno fore del campo a solacio, intro in una grande foresta; quieu trouo uno grandissimo Leone, lo quale inuerso lui uenne molto humilmente e gichitamente, *ingenocchiandose* spesse uolte. Uedendo questo, Golfieri, temendo, cortesemente si ricesso, e leone sempre allui cussi uenia. Allora uedendo Golfieri che 'l leone non uenia fieramente ne iratamente, ressesi e aspetto di presso, sie che s'auidde che questo leone auea intorno alla gola uno serpente auolto, lo quale li tenea la testa indel uno delli orecchie. Come lo leone fu di presso a Golfieri uenuto, in tutto s'abandonò in terra, monstrando per euedenti segni ch'elli chiereste merciede, che in tutto l'aitasse. Ed elli chussi fe, e misse mano a la spada che auea alato, e misela tra lo collo del leone e del serpente, e tallio lo serpente per meço si che lo leone fu liberato. E adesso Golfieri per gran tema si parti tostamente. Lo leone pianamente e chetamente si s'en ua dirieto, e uenne collui infine del campo del dicto Re, de la quale cosa la gente del campo si faceano grande merauiglia; si che uenuto Golfieri allo suo pauglione, lo leone si puose di fuoro, a le branche dinanti stesse e la bocca in su le branche humilmente molto.

The tale is concluded in the following chapter; the lion accompanies Golfieri, to the great wonder of the king and the other crusaders; when the army sets sail for Europe, the lion attempts to swim after the ship, and is drowned. The text of the corresponding two chapters in the Chigi manuscript (Ch., see below) was published in 1822 by F. de Romanis, the first lines reading as follows:

In quello tempo che uno grande re di Francia lo quale ebbe nome Lodogio, lo quale fue aulo di quel Lodogio che passò oltre mare, e preso fue a la mensura et poi passò in Tunisi e quivi morì, questo vecchio Lodogio, ecc.

The second Lodogio mentioned was evidently Louis IX (St. Louis, 1215-70), who went on two Crusades; on the first, he captured Damietta in 1249, and was shortly after-

wards taken prisoner at Mansourah;¹ on the second, he died of the plague at Tunis. His great-grandfather (*aumo* = *aulo* = *avolo*), Louis VII (1120–80), went on the Crusade of 1147–9, and besieged Damascus in 1148. The story of Golfieri is, then, located there,—*indella parte di dannaca*.² Curiously enough, Golfieri de lastore, or rather Golfier de Las Tors, was a historical person, who is mentioned as living in a document of 1126; he came from a place in Limousin, now called Lastours, and took part in the first Crusade; and the adventure with the lion was widely told in the Middle Ages as having happened to him at the siege of Antioch in 1097. It has been suggested³ that the story originated from the fact that a lion and a serpent were carved on Golfier's tomb; but more probably it was brought to Europe by the Crusaders. It is referred to as proverbial in the *Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*,⁴ and appears in several Latin chronicles, the earliest being that of Jaufré de Vigois (1183). Its similarity to the lion episode in the *Ivain* (*Chevalier au lion*) of Crestien de Troyes has often been noted. While the Italian version—not hitherto treated in this connection, although published in 1822—is more than a century later

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than the *Ivain*, nevertheless it is at least interesting to find the story in connection with a bestiary. A similar story is told of Rinaldo in Pulci's *Morgante Maggiorè*, canto iv.¹

After this long discussion of the interesting and important Paris manuscript, the rest can be dismissed with comparatively few words. Much of what has been said about Par will apply equally to Ch₁,—a fourteenth century manuscript in the Biblioteca Chigiana at Rome, with the signature: M. VI. 137. This manuscript I know at present only through three most unsatisfactory descriptions of it; but fortunately these descriptions give sufficient data to enable us to compare it with Par.² It was first described in 1822 by Filippo de Romanis, who published six extracts from it.³ These extracts were well chosen to give an idea of the

¹ For further references, see A. C. L. Brown, *Ivain*, in *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), pp. 129-132; Foerster, *Ivain*, edition of 1902, p. xxvi; W. L. Holland, *Crestien de Troyes*, Tübingen, 1854, pp. 160-2; Fauriel, *Histoire de la poésie provençale*, Paris, 1846, II, 377-80; Michaud, *History of the Crusades*, New York, 1881, I, p. 180; Maimbourg, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris, 1687, I, 269; Johnston, in *Proceedings of the Am. Philol. Assn.*, XXXII (1901), p. li; *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VII, 334; Hare, *South-western France*, London, 1890, p. 348. Prof. A. C. L. Brown and Prof. W. A. Nitze inform me that they treat this matter in articles on *Ivain* which they expect to publish during the present year. An important article on Golfier has just appeared: A. Thomas, *Le Roman de Goufier de Lastours*, in *Romania*, XXXIV, 55-65.

² Goldstaub knew the brief description of Ch₁ given by Zambini (see below), but knowing neither ms. itself, nor the extracts in the *Effemeridi*, nor Par, he was able to make no use of it; cf. G-W, p. 82.

³ *Saggio di un Codice Chigiano in lingua d'Italia del duecento*, in *Effemeridi letterarie di Roma*, nuova serie, tom. IX (1822), pp. 158-65. The article is signed "F. R.," but the author's name is given by Zambrini. The description reads in part as follows: "Codice veramente antichissimo, in brutta pergamena a due colonne, ornato di magre figure a colori si sconcie, e di siffatta ortografia femminile [...], che non ho mai visto di peggio." F. R. thought that the manuscript was written "in Sicilia, e degli ultimi anni di Carlo d'Angiò pria che suonasse a Vespero." There is a file of this periodical in the Boston Public Library.

contents of the manuscript (in default of a table of contents, which it did not occur to Romanis to publish); for they correspond to chapters in each of the three parts of Par. They are as follows: part of the *proemio*; *De la natura de la Scimia*; *De la grande fede che lo leone mostrò a uno Cavaliere che lo liberò*; *Sichome lo Rei di Francia si meravigliava del sto Leone*; *Uno pescatore*; *De la compagnia de li quattro tori*; *Uno arbore*. Thus we have a chapter from the bestiary; two of the chapters in the last part; and the first three of the fables. Moreover, a comparison of the printed text with the text of Par shows such close relationship that it would not be difficult to assume that the one text was copied from the other; especially since Ch₁ contains at least two of the chapters which are found elsewhere only in Par. Zambrini refers to this article, and makes some additions and corrections:¹ the title is "Incipit liber naturarum," not "sententiarum" as Romanis said; the text begins "Belli signori" (like the other manuscripts), not "Buoni;" the date is early fourteenth century, not thirteenth; the manuscript is of parchment, two columns to the page (like Par), has seventy-four folios, and bears the shelf-number given above. Finally, E. Teza, in describing another manuscript (Sn, see below), indicates the order of the first twenty-five chapters in Ch₁, which corresponds exactly to the order in Par.

Zambrini mentions another manuscript in the same library, which, he says, contains a summary (*sunto*) of the treatise in Ch₁. This is a paper manuscript of the end of the fifteenth century, signature M. v. 117; the part referred to covers only eleven folios, ff. 111-121. Zambrini mentions,

¹ F. Zambrini, *Le Opere volgari a stampa dei secoli XIII e XIV*, terza ediz., Bologna, 1866, pp. 400-2, s. v. *Saggio*; and in subsequent editions; but lacking in the second edition.

further, Cor (see below) and R₁, quoting from the latter the *proemio* and the chapter *Della natura e modi delle ape*.¹

There is in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena a manuscript, cod. i. ii. 4, which contains a part of the bestiary,—twenty-four animal chapters, and two fables (Sn). I know nothing of it except through the reference of E. Teza,² who gives a list of the chapters, and the text of the one on the unicorn. This is not sufficient, without further information, to say which of the other manuscripts is nearest to Sn.

A manuscript (Cor) in the Corsini Library at Rome is mentioned by Zambrini,³ who assigns it to the fourteenth century. To the great courtesy of Prof. Giuseppe Gabrieli, librarian of the Accademia dei Lincei, I owe a valuable account of the manuscript, with extended extracts. It bears the signature: Corsinianus 44. G. 27 (Rossius), is on paper, in folio size, and belongs to the second half of the fifteenth (not fourteenth) century; it has 215 pages, of which the bestiary, "*Trattato della natura degli animali*," occupies pp. 195–211. The rest of the manuscript contains a number of short pieces in prose and verse, mostly religious. Two titles: "*Passione di Cristo di Luca Pulci in verso*," and "*La Guerra di Negroponte, poemetto di Jacopo da Prato*," sufficiently indicate the date.⁴ The bestiary was adorned with

¹ *Loc. cit.* In editions subsequent to the third the extracts of R₁ are omitted by Zambrini.

² *Otium Senense*, in *Rivista Critica d. lett. ital.*, I (1884), 154–7. Teza mentions further a single leaf in the Archivio di Stato at Siena, containing a fragment of the bestiary portion of Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba* (cf. same periodical, II, 61). Goldstaub knew of the existence of Sn, but did not use it; cf. G-W, p. 256.

³ *Loc. cit.*; cf. G-W, p. 83.

⁴ According to Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, p. 250, Bernardo Pulci (1438–88), not Luca (1431–70), wrote a *poemetto in ottave* on the Passion of Christ. Negroponte (the island of Eubœa) was taken by the Turks from the Venetians in 1470; a poem on the subject, printed anonymously at Florence

pictures, of which many were cut out, as in the case of some of the other manuscripts.¹ The text begins with the usual *proemio* :

Belli signiori, tutte le cose che li homini del mondo sano e puono sapere si sanno per due strade principali le quali strade sono queste : la prima strada si e senno e la secunda si e la scientia, ecc.

There are forty animals, whose arrangement is most similar to the arrangement in L_1 and L_2 , and hence not widely different from that in Par and Pad. The last paragraph is that on *la pernice*, followed by : *Explicit liber naturae animalium*.

In the Florentine libraries alone there are some thirty-eight manuscripts of the *Fiore di Virtù*,² a work of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.³ This immensely popular work, being partly composed of comparisons drawn from bestiaries,⁴ was, like the fables, naturally suitable as a companion to a bestiary. We have already seen that the sub-title of N is *Fiore di Virtù*

about 1471 and several times reprinted, is the same as the one here mentioned, according to Colomb de Batines, *Appunti per la storia lett. d'Italia*, in *L'Etruria*, I (1851), 599 ff. Jacopo Modesti da Prato is mentioned by I. del Lungo, *Prose volgari e poesie lat. e gr. del Poliziano*, Firenze, 1867, p. xviii, as a pupil of Poliziano.

¹ This mutilation had already been made when the catalogue of the Rossian library was printed,—*Catalogus selectissimae bibliothecae Nicolai Rossii*, Romae, 1786, No. 27 ; a note on the title of the bestiary says : “Cum figuris pictis, quarum multae abscissae sunt.” This catalogue gives a list of the contents ; the bestiary is preceded by “Elucidario, o sia Dialogo tra maestro e discepolo in prosa,” and is followed by “Canto dell' Assunzione di M. Vergine in ottava rima,” which closes the manuscript.

² See the list given by T. Casini, *Appunti sul Fiore di Virtù*, in *Rivista Critica d. lett. ital.*, III (1886), 154-9.

³ Cf. Frati, *Ricerche sul Fiore di Virtù*, in *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, VI (1893), 279.

⁴ Cf. Varnhagen, *Die Quellen der Bestiär-Abschnitte im Fiore di Virtù*, in *Raccolta di Studi dedicata ad A. D'Ancona*, Firenze, 1901, 515-38.

maggiore. Two manuscripts belonging to the Strozzi collection in the National Library at Florence contain the *Fiore di Virtù* followed by a bestiary.¹ In one, Cod. Magliabechiano, XXI. 4. 135, the bestiary is entirely different from that in the group of manuscripts we are studying; it is ascribed to Isidore of Seville. This text has been fully described by Goldstaub, being called by him St.² The other manuscript was entirely neglected by Goldstaub, although he knew of its existence.³ This is Cod. Magliabechiano, II. 8. 33, which I call St₁. It contains eighty numbered folios, of which three were written later than the body of the text. On f. 4 a begins the prologue:

O fatto chome cholui che e in uno prato grande di
fiori che aleggge tutta la cima di questi fiori per fare
vna nobile ghirlanda, vnde voglio che questo mio picciolo
laurio si chiami fiore di virtute e di costumi, ecc.⁴

The *Fiore* lasts to f. 58 a, and on f. 58 b the bestiary begins without any break other than the usual chapter-heading in red, which reads:

Dela formica et delo essempla che douiamo pigliare
dallei.

The thirty-seven animal-chapters fill the rest of the manuscript; and that they were regarded as a part of the *Fiore* is indicated by the ending, f. 80 a:

Explicit liber floris virtutis. Deo gratias amen.
Scritto per mano di me Giorgio di britio di rigoccio
per Pietro di nardo da radicofani nelli anni domini
Mcccc Lxviii adi xi di luglo.⁵

¹ Cf. Frati, *op. cit.*, p. 281; and Casini, *loc. cit.*

² See G-W, pp. 81 ff., 160 ff. I suggest that this text be called St₂, to distinguish it from St₁.

³ It was mentioned by Bartoli, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, III, 348, Firenze, 1880. Cf. G-W, p. 187.

⁴ Cf. text of cod. Estense, Frati, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

⁵ Casini, *loc. cit.*, gives the date as 1368.

The arrangement of the chapters is nearest to that of Par; but St₁ has one chapter, *serpente* (*biscia*) which otherwise occurs only in the R-group.¹

The last manuscript that I have to mention is Cod. Riccardiano 1764, of the fifteenth century (R₅). It contains a miscellaneous collection of short pieces, mostly religious; among them are two of the fables,—*della capra che pascieua nel monte* (f. 90 b) and *della cichala et della formica* (f. 91 a). The text of the fables, which is very close to that of Par (Nos. 4 and 6), was published in 1866 by Ghivizzani.² The most important thing about this manuscript, however, and one which I think has not hitherto been noted, is that not only the two fables but four other short pieces which immediately precede them are also in the Cod. Hamilton 390. This is not the place to discuss these tales on their own account; but it is noteworthy that through them and the two fables, although it contains no bestiary, R₅ forms a connecting link between Ham and the bestiary-texts. I

¹ The two *serpente* chapters (*biscia*, *aspido*) are among those called by G-W interpolations. On these and the other kinds of serpents, see G-W, pp. 116–20, 278, 298–300.

² *Volgarizzamento delle Favole di Galfredo*, Bologna, 1866, pp. 249–56. This is the only one of our texts that Ghivizzani knew. Cf. Brush, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Not mentioned in G-W. The manuscript is on paper, and contains 94 folios, about 15 x 20 cm. First come, in prose or verse, legends, etc., of the Virgin and of Saints Giuliana, Barbara, Crestina, Teodora, Cristofano; a short treatise on physiognomy (*Fisonomia*); a collection of rhyming proverbs alphabetically arranged, such as:

Amor non gia chura ragion ne misura.

Volpe ama frode e femmina lode.

Then a legend of three monks who went to the *paradiso diluziano*, beginning:

Il paradiso diluziano si e in terra in questo mondo
nelle parti d'oriente ed e sopra vno monte altissimo, ecc.

There are other short pieces before the fables; after them a paraphrase of the *Pater noster*.

give here a few words from the beginning of each of these pieces :¹

Ham :

R₃ :

No. 16.

f. 87 a.

Quidam homo stabat solus in terra
egypti religiosus et multum nomina-
tus et tota die sedebat in cella solus
in loco deserto. Et ecce quedam
mala femina. . . .

Vno huomo staua allegro in terra
d'egitto *et* era religioso *et* molto
nominato *et* tutto die sedeua in
chamera sua solo in diserto luogo
e chosi stando vn giorno eccho
venire vna ria femina. . . .

No. 17.

f. 88 a.

Erat quidam monachus qui habebat
magnum desiderium de femina.
...

Elli fue vno monacho che auea
grande desiderio di carne. . . .

No. 18.

f. 89 a.

Erat quidam homo qui laborabat.
...

E fu vno huomo che lauoraua. . . .

No. 24.

f. 89 b.

Dvo monachi uenerunt ad ciuitatem
ut uenderent que abebant
laboratum. . . .

Dve monaci si andorono a vna
cittade *per* uendere alquante cose
ched eglino aueuano lauorato. . . .

No. 13.

f. 90 b.

Una capra pascebat in uno alto
monte, tunc uenit lupus. . . .

Una capra sisi pascieua in uno
alto monte *et* auenne che lo lupo. . . .

No. 15.

f. 91 a.

Cicada uenit ad formicam in yeme
et dixit ad eam da michi de grano
tuo. . . .

La cichala ando alla formicha di
uerno *et* sille disse dami del tuo
grano. . . .

¹Text of Ham given by Tobler in *Zeits.* XII, as already noted; cf. his references, p. 85. The four tales are in various versions of the *Vitae Patrum*. The first, second and fourth are in D. Cavalca's *Volgarizzamento delle Vite de' Santi Padri*, nos. 139, 140, 128 (Parma, 1841, vol. VI); but the translation, though similar, is not the same. Whether they are in the collection of saints' lives in R₃, ff. 115 a-248 b, I am at present unable to say; R₃ contains also a *trattato di fisonomia*, ff. 70 b-72 a.

I close this part of my paper with a comparative table of the manuscripts. G-W, pp. 82-9, gives a table, but it is parallel, not comparative, and of course includes only the manuscripts known to the authors in 1892. I take R_1 as the standard, because, with the exception of some additions peculiar to one or two, it includes everything that the other texts have; all the rest, compared with the arrangement in R_1 , fall short of the full number of chapters. R_2 is omitted, because its forty-two chapters correspond in order with Nos. 8-47, 49, and 50 of R_3 . Ch_1 and Ch_2 are omitted because I have not been able to procure their tables of contents. The names of the animals are slightly emended by comparing the different texts; where different names are given to the same chapter, they are indicated. For convenience, references to Ham (ed. Tobler) are added.

While it is not possible (cf. G-W, p. 92) to classify the manuscripts thoroughly without making a comparison of their text, nevertheless a certain general classification appears in this table; and so far as I have been able to make a comparison, the text confirms this classification. In R_{123} and N, *picchio* is followed by *falcone*, *cicogna*, *avoltoio*; in Par, St_1 , L_1 and Cor (cf. Pad, L_2), the order is: *picchio*, *cicogna*, *falcone*, *avoltoio*. In the second group, *struzzolo* follows *colombi*; in the first, these chapters are separated by *peredision* and *tortora*, which come later in Par, Pad, and St_1 . R_{13} and N have additional chapters,—according to G-W, an interpolation into the common stock that belonged to the archetype. The fables are common to both these groups, and follow in a body after the highest number in the list of bestiary chapters (except in the case of N, where the chapter *Duno uccello chessi chiama Ibes* comes among the fables, immediately before the last one; while in Par, as already explained, the chapter corresponding to *entulla* comes

in the third part, after the fables). Par and Pad (with fables and chapter on *cervo*), with St₁ (no fables, but *cervo*, *biscia*, *aspido*), form a sub-group (to which may be added Sn and R₅), as opposed to Cor, L₁ (which end with *pernice*) and L₂. R₄ has some of the interpolations of the first group. Ham (*cervo*, *biscia*, and fables) may go with both groups. Thus the following tentative classification of the manuscripts appears :

Sec. XIII	[Italian archetype : bestiary, fables ; lost]		(Ham)
	I	II	
	(best., fab., interpolations)	(best., fab.)	
		a. (best., fab.)	b. (best.)
Sec. XIV	R ₁	Par, Ch ₁	
Sec. XV	R ₂ , R ₃ N, [R ₄]	Pad, Sn, St ₁ , [R ₅]	Cor, L ₁ , L ₂

In regard to the title of the work, the manuscripts disagree. R₁ gives it as : *il libro nomato virtu delli alimali* ; and in the closely related N : *ilibro della virtu e propieta degli animali chiamato fiore di virtu maggiore*. On the other hand, manuscripts from the different groups and sub-groups agree in using the word *natura* ; Par : *Libro del Animali et de uccielli et del loro nature* ; L₁ : *Liber nature animalium* ; Ch₁ : *Liber naturarum* ; R₃ : *il libro della natura delli animali* (cf. R₄ and St₂ : *Natura degli animali*). Frati (*loc. cit.*) thinks the title in Ch₁ was the original one. Very likely it belonged to the Latin source. But I am inclined to adopt for the Italian text the title in R₃ :

IL LIBRO DELLA NATURA DEGLI ANIMALI.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF MANUSCRIPTS.

	R ₁	R ₂	N	Par	Pad	St ₁	L ₁	L ₂	Cor	Sn	Ham
Formica.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	....	1	1	1	4
Ape.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	....	2	2	2	...
Ragno.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	....	3	3	3	1
Gallo.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	....	4	4	4	...
Lupo.....	5	5	5	5	16	5	....	5	5	5	...
Asino salvatico.....	6	6	6	6	17	6	1	7	6	6	...
Cicala.....	7	7	...	7	18	7	2	6	7	7	...
Cecero.....	8	8	7	8	19	8	3	8	8	8	...
Cane.....	9	9	8	9	20	9	4	9	9	9	...
Vipera.....	10	10	9	10	5	10	5	10	10	10	...
Scimia.....	11	11	10	11	6	11	6	11	11	11	...
Corbo.....	12	12	11	12	7	12	7	12	12	12	36
Leone.....	13	13	...	13	8	13	8	13	13	13	...
Donnola (bellula).....	14	14	12	14	9	14	9	14	14	14	...
Calandruzzo.....	15	15	13	15	10	...	10	15	15	15	...
Serena.....	16	16	14	16	11	15	11	16	16	16	6
Aspis (iaspis).....	17	17	15	17	12	16	12	17	17	17	25
Quattro creature.....	18	21	16	18	13	17	...	18	18	18	...
Tigro.....	19	20	17	19	14	18	...	19	19	...	...
Liocorno (unicorno).....	20	18	18	20	15	...	...	20	20	19	...
Pantera.....	21	19	19	21	21	19	...	21	21	20	8
Grue.....	22	22	20	22	22	...	...	22	22	21	...
Paone.....	23	23	21	23	23	...	...	23	23	22	...
Rondine.....	24	24	22	24	24	20	...	24	24	23	...
Spinoso (riccio).....	25	25	23	25	25	21	13	25	25	24	...
Calatrice.....	26	26	24	26	26	22	14	26	26	...	...
Vipera (dragone).....	27	27	25	27	27	23	15	29	27	...	...
Virgilia (pesce).....	28	28	26	28	28	24	16	30	28	...	...
Pulicano.....	29	29	27	29	29	25	17	31	...	...	...
Castoro.....	30	30	28	30	30	...	18	27	...	...	...
Picchio.....	31	31	29	31	31	26	19	28	29	...	...
Falcone.....	32	32	30	33	35	28	21	33	31	...	...
Cicogna.....	33	33	31	32	32	27	20	32	30	...	...
Avoltoio.....	34	34	32	34	33	29	22	34	32	...	...
Aquila.....	35	35	33	35	34	...	23	35	33	...	2
Cavallo.....	36	36	34	36	...	...	24	36	34	...	...
Colombi.....	37	37	35	37	36	30	25	37	35	...	...
Albero peredision.....	38	38	36	47	45	37	...	...	...	...	...
Tortora.....	39	39	37	48	46	...	...	...	...	...	27
Struzzolo.....	40	...	...	38	37	31	26	38	...	...	26
Balena (ceto).....	41	...	...	39	38	32	27	39	36	...	...
Volpe.....	42	40	38	40	39	...	28	40	37	...	...
Fenice.....	43	41	39	41	40	...	29	...	38	...	...
Leofante.....	44	42	40	42	41	...	30	...	39	...	7
Pappagallo.....	45	43	41	43	42	33	31	...	...	...	...
Pernice.....	46	44	42	44	43	...	32	...	40	...	23
Biscia (serpente).....	47	45	...	...	...	34	...	...	...	...	3
Cervo.....	48	46	44	45	44	35	...	...	...	...	5

	R ₁	R ₃	N	Par	Pad	St ₁	L ₁	L	Cor	Sn	Ham
Anguilla.....	49	47	43	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aspido (serpente).....	50	48	45	46	...	36	...	...	...	...	...
Badalischio.....	51	49	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Feminie (serpente).....	52	50	47	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dragone.....	53	51	48	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Salamandra.....	54	52	49	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Entulla.....	55	53	50	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Anitrocho (notticora).....	56	...	51	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ibes.....	57	54	54	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nibbio.....	58	55	52	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fulica (fuligia).....	59	56	53	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Iena.....	60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pesci (cf. G-W, pp. 86, 126)..	61	57	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	R ₁	R ₃	N	Par	Pad	R ₅	L ₁	L ₂	Cor	Sn	Ham
FABLES.											
Pescatore e pesce.....	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	10
Leone e tori.....	2	2	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	11
Albero in su monte.....	3	3	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	12
Capra e lupo.....	4	4	3	4	4	1	...	...	...	...	13
Villano in su carro.....	5	5	4	5	5	...	...	...	...	...	14
Cicale e formiche.....	6	6	5	6	6	2	...	...	...	...	15
Lupo e cerbio.....	7	7	6	7	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ladrone e leone.....	8	8	7	8	8	...	...	...	...	...	39
Rana e bue.....	9	9	8	9	9	...	...	...	...	1	40
Topo e gatta.....	10	10	9	10	10	...	...	...	...	2	41
Volpe e cerbio.....	11	11	10	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	43
Cornacchia e uccelli.....	12	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cavallo grasso e uno magro...	13	12	12	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	44
Toro, leone e becco....	14	13	13	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Leone, vacca, pecora, capra...	15	14	14	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	19
Pastore e serpente.....	16	15	15	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

There follows the text of the sixteen fables according to the version in the R mss. Of this version, only the last fable has heretofore been published (from N, by Miola, *op. cit.*). The eleven fables in the text of Pad are published by G-W; the text of the first three in Ch₁ by F. de Romanis; and the text of Nos. 4 and 6 from R₅ by Ghivizzani. Thus in our list Nos. 11-14 are absolutely unpublished in any form; and of the rest, with the exception of No. 16, only the texts of the second group are known. The fables them-

selves in the two groups correspond closely in matter and in compass, but differ frequently in wording. The moralizations, however, are for the most part entirely different in the two groups. A comparison with Ham leads one to believe that the readings of the second group are frequently nearer the original form of the text; but this is not always the case, and the two groups, so far as the extant manuscripts go, are from about the same period. It is hoped that the publication of these fables in such a way as to make them easily accessible will be welcome to students of medieval literature in general and of fable-literature and animal-lore in particular.

The text follows closely the reading of R_3 , except where noted in the foot-notes with the sign *ms*; if no further indication is given, when *ms* is different from the body of the text, the latter follows R_1 . All differences between R_3 and R_1 are indicated, except mere differences of spelling. Variants from other manuscripts are added occasionally; they are added throughout fables 8, 10, 12 and 16 for N (fable 12, lacking in R_3 , is given from the text of R_1). A copy of portions of N I owe to Mr. A. M. Webb. The foot-notes concern the text itself alone, all other notes being put together at the end. Punctuation is introduced for the sake of convenience, there being practically none in the manuscripts. Abbreviated letters are indicated in italics. No attempt has been made to constitute a critical text, except in the case of some obvious errors; and the capitalization and orthography are left as in the manuscript.

FABLES IN THE BESTIARY MANUSCRIPTS

ACCORDING TO THE TEXT OF COD. RICCARDIANO 1357
(MS. = R₃), WITH VARIANTS OF COD. RICCAR-
DIANO 2260 (R₁).

1.

[R₃, f. 103 b; R₁, f. 41 a]

D'VNO PESCHATORE E D'VN PESIE.

- Uno peschatore peschando choll'amo prese uno piccholo pescie al quale il pescie disse: "prieghotti che mi rigitti in mare peroch'io sono piccholo, e quando saroe grande ritornero a tte." E 'l peschatore disse: "non ne uoglio fare niente, percio che bene e matto
5 colui che lascia la chosa cierta per la 'ncierta." Questo essenpro ci mostra che noi non dobbiamo lasciare quello che noi abbiamo per quello che noi non abbiamo, ne non dobbiamo lasciare la fede chattollichia per lo mondo, la qualle ci conducie a uitta eterna; ma chi si tiene al mondo, il mondo lo conducie alle pene eternalli,
10 dalle qualli il piatosso idio ci difenda e chonducha alla perpetuale gloria.

2.

[R₃, f. 104 a; R₁, f. 41 b]

DEL LEONE E DE TORJ.

- Uno leone andando per la foresta si uide quatro grandi tori e feroci i quali aueuano fatto giura insieme d'andare senpre insieme e d'atare e di difendere l'uno l'altro, onde ne lupo ne altra bestia non temeano; anchora il leone uedendoli cosi andare in legha istretti
5 e apparecchiatti insieme non ardiua d'asalarli ne di fare loro alchuno danaggio; ma per alchuno gruccio e misfatto si partirono e ciaschuno andaua per se, e in poccho tenpo poi lo leone gl'uccisse a uno a uno,

Title ms *Qui dicie dun peschatore che prese un pescie e poi i lascio*: 1 ms vno. R₁ *peschando in mare*. Par Pad *pescava con uno suo hamo (amo)*. 2 ms *chenmi*. 8 R₁ *in vitta*. 10 R₁ *e ci chonducha*.

Title ms *Deleone*. R₁ *Dello leone et del toro*. N *Dellione e de buoi e de tori*. Par *De natura de Thori*. 1 ms vno. Par *Quatro grandi e forti tori si giurono*. 2 *giura*. ms and R₁ appear to have *guera*; Par *aueano iurato*; Pad *ave zurato*; Ham *iurauerunt*. 4 ms *in legha cosine ap*. 6 R₁ *crucio*.

- l'uno dopo l'altro, e mangiogli. Questi tori ci donano asenpro che i picchogli huomini della citta debbono istare insieme bene l'uno
 10 col altro, e atarsi insieme da grandi e da piu possenti. E questo facciando e tegniendo a una legha e giura, non saranno arditti i grandi d'offendere i meno posenti infino attanto che starano bene insieme. Ma dacche fieno partiti e diuisi, i grandi e i piu possenti gli ucciderano a uno a uno sicchome feccie il leone i tori. E questo
 15 ueggiamo adiuenire ogni die.

3.

[R₉, f. 104 a-104 b; R₁, f. 41 b-42 a]

DELL' ALBERO E DEL UENTO.

- Uno albero era in su vno monte molto grande e duro, lo qualle il uento lo chomincio a percuotere fortemente, e egli non si pieghaua mai ne aumiliaua uerso il uento, sicche il uento s'adiroe uerso lui molto forte, e chomincio anchora piu forte a pperchuoterlo; e ttanto
 5 il percosse che 'l gittoe in uno fiume a pie d'uno chanetto, le qualli chane istauano e erano diritte; e l'albero si marauiglione forte, uedendo istare le chane diritte, e disse alle chane: "Quall' e la chagione che 'l uento non v'a diradichatte e siette diritte, e io ch'era chosi forte m'a diuelto e diradichatto e fatto chadere?" Rispuosono le chane:
 10 "se lla superbia monta infino al cielo e lla sua testa passa infino a nuuoli, alla fine cadere le chonuene, e tornare a niente. E cosi adiuene a tte, che non ti humiliasti ne dichinasti ne pieghasti per lui, e perciò ti fecie cadere d'altezza in basezza; ma noi facciamo come fa la foglia, che non si orghoglia al uento che lla mena, cosi la nostra pena
 15 chonuielasi per seno uallichare e pero in ongni parte che 'l uento uiene si cci pieghiamo; non trae si poccho uento che noi non ci dichiniamo, e pero non si crucciera mai sopra noi." Questo albero si ne dona amaestramento di conoscere questo mondo e com'egli uae cosi superbio, seguire e arendere e pieghare chome bisogna, e none contestare chon

8 ci; R₁ ne. 9 R₁ vomini e i popolaç della cittade. 11 R₁ lega e gura.
 12 ms inempossenti. 14 ms R₁ ileone. 15 ms ongnindi.

Title R₁ *Deno albore chera in sv vno monte.* 1 ms vno; R₁ *Uno albore;* ms in suo. 2 R₁ *lalbero.* 3 erasure in ms. R₁ *verso luj sicche.* 4 e ch.— forte omitted in ms. 5 *Par in uno fiume lo quale era a piede del dicto monte.* 6 R₁ *marauiglio.* 7 *le chane* omitted in R₁. 9 *Par la canna rispuose.* 14 R₁ *che nosi argoglia che nosi argoglia.* 15 ms reading doubtful; R₁ *chouielaci perseno.* 17 R₁ *sopra anoj / Questo albore. Par sopra me. Qeto e ditto in figura a nostra castigatione.*

- 20 suo maggiore, come uolle fare il diauollo chon gieso christo, e percio fu gitato di cielo in terra per la sua superbia chon tutti i suoi seghuaci, che imantanente che ll'angiolo satanasso fue creato, ch'era chiamatto lucibello, si monto in orghoglio e chadde di cielo; onde percio il chominciamento di tutti i pecchatti si e orghoglio, e percio e piu da temere il uento della superbia inn alto che in basso. Onde percio disse idio nel uangiello: "Onne qui se esaltat umiliabitur e qui se umiliat esaltabitur."

4.

[R₃, f. 104 b; R₁, f. 42 a]

DELLA CHAPRA E DEL LUPO.

- La capra si pasciea in su un alto monte e 'l lupo era a ppie e non ui potea montare; e non potendola auere per sua forza per difalta del luogho, si ssi penso d'auerla per ingiegnio. E cominciolla a chiamare, dicendo: "madonna chapra, forte mi pesa di uoi, che
5 uoi aucte chosi mala pastura. E percio se disideratte salluteuolle pasto, disciendette dal monte e uenitte giu al piano, che cci a troppo piu saurorsa erba per uoi." E lla chapra rispuosse: "Messer lupo, sapiatte ch'enpi ueleni naschono sotto dolci meli; le tue parolle sono piene di mele, ma ttanto sono piene di toscho
10 e d'amaro fielo, e percio io non ti credo, percio che cio che ttu di, si tti parti dal uero, e falo per uccidermi, s'io fossi si matta ch'io credessi alle tue parolle lusingheuolli e inghaneuolli; ma sappiatte, messer lupo, ch'al mondo non e cosi gran malle come di collui che facciendo il malle uole mostrare di far bene; ma notte
15 che lla sauia criatura non uole inghanare e non puo essere inghanatta." disse il lupo: "molto sauia ti fai, madonna, ma sappi che ttanto gratta capra che mal giacie." disse la capra: "messere lupo traditore, sappi che furto fa ladrone andare dopo il bastone. E'l leone dicie in sua schuola ladro che 'nbolla sia appendutto per

20 ms gieso Xsto; R₁ giesu Xpo. cf. Par and Ch₁ . . . secondo che fece ih'u xpo del diaule lo quale non lo uolse obedire ma tene auisi si forte como dio e per la sua superbia fue gittato di cielo in terra e in tenebre e in fuoco coli suoi rami . . . 22 R₁ era. 24 ms e pcio piu. 26 R₁ Omine.

Title lacking in ms; as above in N, also R₁ delupo; Par Duna capra; R₃ della capra che pascieua nel monte. 1 ms pascie; R₁ in su vno monte elupo. 2 ms potendo. 7 ms saurorsa; R₁ saurorosa. 8 ms chenpiu ueleni followed by blank space equal to six lines, but nothing is lost; R₁ lupo che enpi uelenj naschondono sotto. 13 ms noe. 15 R₁ neno. 16 ms and R₁ ilupo. 17 R₁ messer lo lupo. 19 ms leone in sua ischuolla.

- 20 la gholla, che al mondo piu non facci noia." Lo lupo significa l'uomo che uole inghanare gli altri buoni huomini in parolle e in malli fatti; e quando non puo prendere per uentura, si si ingiegna di prenderlo con inghaneuolli parole. E percio tu sia sauo e non ti muouere del luogo sichuro per andare al dubio. e
25 ancora significa e dimostra che gli huomini che ssono nella uia di dio sono in monte sichuro, e percio alle maluagie tentazioni e inghani del dimonio non dee credere per alchuno uano desiderio del mondo; e ss'elli se ne partono, uano chol diauolo all' eternali pene, ma sse lasciano le uanite del mondo, si uanno nella eternale
30 gloria di dio.

5.

[R₂, f. 104 b-105 a; R₁, f. 42 b]

DEL UILLANO E DE BUOI.

- Uno uillano menaua vno suo charo choi buoi, e ffue giunto a uno mal passo di fangho e d'acqua, sicche i buoi none poteuano trare; e staua in suso il charo doloroso e non pugnueua i buoi e non si brighaua d'atargli, ne sse ne llo, ma preghaua idio che
5 llo atasse. Ed egli udie una bocie da cielo dicente: "sappi che idio e 'l laurare da noi tutte le chose; dalle idio mettendo la grazia sua nel lauorio, che non uerrebe a cchi non lauorassi e s'afaticassi; e percio lieuati suso e aiuta i buoi tuoi e pungili, e sse ttu t'aiuterai, idio t'aiuterà." Questo e detto perche niuno
10 huomo creda che idio l'aiuti s'egli non si affaticassi e asercitasisi in se medesimo e lauori per fugire mendicitate; e di questo n'amoniscie san paolo le genti che llauorino, e dicie chosi: "I' o intesso di cierti che cholle loro mani non lauorano ne uogliono lauore, i quali amoniamo e preghiamo dalla parte d'idio che
15 llauorino accio che abino onde possano uiuere." E sse chosi farae idio esaudisie i suoi preghi.

21 ms inghanare inghanare. 22 R₁ nolopuo. 24 R₁ al dubitosso. 27 R₁ diauolo. 29 R₁ ma se permangono nel monte cioe nele luogora sante di dio si uano cho luj nella eternale groria.

Title R₁ *Dmo vilano chera isv vno charo*; N = ms. 1 ms had originally *aro*, ch added later; R₁ *arro*; Par *carrocolo*; N *charro con uno paio di buoi*; Pad *caro*. 2 ms *poteua*; R₁ *poteano*; N *potevano*. 3 R₁ *pigneo*. 6 N *coze*. Ch' *iddio le da mettendo*. 7 R₁ *lauorasse e sisi afaticasse*. 9 R *settu no t'aiuteray Idio non tj aiutera ne vdiara le tue preghiere (=N)*. 10 R₁ *si afatica se medesimo e lauorj per fugire (=N)*. 11 ms *medichatare*. R₁ and N omit *e di questo*. 13 ms *intesso checcia di genti che (N = R₁)*. 15 N *faranno*. 16 N *loro*.

6.

[R₉, f. 105 a; R₁, f. 42 b-43 a]

DELLE CICHALLE E DELLE FORMICHE.

- Le cichalle essendo in grande neciessitate e non auendo niuna cosa del mondo da mangiare, e'l fredo era grande percio ch'era nel chuore del uerno, si ssi mossero e andorono alle formiche e domandarono del grano o d'altra biada percio ch'elle moriuano di fame. E lle
- 5 formiche dissero: "noi nella istatte auemo lauoratto e affatichatoci e ssenpre al tenpo ci brighiamo di lauorare per non essere mendiche, cioe in troppa pouerta, la qualle molto biasimiamo e similmente e biasimatta da saui. E uoi, sorelle cichalle, che auette uoi fatto nella istatte prosima passatta, che essercizio e stato il uostro?" E lle
- 10 cichalle dissero che tutta la statte auenuano cantatto e non auenuano uolutto lauorare e niente guadagnatto; e lle formicche rispuossero: "chi non lauora non manucha; saltate, dache uoi auette chantatto e non auette uolutto lauorare, ragione che uoi periate di fame." La cichalla significa quegli uomini e femine che sono oçciosi e no
- 15 uogliono lauorare perche posano viuere e quando non anno da uiuere, uogliono lauorare e non possono, perche non e tenpo. E percio dicie salamone: "o pigier prospice formicha; ella ti mostrera quello che ttu debi fare." guarda il chorpo della formiccha e in chuore sappiamo formicche che ss'apareccchiano la statte di quello
- 20 che fa loro di bisogno per lo uerno; e tu cristiano no cogitti e non pensi il giudicio uenturo. elle pensano che ss' elle non lauorasono la state, perirebono il uerno di fame, e noi non chogitiamo e non pensiamo che sse noi non facciamo le buone opere in questo mondo, moremo nell' altro e istaremo sempre nell' atternali pene dell' inferno.
- 25 E percio disse salamone: "formiche populus prudens qui preparat in messe cibum sibi," id est in messe grazie cibum glorie eterne. E percio ciaschuno quando e tenpo dee lauorare, lo qualle tenpo e

Title as in ms; also R₁ and N, except *cichale*; R₉ *della cichala e della formica*; Par *Della natura dela Cichala*. 1 Par *La Cichala uenne ala formica di uerno e disselli dami del tuo grano che moio di fame*; Pad *La zigalla vene dala formiga dinverno, ecc.* 7 R₁ *la quale e molto biasimatta dai saui.* 10 ms *enonne*; R₁ *chantatto e niente guadagnatto.* 12 R₁ *manuchi*; ms *enonne.* 13 ms *lauorare perche possiatte viuere, omitting ragione . . . lauorare.* 17 ms *prospicier.* 19 R₁ *sapra*; R₁ *state e perro fano quello che fa loro bisogno.* 20 ms *congitti*; R₁ *chogittj.* 22 ms *chonosciamo.* 24 R₁ *delaltro*; R₁ *nele eternalj.* 25 ms *formicha populus prudens qui preparattinmesse cibum ghlrore eterne*; R₁ *formiche populus prudens q preparate (?) in mese cibum sibi edest Imese grazie cibum grolie eterne.* 27 R₁ *quando a . . . tenpo ifino.*

infino che ll' uomo e in questa uitta, che dee tanto lauorare in buone
 opere che per inanzi uiua senpre in grolia di dio; che ciaschuno sia
 30 bene cierto che chi in questo mondo no lauorera infino ch'a il tempo,
 nell' altro no potra lauorare, senone auere bene o male sechondo che
 in questo mondo aura meritato. E inpercio piu ualle una ora di tempo
 che ttutto il mondo, e questo inpercio che ll' uomo puo ghuaadagniare
 il regnio del cielo. E san bernardo disse: "nil preciosius tempore sed
 35 heu hodie nil uilius reputatur," cioe a dire che niuna cosa e, che
 sia piu preziosa in questo mondo che tempo, ma guai a coloro che
 oggi neuna cosa riputano cosi uille. e san bernardo disse: "omne
 tempus tibi inpensum requiretur a te quare sete spensus." E sala-
 mone nel clesiastico dicie: "venit finis finis venit venit tepores
 40 esser est dies ocisionis nunc de propinquo efunda ira mea." E altrove
 dise salamone: "unbre transitus est tempus." E inpercio, carissimi,
 osseruate il tempo uostro e partiteui dal male, si che 'l tempo uostro
 rendiatte casto e puro a messere domenedio; e non dee essere niuno
 cristiano che non debba gierminare in buone opere, in limosine, in
 45 orationi, in digiuni; che questo non e tempo da stare ozioso, anzi e
 tempo di lauorare e d'aquistare uitta eterna, alle qualle ne chonducha
 colui ch'e ssanza tempo, il qualle uiue e regnia in seculla sechulorum
 amen.

7.

[R₃, f. 105 a-b; R₁, f. 43 a]

DEL LUPO E DEL CIERBIO.

Uno lupo beueua in uno fiume e uide disotto da sse uno cierbio
 bere, si gli disse con grande ira: "Io o grande uolonta d'uciderti e
 di bere lo tuo sangue, percio che m'ai intorbidatta l'acqua sicch'io
 non posso bere." E llo cierbio rispuosse e disse: "coteste sono le
 5 chagioni che ttu ladro aponesti al agniello, crudelle traditore;
 perche truoui false cagioni? tu bei disopra e io disotto; or torna
 l'acqua insuso?" e 'l lupo istaua chetto e chonosciea bene che chosi

34 R₁ *precisius*. 35 ms *reparat*. 36 R₁ *che ogni neuna chossa*. 38 ms
inpensum requeret ate quirisite (?); R₁ *inpensu requirent (?) atte quare sete*
 38-41 *E salamone . . . est tempus omitted in ms*. 39 Read: *venit tempus,*
prope est dies . . . efundam iram meam. 42 R₁ *partiteui dal reale (?) ouero*
dal male. 43 R₁ *puro chomessere*. 46 ms *quale conducono*.

Title ms *Delupo*. 1 R₁ *Lo*. 2 R₁ *e sigli*; ms *io grande*. 3 ms
chenmai; R₁ *intorbidato*. 4 R₁ *&lcierbio disse*. 5 R₁ *credule*. 7
 R₁ *laqua d'insotto (?) almonte* Par como puote essere che laqua torni contra lo
 monte (= Pad); ms *chonoscie*.

- era, ma egli lo uoleua uccidere, e parlogi e disse: "cierbio frodolente, del tuo maldire ti penti, ch'io ti rodero cho denti e pagherotti
 10 di tua mattia, sicche non ardirai di dire tal folia." E 'l cierbio rispuose e disse: "lupo, il mio dire notte, ch'egli e piu bella cosa rifrenare la mattia con dolci motti e pianti, che uenire alle mani; non mi piace, lupo, tuo grido; pure con seno mi guido, ma se 'l seno non mi ualle, metterò malle contro a mmalle, e farotti un male riguardo
 15 se sarai piu chodardo." Allora gli corse adosso il cierbio arditamente sopra, per pugnierlo; e lupo ebbe paura e fuggi incontanente. E così dee fare ciaschuno quando uede il nimiccho suo uenire contra lui con ardito cuore, anzi che uegnia a llui; in altro modo ispiritualmente dobbiamo intendere che quando noi siamo in buone
 20 opere e ueggiamo uenire il diauolo sopra noi, perche non ci faccia chadere in alchuno peccatto, tosto dobbiamo correre contro a llui con buone opere e coll'arme della penitenza, del digiuno, e della oratione, e delle limosine. E quando il dianollo uedra questo, temera e fuggira da nnoi.

8.

[R₃, f. 105 b-106 b; R₁, f. 43 b-45 a]

DEL LADRONE E DEL LEONE.

- Uno ladrone crudelissimo istaua apiattato in uno chanmino, e tutti quegli ch'egli poteua prendere ispogliaua e rubaua e metteuagli in prigione. E un leone per auentura passando indi trouoe questo ladrone giaciare e incontanente il prese e
 5 disse: "se ttu uogli uiuere, dinmi la chagione perche ttu se qui appiattato e naschoso." e llo ladrone disse: "io non ti so dire se non il uero; incolpatto sono da un mio signiore, e temo che non mi uccida, ond' io aspettaua qui alchuna buona persona che mi riducesse in sua buona uoluntade." disse il leone: "qui uerum

11 ms *cheglie bella*. 12 ms *mattina R₁ matia*. 15 ms *condardo*. 16 R₁ *punirlo*. 22 R₁ *delle orationj*. 24 In R₁ there follow six lines more in Latin, beginning: *Et Ideo dicit Ille prudens dauid e penitens e chocitabo pro peccatto meo*, etc.

Title ms *Deladrone e dellione*; R₁ *Dello ladrone edeleone*. 1 ms *innuno*; R₁ *in uno chamino*; N *auncerto passo*. 2 N *pigliare sigli spogliana*. 3 R₁ *Eleone*; N *Et perauentura passando uno lion undi*; ms *il di*; R₁ *Indi*; Pad *una volta pasava lo lion de la*. 4 N *agiace et incontanente illione il prese*. 5 R₁ and N *dimi*. 6 R₁ *aschoso*; R₁ *Io no posso dire senone il uero*; N *Io non ti saprei dire senone il uero*; Pad *io non te l'oso dire se non la verita*. 8 N *qualche buona*; ms *chenmi*. 9 N *riducessi conesso lui a buona uolunta*; R₁ *querut dicit*.

- 10 dicit non laborat; tu ai tanto penatto a rispondere ch' i'o materia di credere che ttu ti parti dal uero, e percio guarda quello che ttu die; dinmi tosto quanto tenpo se ttune istatto quie?" e'l ladrone dicie: "dieci die." disse 'l leone: "di tal uero che ssia credeuolle, che veritta non credeuole tiene luogo di
- 15 mentire; e mentir, dei sapere, si ee contra propriamente dire. le uestimenta tue sono sozze e brutte, onde le tue malizie sono or cholte." disse il ladrone: "signiore mio lione, se dio mi guardi di tua corte, le mie uesta sono sozze per le bestie ch' i'o morte; adio messere, ch' io me ne uo, la ueritta detta te ll'o."
- 20 disse il leone: "non ti partire, se non ai uoglia di morire, dimmi il uero senza falire." disse il ladro: "gianmai non uoglio piu uiuere s'io ui mento, bel messere." infra queste parolle colloro che auea in sua torre in prigione gridarono forte diciendo: "per dio merzede, nobile leone, non credette a chotesto ladrone."
- 25 e llo leone udia, ma non uedeua chi erano colloro che ccio dicieano. Allora disse il leone: "Io vegio e sento bene che tue m'ai mentitto." disse lo ladro: "la boccha che mente, vcide l'anima; percio a te ne ad altrui no voglio mentire, signore, percio che piu e da lodare vno ladrone che vno chontinuo mentitore." e
- 30 quegli ch'erano in prigione gridano: "merçe, nobile signore, liberateci d'esta prigione, e no lasiate fugire lo ladro, ma porti pena di suo pechatto." allora lo lione disse al ladro: "perche m'ai tu tante fiate mentito?" disse il ladrone: "s'io mento l'anima ne portera la pena in inferno." disse il leone: "Io credo
- 35 che 'l corpo sentira prima la pena che ll' anima tua." Allora si fecie menare ou' erano i prigioni, e diliberogli e fecie loro rendere a doppio cio che aueuano perduto; e quando ebbero i presi, conta-

10 N laborat Cioe chi dice il uero non s'afaticha . . . tumi dai materia.
 12 N settu stato qui; R₁ setu dimorato que; Pad quanti di se che tu sta qua?
 Dise lo latrone: Dise di. Lo leone ancora dise: Cognosco, tu menti. Dise
 lo latrone: Tre ani se. 14 N che ti sia creduto; R₁ credibile che verita
 non credeuole; ms nonne credeuole tie lugh. 15 R₁ sie chontra la propi-
 amente dire. 16 R₁ and N brute e vetuste. 17 N ora cholte. 19 R₁
 ch' i me ne uo la ueritta detto to; N dettatelo. 20 ms ileone. 23 ms caueua;
 N che egli teneua in prigione nella torre cominciarono forte agridare. 24 N
 credere. 25 N uedeua ancora coloro. 26-32 ms omits Allora disse . . .
 suo pechatto; text from R₁ and N (similar passage in Pad). 26 R₁ ileone;
 N vegho esento che. 27 R₁ ladro laccha che. 28 N ne atte ne ad altri
 voglio. 29 N chattiuo. 30 N gridauano liberaci di questa. 31 N
 lasciare. 32 ms and N Allora disse il leone aladrone (N alladro; R₁ ala-
 dro). 33 N se io .o. mentito lanima mia. 34 ms and R₁ inninferno.
 37 R₁ ebono ipresi chotanto aleone; N ebbono informato il leone della vita e modi.

rono al leone la uitta del ladrone, si llo spezzoe il leone tutto per
 pezzi. E poi parti l'auere del ladrone a chomune coi prigionì,
 40 e partissi da lloro, grande grazia ricieuento del liberamento. Que-
 sto ladrone significa gli huomini che fanno malle, che chagiono
 molte uolte in grande pericholo. E perciò si dee l'uomo ben
 guardare di non fare quello altrui, che non cagia in morte dell'
 anima e del chorpo. E di crudeli huomini leggiamo noi che ssono
 45 morti di crudeli tormenti, perciò che giusta chosa e che gli arte-
 fici muoiano della morte dell' arte loro. Raconta ouidio che uno,
 il qualle ebbe nome perillo, fabrichoe un grande toro di metallo,
 credendo piacere a uno tirano chiamatto falaride, il quale era
 un crudele huomo e andaua guastando una giente che ssi chiamauano
 50 agrigientini e tormentauagli di nuoui trouatti. Questo perilo fabri-
 choe uno toro di metallo, e dallatto gli fecie uno uscuiolo onde ui
 si potessono mettere i danatti a morte, accioche per lo fuocchio messo
 disotto morisoro e ardessero per la pena, e che quando fossero rin-
 chiusi dentro e gridassero per la pena che sentissero, non parendo
 55 pena d'uomo ma di bestia, per questo si mouessi meno a piatade
 il detto tirano; sicche quando ebbe conpiuto l'opera e presentatolla
 al tiranno fallaride siccome dono achoncio a crudelta, il tirano
 lodoe l'opera e fecielo paghare del maesterio; ma uegniendogli
 ischifo di collui che n'era istatto trouatore, si gli disse: "ua
 60 piano e non ti partire, perciò che in te primieramente ricieuerai
 e prouerai quello che a me crudele tu più crudelle di me ai
 presentato." laonde punie il detto arteficio chol suo propio trouatto.
 Nonn e leggie niuna più diritta che morire li artefici della morte
 della loro arte, cioe disse ouidio, nel re dee auere giustizia,
 65 la qualle e lla più nobile e lla più forte uirtu che sia,
 perciò ch' ella si e perfetta uirtude, e perciò dee essere giusto
 e diritto, e compiere i comandamenti della leggie e sseguitare
 tutti i beni, e lasciare ongni malle, e auere in se tutte le uirtudi;
 e ssecondamente ch'egli amano la loro propia persona e utilidade,

38-9 R₁ in peççi (= N); N *Epoi diuise la roba che era nella torre a comune.*
 40 N *dalloro della liberatione.* 42 N *grandi pericoli et perciò si debbe ben.*
 44 N *Elleggiamo che di crudeli.* 45 ms and N .e. 48 N *Fallidare.*
 49 N *ghuastando e perseguitando.* 50 ms *agrentini*; R₁ *agrigientini*; N
Argentini; R₁ *di tormenti*/ *Questo tarillo*; ms *prilo*; N *Perillo fabrico il detto*
toro del. 51 R₁ *vsuolo*; N *donde si potesse.* 53 N *morisseno crudelmente*
eche qñ fussino. 54 N *dentro*; ms and R₁ *iventro.* 55 ms *appiatade.*
 56 R₁ *il detto re falaride* (N omits); R₁ *presentata a re falaride*; N *presenta-*
tala al Re Fallidare. 58 ms *maestero*; N *magisterio.* 61 ms *cheanne.*
 62 N *Epuni.* 64 N *Eccio.* 66 N *che sia Et perciò dixè che giusto e diritto*
de essere. 69 N *Esecondo.*

- 70 siano in loro dirittura e aguaglianza; or che sono i reami senza
giustizia se non ladronciegli, e di ciò diremo uno esenpro.
Raconta santo aghostino nel libro della città di dio, che uno ch'a-
neua nome dionides, chon una sua ghalea teneua in brigha tutto
il mare, pigliando gli huomini e rubandogli. Onde passato molto
75 tenporale con questa noia, fu naratto al re alexandro. udendo
ciò alexandro fecie armare parecchi ghalee, e chomando che
dionides fosse menatto preso dinanzi da llui; e fatto ciò,
gli fu presentato, et Alexandro gli dixè: "perche tien tu in brigha
tutto il mare?" rispose dionides: "e ttu perche tieni in brigha tutto
80 il mondo? ma perch'io fo questo chon una ghalea sono chiamato
ladrone, e perche tu il fai chon grandi nauili se chiamato
inperadore; pero quanto alla causa, di se non a diferenza, se no
che piggior e cholui che ppiu uilmente la giustizia abandona
che cholui ch' e palese, in per ciò la chonbatte; le leggi ch'io
85 fugho, tune le perseguitti, e chiunque cossa io onoro e ffoe
riuerenza, tu dispregi. la 'niquitta della mia fortuna e lla
istrettezza della mia casa mi fano ladrone; te la superbia
intolerabile e lla avarizia che non si puo enpiere, ladro rendono.
Ma se lla fortuna mi diuenisse mansuetta, io sarei migliore
90 di tte, e ttu per chontrario, quanto piu auenturoso e ffortunato,
sarai piu maluagio." Marauigliatossi alexandro della costanza
di dionides che meriteuolmente il riprendeua, disse: "Io prouero se
ttu sarai migliore di me, e lla fortuna tua muteroe, accioche da
ora inanzi piu non sieno aposti i tuoi falli a miei chostumi,
95 e non sia inputatto alla auentura la malizia tua, ma ai meritti."
e feciello iscriuere alla militia, accioche potessi indi, saluando
le leggi, militare. E chosi interuene che quello ch'era chorsalle
e piratto di mare, diuento per lo modo sopradetto gran precipe

70 N *siabbino illoro la dirittura et.* 71 R, *ladroneci.* 72 ms *nelibro;*
N *duno.* 74 N *Et essendo narrata questa nouella enoia al Re Alexandro*
fece armare molte ghalee. 77 N *preso e presentato allui.* 78-80 ms *fatto*
ciò edessendo menatto preso dinanzi dallui e fatto ciò nel chospetto dalexandro
Alexandro il domando perchetta il mare in odio e dionides per libera chontu-
macie per la qualle tuai in odio il mondo tutto ma perchio fo questo (text
from N). 81 N *Ettu chel fai chon grandissima quantita di navi.* 82 ms
quando. 83 N *cholui che inbola che cholui che per forza toglie palesemente e*
piu maluagio e cholui che piu vilmente. 84 ms *palesse in ciò; N et percio.*
85 N *et quelle cose che io.* 86 N *La disgratia.* 88 N *ti fanno ladro Et*
sella fortuna mi fusse mansueta io diuenterci. 90 N *sarai, piu maluagio e*
piggior sarai. 92 N *che cholla verita della ragione il (N omits Io prouero*
. . . me, and ma ai meritti). 94 ms *atuoi.* 98 ms and R, *diuenutto; ms*
precipe.

- e amatore di giustizia. appare per questo esenpro che 'l re
 100 dee osseruare la giustizia e possederla, e dee essere in lui
 pazienza in sostenere le giuste uillanie e beniuoglienza in ben
 fare a coloro che giustamente i ripigliano; e debbon pazientemente
 sostenere e portare ben coretione de saui loro, e intendere
 uollentieri essi corettori, sicchome nara ualerio massimo d'alexandro,
 105 che uno chauliere nobile e famosso molto, uogliendolo coregiere
 e massimamente di troppo desiderare degli honori, si 'l coresse e
 riprese in questo modo: "Se gli ideï auessero apparecchiato il
 corpo tuo, il qualle e piccholo, a desiderio del anima tua, in tutto
 il mondo non potresti capere; e perche dicolti che colla mano
 110 destra toccheresti l'oriente e colla sinistra toccheresti il ponente;
 dunque, conciosiachosa che 'l corpo tuo non risponda all'animo, o ttu
 sse domenidio, o ttu se huomo, o ttu sse niente. Se ttu sse domenidio,
 cierto tu doueresti seguitare domenidio, cioe di dare beneficcii
 altrui e non di rubare illoro; ma se ttu se huomo, chonsideratti
 115 essere mortale, cioe che uerai meno; e sse se nulla di questo chotanto
 ti ricorda che ttu non dimentichi te medesimo, e pensa che niuna
 cosa e ssi ferma che perichollo no lle possa uenire da men forte.
 E 'l leone ch'e re delle bestie diuenta talora pasto di menome
 bestie, e questo t'o detto percio ch'io disidero la tua uitta gloriosa,
 120 la qualle non posso uedere se ttu colla giustizia e colle buone
 opere non sarai amatto dal popollo; disidero dunque te altrimenti
 fatto nel regimento, cioe che ttu signioreggi prima te medesimo, il
 qualle signioreggi gli altri non co ragione ma colla forza, inperoch'e-
 gli e per cierto ingiusta cosa che ttu vogli chomandare ali altri,
 125 chonciosiachossa che tu no poi chomandare a te medesimo; e una
 cosa ti sia a mente, che gli sforçati imperi non possono durare." e chi
 a orecchi da udire, oda.

99 ms *esenpro chella giustizia dee essere in lui.* 102 ms *iripiglihallo;*
R₁ iripigliano; N gli riprendono. 103 N *soportare la chorretione.* 105
 ms *chauliere ilqualle; N chauliere molto.* 106 N *sigli scrisse in gsto*
modo O Alexandro se nostri dii tauessino fatto apparecchiare. 112-3 N *iddio*
(three times for domenidio); ms omits cierto . . . domenidio (R₁ and N).
 113 R₁ *benefici.* 114 N *agli uomini e non toglì loro ne rubargli; N pensa*
che tusse. 115 R₁ *desere.* 117 N *che non possa venire debole Illione.*
 118 ms *pastore; R₁ pasto di menimj ueielj; N cibo di piccholi uccelli.* 119 R₁
groliosa. 124 ms *cosa chettu non possi comandare. (omitting the rest; text*
from R₁ and N.) 124 N *altrui enon possa comandare.* 126 R₁ *e stiati*
a mente vna chossa fatta chossa che gli isforçati inperj.

9.

[R₃, f. 106 b-107 a; R₁, f. 45 a-45 b]

DELLA RANA E DEL BUE.

- Quando la rana uide pasciere il bue nel prato, si disideraua d'essere cosi grande come il bue, e comincioe a ghonfiare e disse ai suoi figliuoli: "guardatte s'io sono cosi grande come il bue;" e essi rispuosono che no. E lla rana piu comincia a ghonfiare e a enfiare, e da chapo gli domanda s'ella era chosi grossa chome il bue; rispuosero che no, ne apresso. Allora la rana chomincio a enfiare di si gran forza che creppo e chadde morta a dolore. Questa rana significa l'uomo ch'a picchollo podere, che sse uuele gharreggiare e asomigliare a cholui che ll'a grande, potrebbe chadere in pouerta, e chosi si morebbe di dolore chome fecie la rana. in altro modo si puo intendere che niuno huomo si dee fare maggiore ch'eli sia e non si dee grolifichare in niuna groria, che chi si grolificha, si si abassa, e chi ssi pregia, elli si dispregia, e chi ssi aumilia, si ssi esalta. huomo superbo non sarae grazioso a dio ne al mondo, pero che lla superbia e assomigliata al uento, percio che 'l uento ae a ffare tre cose: ispegniere la lucie, e ssecchare la rugiada, e soffiare la poluere; chosi la superbia ispegnie la lucie della sapienza, e diseccha la rugiada della grazia, e soffia la poluere della uanitta mondana.

10.

[R₃, f. 107 a; R₁, f. 45 b]

DEL TOPO E DELLA GHATTA.

- Uno topo disciese giu per la chatena per torre la carne della ueggia, e lla ghatta chorse a llui subitamente a presselo e disse: "messer lo topo, s'io non ti auessi sochorso, tu chadeui nel fuocchio e saresti tutto arso." disse il topo: "se lle parolle uostre procie-
- 5 dessero da radicie d'essere vmano e pietosso, il ch cuore mio sarebbe fuori di dubio. E non per quanto se ttu non m'uccidi, ben credero che ttu mi dessi socchorso. E perro fa che ll'opere s'acchordino

3 Pad al suo fiolo: guarda . . . e loro diseno. 5 R₁ domando. 8 R₁ vogliendosi. 10 ms ranna. 11 ms dee glorifichare sisi abassa (omitting seven words). 12 R₁ Iniuna. 13 R₁ asanta.

Title N *Della Ghatta e del Topo*. 1 ms sorcho; R₁ and N topo; N scendendo. 2 N subito chorse allui e disse poi chellebe preso. 3 ms messere lo sorcho. 4 ms sorcho. 5 ms vmane epietosse; N radice dellumanita e desser piatosa il quor. 6 ms per quanto per quanto; N Et per tanto se uoi non mi uccidete. 7 N mabbiate dato.

- cholle parolle, e lasciame andare libero.” E lla ghatta disse: “che utilita n’are’ io? se io ti lasciassi e un altro di mia gente ti pigliassi, io non ti potrei poi attare.” Rispuosse il topo: “a signiore non manca chagione; io penso che ttu non ai altro in chuoire che di darmi morte.” E lla ghatta disse: “Io che tti liberai da cchadere nel fuocchio, si tti libero della tua chogittazione.” e inchontanente gli strinse il chapo e mangiolosi. Questo significcha quegli huomini che ueghono altrui in malle chon danno o pericchollo di persona o d’auere, non anno dolore ne chonpassione, ma allegrezza; e anchor fanno peggio, che talor gli chonfondano. E pero disse ualerio che lla dolcezia d’essere umano e pietosso trapassa eziandio i fieri e i crudelli ingiegni de barbari e amolliscie i crudelli occhi de nimici.
- 20 E notta che l’uomo pietosso non fae malla fine. E in altro modo alla ghatta s’asomiglia i crudelli e gli enpi al diauollo d’inferno, che ssi allegra quando uede alchuno cadere in pecchatto mortale e nol lascia pentere e chonfondello quanto puo e chonduciello a ssenpiterna morte d’inferno.

11.

[R₃, f. 107 b; R₁, f. 46 a]

DELLA UOLPE ET DEL CIERBIO.

- Una uolpe quando uide bere un cierbio disse per beffe: “messere lo cierbio ualente, le tua corna ti rendono molto piu bello e piacente, ma lla chortezza della choda ti fa perdere tua loda. Ma sse ttu mi uuogli dare delle tue chorna, io ti daro della mia choda.”
- 5 e l cierbio disse: “io non uoglio fare dell’ altrui farina maccheroni; la tua choda non e a me chara, piu amo la mia laida che lla tua bella, cosi l’amo chome idio la mi fe. delle mie chorna non uoglio dare a tte, ch’ i’ o da saui questo uditto: chi scherniscie e schernito; chossi sarete uoi, madonna.” E inchontanente la si leuo in sule
- 10 chorna e disse: “non fare beffe di tuo migliore; ammenda prima i detti tuoi, fella.” per gran uirtu la perchosse in terra, diciendo:

9 N narei. 10 N cio non; ms sorecho. 11 R₁ no falla; N non gli manca. 13 ms chongittazione; R₁ chogittazione; N chogitatione Esigli strinse. 14 N mangioselo. 15 R₁ vengono; N altrui male. 16 N nonanno chonpassione. 17 N alchuna volta; N dice Valeriomaximo. 18 N etiamdio efuriosi. 21 R₁ and N sasomigliano. 22 N alchuno chessi allegra de pecchati mortali. 23 ms nolascia. 24 R₁ and N sepiternale.

Title N gholpe. 1 R₁ disegli. 3 R₁ fano. 6 ms nonne amme; ms piu amme. 8 R₁ ate tienti la tua choda ate chio. 11 R₁ i difetti.

- “falsa traditore, la schernitricie rimane ischernita.” Questo e scritto per nostro ghashighamento, che niuno non faccia beffe di suo maggiore, ne di piu forte di lui. E in altro modo si puote intendere che
- 15 nullo non dee condannare, acio che non sia condanatto.

12.

[R₁, f. 46 a ; N, f. 88 b-89 a]

DELA CHORNACHIA ET ALTRI VCIELLJ.

- Legiesi nelle fauole che gli vcieli feciono vn choncilio, al quale furono tutti cittati a vno a vno, al quale choncilio ciaschuno vene il meglio che pote aparechiato e paratto. onde la chornachia, vegiendosi chosi nera, prochacio tanto ch' el' ebe pene di molti
- 5 vcieli, le piu vare e le piu belle, e poi si trase de le pene sue, e di quelle vaire e belle si vestie e adornoe quanto sepe il meglio, e andoe al choncilio e araunamento dou'era stata richiesta. l'uciel- eli ravnatto in 'l choncilio no la richonosieano, ma rafigurandola e richonosiendola ilei, alquanti vcielli dele loro penne sie la pela-
- 10 rono tutta, onde lla misera rimase molto schernitta. E chosi adiuene a chi del altrui farina fa macheroni, cioe a cholui che della altrui laude si veste; e percio pregoti, lettore, che tue no ti vesta delle altrui lode, acio che 'l dispogliatto vcielo no sia ischernitto dala chonpagnia degli vciellj. no cierchare mai di
- 15 dipignere il chapo sança la choda, pero che sança finire il chominciare nuocie; e pero onora chatuno ne grady della sua bontade, sia ornatto di chostumi, sincero di mente, temperato de fatti, e senpre per bocie humano, avegna che imenbri ne quali lo giegno piu vale che lla bontade.

12 R₁ traditta; ms lascharnita. 13 R₁ gastigazione.

Title N Come la chornacchia si uesti dell'altrui penne. 1 N fauole di Isopo. 2 N furono richiesti tutti gli uccelli come cittadini cheghierano Alquale choncilio ciascheduno ando meglio parato en punto che egli pote. Onde. 5 N varie elle piu belle che ella pote avere. 6 N vaghe. 7 N ando doue si raghunava il choncilio ladoue ella era stata richiesta Et essendo raghunato il choncilio gli altri vcelli. 10 N forte schernita Elsimile. 12 N atte none interuengha datribuire atte altrui virtudi, accio che come lo spogliato vcello. 15 N cominciato. 17 R₁ onoratto; N hornato; R₁ sichero; N sincero. 18 R₁ bocie avegna che imenbri (?); N boce humano Et auengha che nemembri (?) piu vale ingegno che bontade.

13.

[R₃, f. 107 b; R₁, f. 46 b]

DEL CHAUALLO GRASSO E DEL MAGRO.

- Uno chaullo grasso choreua per suo diletto in uno pratto in qua e in lla, e uide un altro chaullo molto magro, e inchontanente prese a perchuoterlo, e quegli auea lo dosso rotto, pieno di piaghe; si gli disse: “ua uia, tomiti d'inanzi, ch'io non ti posso sofferire per
- 5 la puza che uiene del tuo dosso.” rispuosse il chaullo magro chon umilta e disse: “perche m'ai tu in odio? io fu gia grasso chome tu, ne non fui pigiore di tte; mal fai che mi perchuoti e non ai misericordia di me, pero che simigliante potrebbe anchora interuenire a tte.” lo chaullo grasso rispuosse chon superbia e disse: “o fastidioso, chome se' ttu arditto di fauellare, che ssono chosi forte e
- 10 bello.” e ppoi lo fedi e diegli de chalci e cchaciollo dinanzi da sse. E da iui a pochi di questo chaullo grasso stando nella istalla, li soprauene una pessima e rea infermitta nel piede, della quale lo suo signiore non 'l pote fare guarire per alchuna medicina, e cosie
- 15 il fecie mettere in quello pratto nel quale era istatto il magro; ma ora non era magro ne infermo. E quando questo ch'era in prima grasso si uide chossi subito magro e infermo, ebbe grande uerghogna quando uide l'altro ch'era magro correre a llui sano e grasso. E il magro di prima li disse: “tu sse magro e ai i piedi enfiatti; non ti
- 20 turbare, stae quanto tu uoi e mangia di die e di notte di questa erba, che tosto sarai guaritto e grasso, e ritornerai alla tua degnitta, e ricchorderatti della mia infermitta, e quando se' in prosperitta si tti guarda d'auersitta.” e dette queste parolle lo chaullo ch'era in prima magro rittornossi al suo albergho sano e ghagliardo di chorpo
- 25 e di menbra, e 'l chaullo grasso rimase nel pratto e morie. Questo essenpro ci mostra che niuno dee spregiare lo suo prossimo perche 'l uegha pouero o in anima o in chorpo, ma dee pensare come dicie il sauio: quello che siamo noi, fu gia questi; e quello ch' e chostui, potremo essere noi.

Title R₁ *Dvno chavallo grasso et dvno magro.* 3 ms *perchuotello.* 6 R₁ *umiltade perche.* 7 ms *chenmi.* 11 R₁ *dichalcio.* 14 R₁ *stare a guarire.* 15 R₁ *quello medesimo.* 16 R₁ *grasso e sano.* 17 ms *sil uide;* ms *infermo e quando questo chera in prima grasso ebbe grande;* R₁ *infermo quando questo chera inprima grasso e sano si vide chosi subito ebe grande.* 18 ms *correrre R₁ chorere.* 19 R₁ *il piede efiatto.* 22 ms *prospera.* 23 R₁ *daversita / e quando se in medicacie aledevi (?) bonefacie detto questo.* 28 ms *nofugiamo questo e quello che chosi.*

14.

[R₈, f. 108 a; R₁, f. 47 a]

DEL TORO E DEL LIONE E DEL BECHO.

Lo toro avendo gran paura d'uno leone ch'usaua d'uno monte, perueue a una grotta d'uno monte la ou'era uno beccho; ebbe grosse parolle cho llui, e no llo lascio entrare. E llo toro disse: "se non fosse che 'l leone mi cchaccia e mi tiene chosi corto,

5 io ti mostrare quanto sono migliore di tte; ma perche mi seguiscie, non uoglio contendere qui teccho, percio che ttempo e da ueghiare a cchi t'affende, e tenpo e da uigniere di non uedere." Questo ne mostra che ssono molti huomini che anno ardire di chontendere chol' loro nimicci piu forti di llui per altri piu forti di

10 loro, i qualli cholloro molto temono; e percio ogni uomo dee temere lo suo maggiore e a baldanza altrui non cominciare romore. E soprattutto dobbiamo amare e temere e onorare lo nostro signiore idio, onde folle e chi teme la pena di questa uitta che tosto trapassera, e non teme le pene del inferno che ttutto tenpo deono

15 durare. Onde chollui e da temere che a podestade di mettere l'anima e 'l chorppo al fuocho del inferno, e chi questo fara benedizione e grazia da dio aura, perccio che salamone disse che 'l timore di dio e chustodia di uita.

15.

[R₈, f. 108 a; R₁, f. 47 a]

DEL LIONE E DELLA UACHA E DELLA PECHORA ELLA CHAPRA E DEL CIERBIO.

Lo leone e lla uaccha e lla pechora e lla chapra andando per una grande selua in chonpagnia insieme, si trouarono vn cierbio bello e grasso, e llo leone lo prese e chomincio a partire e disse: "la prima parte e mia, percio che ssono Re; la sechonda e mia, percio

5 ch' io chorro piu di uoi; la terza piglio per mia parte; la quarta lascio, ma chiunque la torra, si m'ara per suo nimicho e per nimicho il trattero." E chossi ebbe il leone tutto il cierbio, e lla uacha e lla

Title ms *delione*; R₁ *Dvno toro e dvno leone*. 1 ms *daleone*. 2 Par *del monto ove becco*. 3 R₁ *cholloro*. 4 ms *fusse*. 5 R₁ *mostrerey quanto*. 7 R₁ *Questo esenpro*. 9 ms *piu forti dillui per altri piu forti dillui per altri piu forti di loro*. 10 ms *temo*; ms *ongniumo*. 14 ms *teme delchose delonferno*.

Title ms *Delione*. 3 R₁ *chomiciollo*. 6 R₁ *tora mara*. 7 R₁ *traterey*; ms *ealla uacha ealla pechhora ealla chapra non eboro*.

- pechora e lla chapra non eboro niente. Questo e detto a nostro ghashighamento, che amicho ch'e maggiore uouole essere a tuttoe ;
- 10 amor bassa e dispone, e parte chome il leone. E pero non ci dobbiamo achonpagniare chon piu possenti di noi, che per auentura piglierebe la sua parte e la nostra di cio che fosse insieme aquistato. e spiritu-
- 15 almente dobbiamo intendere che niuno non dee auere chonpagnia chol diauollo, ch' egli ci torebbe l'anima e 'l chorpo e 'l mondo e lla moneta ; ma chon dio dobbiamo auere chonpagnia, lo quale non ruba ma dona a ciaschuno beneficio abondeuolmente e non rinprouera.

16.

[R₃, f. 108 a-b ; R₁, f. 47 b.]

DEL PASTORE E DEL SERPENTE.

- Uno pastore dormiua in uno chanpo e uno serpente gli s'auolsse alla ghola e tutto si lo cinse cholla sua choda ; e quando il pastore si uolle leuare, non potea, e 'l serpente disse : "se ttu uuogli uiuere non ti leuare." e 'l pastore nonne auea ardire di tocchare il ser-
- 5 pente chon mano, e no llo potea perchuotere chol bastone ch'aua allatto, perche era in sua podesta e facia quello che 'l serpente diciea, e non si mouea ma staua mansuetto chome la quaglia sotto lo sparuiere e chome lo grue sotto il falchone, e preghaua infra 'l suo cuore il signiore idio, che auesse miserichordia di lui, e cche
- 10 llo diliberasse di maluagia morte. E infra tanto il serpente uide la rana che uenia inuerso di lui ; allora inchontanente si leuo e isuolsesi dal chollo al pastore e uenne alla rana per manicharla. E 'l pastore, uedendosi dispacciato, si dirizo susso in piede e prese il bastone ch'era in terra e diede al serpente vn grande cholpo
- 15 sicche quasi non si potea muouere ; e 'l serpente disse : "pastore, pastore, che e quello che tu ai fatto chontra di me, che m'ai quasi morto, ed io istetti sopra di tte e non ti uolli vccidere, anzi ebbi piatta e mercie di te ; ma ss'io ti trouerro piu dormire, ghuarda ch'io non ti renda il guidardone." disse il pastore : "quegli e
- 20 nimicho di sse medesimo che perdona la morte al nimiccho suo."

9 R₁ *gastigazione vole essere atuttore.*

Title R₁ *Dvno pastore et dvno serpente.* 1 N *dormendo in un prato.* 4 R₁ *ardimento.* 5 ms *chellauea.* 6 ms *chonsua ; N sotto la forza del serpente.* 8 N *sparuiere Enel suo cuore preghava iddio.* 10 N *schapasse da mala.* 10 N and R₁ *vide venire verso se vna grande rana.* 13 N *isuluppato si ripo.* 14 N *battachiata.* 16 N *O pastore o che e ; ms chenmai.* 18 R₁ *piata e miserichordia ; N piu adormire, ghuardati da me che io ti rendero il simile.*

- allora alzo il bastone e uccisse inchontanente il serpente. Questo esenpro dona amaestramento che quando il sauiò huomo vede che non si possa uendichare del nimicho suo, si dee atendere e ghuardare tenppo e luogho, sicche possa uinciare il nimiccho suo chon
 25 sichurta di se medesimo. Onde salamone disse: tenpo e da parlare, tenpo e da taciere, tenpo e da chacciare, tenpo e da fuggire, tenpo e da uendichare a cchi tti ofende, tenpo e da infigniere e di non uedere. E pero cholui ch'e sauiò atende a guardare suo luogho e tenpo, ma 'l folle non guarda stagione; ma spiritualmente douette
 30 sapere che lla piu nobile chosa e gienerazione di uendetta che l'huomo possa fare, si e di perdonare quando l'uomo ae forza e possa di potersi uendichare.

Finiscie il libro della natura degli animali deo grazias amen:—

21 ms ucciselo. 23 ms suoesi. 25 ms tenpo .e. da parlare tenpo .e. da parlare. Explicit lacking in R₁; N *Laus deo Adi primo di Março 1482. Finito e libro degli animali chiamato Fiore di virtu maggiore.*

NOTES ON THE FABLES.

1.

Like most of the fables in the collection, this one is in Ham (No. 10: *Unus piscator piscabat* . . .); and like the rest of the first six, it is also in Avianus, No. 20. Greek versions are known: Babrius, No. 6; *Fabulae Aesopicae Collectae*, ed. Halm, No. 28. From Avianus it was taken by Steinhöwel, and from him through a French translation by Caxton (Avian. 16); see Steinhöwel's *Aesop*, ed. Oesterley, 1873, and J. Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop as printed by Caxton in 1484*, London, 1889. La Fontaine has the fable (v, 3); for many more references and parallels see Jacobs, *op. cit.*; La Fontaine, *Œuvres*, ed. Regnier, Paris, 1883, vol. I, p. 372; Robert, *Fables inédites et fables de La Fontaine*, Paris, 1825, I, 309; Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, vol. III.

2.

Ham 11: *Quatuor grandes et fortes tauri iurauerunt* . . . Avianus 18, Babrius 44, Halm 394, Steinhöwel, etc., Av. 14. Cf. La Fontaine's *Le Vieillard et ses enfants* (livre iv, fable 18); Regnier, I, 335, Robert, I, 288.

3.

Ham 12, Avianus 16 (cf. 19), La Fontaine, I, 22; see notes of Regnier and Robert in editions cited.

Line 15. Meaning?

18-25. On Lucifer and his fall, and on pride as the root of all sin, cf.

in the bestiary the chapter *lupo* (G-W, pp. 35, 320). For further references see Moore, *Studies in Dante, second series*, Oxford, 1899, pp. 185 ff., 268. Cf. *Isaiah* xiv, 12; *Luke* x, 18; Dante, *Inferno* xxxiv, 34 ff., *Purg.* xii, 25 ff.

26. *Luke* xiv, 11: Omnis qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur. Cf. *Luke* xviii, 14; *Matt.* xxiii, 12.

4.

Ham 13: *Una capra pasebat in uno alto monte . . .* Avianus has two fables similar to this: no. 26 (Steinhöwel Av. 19), *Capella et Leo*, and no. 42 (Steinh. Av. 27), *Lupus et Haedus*. In the former, the lion sees the goat grazing on a high rock, and tries to persuade her to come down below where the eating is better; in the second, the wolf tries to get the kid out of the city into the fields. The original of Ham and the Italian texts was perhaps a combination of these two. A closer parallel is found in a Greek fable, Halm No. 270, where the wolf invites the goat to come down from the mountain, and the goat replies, "You do not call me that I may find food for myself, but that I may furnish it to you." Cf. the somewhat different fable of La Fontaine, iv, 15, which is a descendant from Romulus (ed. Oesterley, ii, 10; Steinhöwel, ii, 9). I cannot refrain from mentioning here the charming story of Alphonse Daudet, *La Chèvre de M. Seguin* (*Lettres de mon moulin*).

8. From Ovid; cf. Frati, *Ricerche sul Fiore di Virtù*, p. 354.

5.

Ham 14: *Quidam vilanus ducebat carrum suum . . .* Avianus 32: *Rusticus et Hercules*. Also in Greek (Halm 81; Babrius 20). Cf. La Fontaine, vi, 18: *Le Chartier embourbé*.

13. The reference to St. Paul is to the following passage, ii *Thess.* iii, 11-12: *Audiuimus enim inter vos quosdam ambulare inquiete, nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes. Iis autem, qui eiusmodi sunt, denuntiamus, et obsecramus in Domino Iesu Christo: ut cum silentio operantes, suum panem manducent.*

Pad quotes a different passage (*Matt.* x, 22): *Si como dize lo vanzelio: Qui persevarit usque in finem, ic salus erit.*

6.

Ham 15: *Cicada uenit ad formicam in yeme. et dixit ad eam. da michi de grano tuo. quia famem pacior. Tunc formica dixit . . . tu tantum cantasti in estate. modo uade saltare . . .* The fable is in Avianus, No. 34; but as it occurs in numerous collections there is no reason for deriving the Italian version (or Ham) from Avianus, as it comes at the end of the group which is so derived. There are several Greek versions,—Halm 401, 401 b, 295; Babrius 137; the fable is not in Phædrus or Walter of England, but it is in Romulus (ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1870, iv, 19; Steinhöwel, Caxton, iv, 17;

Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, vol. II), Marie de France (ed. Warnke, 39; Italian translation, ed. Rigoli, 20, ed. Brush, 18), Neckam 29, La Fontaine, I, 1, and other collections. Several manuscripts in Florence contain an Italian version in sonnet form of the fourteenth century, belonging to a collection most of which is unpublished (cf. K. McKenzie, in *Modern Philology*, April, 1904), although this particular sonnet was printed by A. Mai in *Spicilegium Romanum*, I (1839), 686:

Manchando alla cichala che mangiare
Di verno chiese del grano in prestanza; ecc.

It will be noticed that in R₁₃ and N we find *cichale*, *formiche* (plural), whereas Par, Pad and R₅ have *cichala*, *formica*; the latter form was probably original, Ham, Avianus and Romulus having the singular.

The fable is evidently closely related to the description of the ant in the bestiaries, where one characteristic is the storing up of food in the summer (cf. G-W, pp. 16, 266, 440); and to the description of the *cicala*, which so delights in its own singing that it forgets to provide food (G-W, pp. 36, 324, 440). Compare also the quotations below.

17. The quotation in the text is not exact; cf. *Prov.*, VI, 6, 8: Vade ad formicam, o piger, et discis sapientiam . . . Parat in aestate cibum sibi, et congregat in messe quod comedat.

25. Cf. *Prov.* xxx, 25: Formicæ, populus infirmus, qui præparat in messe cibum sibi. As before, the quotation is not exact; the almost unintelligible words added to the quotation may mean something like: "in season the food of grace for eternal glory." (?)

34. The quotation is nearly exact: Nihil pretiosius tempore, sed heu! nihil hodie vilius æstimatur. S. Bernardi, *Opera*, tom. III (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 184), col. 465: Gaufridi, *declamationes ex S. Bernardi sermonibus*.

37. The quotation is from an *opusculum* ("ad quid venisti," § 23) of St. Bernard (same volume, col. 1198): Omne tempus tibi impensum exigitur a te in die iudicii. I do not know the origin or meaning of the words *quare æte spensus*.

39. The quotation is not from *Eccl.*, but from *Ezekiel*, VII, 6-8: Finis venit, venit finis . . . venit tempus, prope est dies occisionis . . . nunc de propinquo effundam iram meam super te.

41. *Wisdom (Liber Sapientiæ)*, II, 5: Umbra enim transitus est tempus nostrum.

7.

This fable has not been found elsewhere, not even in Ham; but its similarity to the familiar fable of the Wolf and the Lamb, referred to in line 5, is evident (*Phædrus*, I, 1, *Lupus et Agnus*; *Romulus* and descendants, No. 2; *La Fontaine*, I, 10, etc.).

The quotation added at the end in R₁ is from Psalm xxxvii, 19 (English Bible, xxxviii, 18): Et cogitabo pro peccato meo, etc.

8.

Excepting the Latin version in Ham, no source or parallel has yet been found for this curious tale, which is hardly a fable. It is the longest of the sixteen, even without the excessively long moral of R and N; in Par, Pad and Ham the moral is reduced to a few lines. The beginning and end in Ham (No. 39):

Crudelis latro absconsus manebat in via, et expoliabat
quos poterat apprehendere . . . Hec fabula significat
quod illi qui faciunt malum aliis, multociens cadunt
in magnum periculum, et iam aliquando sunt mortui.

Apparent traces of rhyme may be noticed in lines 17-21.

9. I have not traced the origin of the proverbial saying: *Qui verum dicit non laborat*; it does not occur in Ham or Pad. Notice that it is translated in N; and in the form there used: *Chi dice il vero non s'affatica*, it is given by Giusti, *Proverbi Toscani*, Firenze, 1853, p. 298. For the general idea, cf. Sophocles, *Antigone*, v. 1195.

12. Cf. Ham: dic michi quot dies mansisti. Et latro habitauerit ibi per tres annos. sed falax dixit illic mansisse per decem dies.

46. The story of Perillus and Phalaris is, in fact, told by Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, I, 653-6:

Et Phalaris tauro violenti membra Perilli
Torruit: infelix imbuat auctor opus.
Justus uterque fuit: neque enim lex æquior ulla,
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

But the Italian version doubtless comes from the *Gesta Romanorum*, (ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, No. 48); cf. the following with lines 61-4 of the Italian: "quod michi crudeli crudelior obtulisti, nulla enim equior ratio est, quam necis artificis arte perire sua, ut dicit Ovidius."

72. This story, also, probably comes from the *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 146: "Refert Augustinus in de civitate dei quod Dyonides pirata galea una longo tempore," etc. In the *de Civ. Dei*, lib. iv, cap. 4, the version is very short, and the name of the pirate is not mentioned. In the *Fiore di Virtù* the story is quoted from the *Storie Romane*; cf. Frati, *Ricerche sul F. di V.*, pp. 413-5.

127. *Matt.* XI, 15: Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat.

9.

Ham 40 (very short); Phædrus, I, 24, *Rana rupta et Bos*; Romulus, II, 21 (ed. Oesterley), II, 20 (Steinhöwel); La Fontaine, I, 3; Halm, No. 84; Babrius, 28; Uno da Siena, 41; ed. Ghivizzani, 40.

10. Cf. La Fontaine:

Le monde est plein de gens qui ne sont pas plus sages :
 Tout bourgeois veut bâtir comme les grands seigneurs,
 Tout petit prince a des ambassadeurs,
 Tout marquis veut avoir des pages.

12. Cf. fable 3, and notes ; also Pad, G-W, p. 70.

10.

Ham 41 : *Ratus cum uellet descendere per catenam* . . . The nearest parallel is a fable by Odo of Cheriton (in Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, vol. iv (1896), p. 227, No. 56) : the mouse falls into a pot of wine, and is rescued by the cat, promising to come when called ; but when the cat calls, the mouse refuses to come out of her hole.

11.

Ham 43 : *Uulpis cum uideret ceruum dixit* . . . No other exact parallel has been found, but a very similar fable is that of the Ape and the Fox,—Romulus, III, 17 (Oosterley and Steinhöwel) and its descendants, *e. g.*, Marie de France, 28. Several Italian versions (from Marie : ed. Rigoli and ed. Brush, 34 ; from Walter of England : ed. Ghivizzani, No. 56 ; Uno da Siena, 56 ; verse translation, ed. Monaci, 1892, No. 16). Old French versions published by Martin, *Eine Renartfabel*, in *Zeits. f. R. P.*, vi, 347, and Robert, *op. cit.*, II, 476. With the ending of this fable,—the stag tosses the fox on his horns—compare fable 7, where the stag attempts to treat the wolf in the same way.

12.

For references on this fable, see the article already cited : K. McKenzie, *A Sonnet ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati and its place in Fable Literature* (1898), where, however, this Italian version is not mentioned ; and cf. Warnke, *Die Quellen des Esope der Marie de France*, No. 67, in *Festgabe für H. Suchier*, Halle, 1900. There are two Italian versions from Walter of England (ed. Ghivizzani, No. 36 ; Uno da Siena, No. 36), but the fable is not included in the translation from Marie de France. The other early Italian versions belong to the popular type as distinguished from that in Walter of England and the other descendants from Phædrus (*e. g.*, La Fontaine, iv, 9) ; they are, first, the prose text now published ; next, the sonnet of Chiaro ; a little poem of twenty-four lines ascribed to Dante (first published by F. Redi, *Bacco in Toscana*, 1685, p. 104) :

Quando il consiglio degli augei si tenne ;

and, finally, a prose version in Venetian dialect (*Trattati religiosi*, ed. Ulrich, No. 36 ; also in *Romania*, XIII, 47). The nearest Latin versions are perhaps those of Odo of Cheriton (Hervieux, *Fab. lat.*, iv, No. 3) and of an

anonymous collection derived from various sources (Hervieux, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 2^e édition, 1894, p. 603). It is to be noticed that N (line 1) ascribes the fable to *Æsop*; but this is of little use in trying to determine what medieval collection was the source. The fact that the crow puts aside its own feathers suggests the group of versions represented by Marie de France.

11. The expression *fare dell' altrui farina maccheroni* occurs in fable 11, line 5. *Farina propria* is a proverbial expression.

18. Proper reading?

13.

Ham 44. No other parallel found. Cf. an Indian tale of a fat cow and a lean cow in Dubois, *Pantcha-tantra*, p. 166; Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, I, 387.

14.

No parallel found.

7. Cf. fable 16, line 25, and notes.

15. Cf. *Luke*, XII, 5.

17. *Prov.*, x, 27: *Timor Domini apponet dies*.

15.

Ham 19. There is nothing in this version of the familiar fable of the Lion's share which could not have been derived from the descendants of Phædrus (Romulus, Walter, Uno da Siena, etc., No. 6). On an unpublished Italian sonnet,

La pechora ella chapra colla vaccha,

cf. K. McKenzie, in *Modern Philology*, April, 1904. On the fable in general, see K. Górski, *Die Fabel vom Löwenantheil*, Berlin, 1888, and Sudre, *Les Sources du Roman de Renart*, pp. 124 ff.

16.

No exact parallel found. In *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 99, a man saves a serpent from a poisonous toad, and is bitten by the toad; later the serpent sucks out the poison and cures the man.

25. *Ecclesiastes*, III, 1-8; especially:

(3) *Tempus occidendi, et tempus sanandi.*

(6) *Tempus custodiendi, et tempus abjiciendi.*

(7) *Tempus scindendi, et tempus consuendi.*

Tempus tacendi, et tempus loquendi.

(8) *Tempus dilectionis, et tempus odii.*

Cf. fable 14, line 7; and a sonnet ascribed to King Enzo (*Poeti del Primo Secolo*, I, 177; translated by Rossetti, *Dante and his Circle*), of which the first eight lines read:

Tempo vien di salire e di scendere
E tempo è di parlare e di tacere,
E tempo di ascoltare e d'imprendere,
Tempo di molte cose provvedere,
E tempo è di vegghiare e d'offendere,
E tempo di minacce non temere,
E tempo è d'ubbidire e riprendere
E tempo è d'infinger non vedere.

As to the sources of the fables as a collection, five or six of them are seen to come from Avianus, the rest from various sources, some of which are at present unknown.

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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Modern Language Association of America

1905.

VOL. XX, 3.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XIII, 3.

XIII.—THE SYNTAX OF ANTOINE DE LA SALE.

The chief prose works of the fifteenth century in France, by common consent, are the long pseudo-chivalric romance entitled *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, the satire on women called *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage* and the collection of tales known as *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. The author of the first work alone names himself: it is Antoine de la Sale, a native of Provence, known also as the author of several didactic works, *La Salade*, *La Salle*, *Le Réconfort*, etc. The author of the *Quinze Joyes* has hidden his identity in a riddle which has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Not even a hint as to the author or editor of the *Cent Nouvelles* is contained in the manuscript. Led astray by an erroneous interpretation of the riddle, Pottier in 1830 ascribed the *Quinze Joyes* to La Sale. Le Roux de Lincy did the same for the *Cent Nouvelles*, in 1841. The first scientific attempt to prove these ascriptions was made by L. Stern in 1870.¹ Stern sought to establish La Sale's authorship of the *Cent Nouvelles* by a comparison of certain details of style and by the fact,

¹ *Versuch über Antoine de la Sale*, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, XLVI, 113–218.

noticed more in detail later, that a "conte" addressed to La Sale appears as one of the hundred tales. This was followed immediately by the paper of E. Gossart,¹ which gave special attention to the *Quinze Joyes*. Gossart² showed that La Sale, in *La Salle* and in *Saintré*, had made use of St. Jerome's paraphrase of Theophrastus, also cited in the prologue of the *Quinze Joyes*. However, as M. Raynaud has pointed out,³ this epistle of Jerome, with that of Valerius, also cited in the *Quinze Joyes*, was the chief source of most of the diatribes against marriage in the Middle Ages.

The conclusions of Stern and Gossart were accepted unconditionally by most succeeding writers, as for example by Gaston Paris,⁴ Lanson,⁵ Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld,⁶ Petit de Julleville⁷ and others. Gröber⁸ alone denied La Sale's claim to the authorship of the *Cent Nouvelles*; he is more inclined to admit that of the *Quinze Joyes*, but is not fully convinced even of this.

Within the last two years, the question of the authorship of these has again come to the fore. M. Joseph Nève, in an exhaustive work on La Sale,⁹ denies his right to be considered the author of the two disputed works. Nève's conclusions have been accepted, fully by Professor Foerster,¹⁰ partially by M. Raynaud.¹¹ The latter still clings to La

¹ *Antoine de la Salle, sa Vie et ses Oeuvres inédites, Bibliophile belge*, 6^e année (1871), pp. 1-17, 45-56, 77-88; reprinted and enlarged as a separate pamphlet, Bruxelles, 1902.

² Pp. 83 ff.

³ *Romania*, xxxiii, 107.

⁴ *La Poésie du moyen âge*, 2^e série, p. 254; *Primer of Mediæval French Literature*, 138.

⁵ *Histoire de la littérature française*, 1895, pp. 166-167.

⁶ *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, pp. 252-53.

⁷ *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature françaises*, II, pp. 394-97.

⁸ *Grundriss*, II, 1, 1152-54.

⁹ *Antoine de la Salle, sa vie et ses ouvrages*, Paris et Bruxelles, 1902.

¹⁰ *Litteraturblatt für german. und roman. Philologie*, 1903, col. 402 ff.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 107 ff.

Sale's authorship of the *Cent Nouvelles*. The decisive argument, for him, is the fact that the story of *Floridam et Elvide*, addressed by Rasse de Brunhamel to La Sale, is reproduced as the 98th Nouvelle, under the name of *L'Acteur*. This coincidence was first pointed out by Stern.¹ It is not considered final by Nève, Gröber, or Foerster. The *Quinze Joyes* and its author have also been discussed by the anonymous author of *Une Énigme d'histoire littéraire*,² who likewise rejects La Sale's claims and propounds a new solution of the riddle. For him the person concealed in the rebus is the Abbot Pierre II of Samer (1377) and the date of the work must consequently be set back to the fourteenth century. These conclusions have not yet been confirmed or accepted.³ The question, then, remains undecided, at least till the appearance of the more exhaustive studies promised us by Foerster and Söderhjelm.⁴

The purpose of the following pages is to compare, more or less exhaustively, the syntax of the three works under consideration. The treatise does not aspire to be a complete exposition of the syntax of these works, but simply of those features which offer most interest in a comparative study. I trust, however, that it will not be without interest to students of the historical grammar of the Middle French period. The Syntax of the *Cent Nouvelles* has already been made the subject of a special study by J. Ulrich Schmidt;⁵ in most cases I have accepted his results, so far as they go. For *Saintré* and the *Quinze Joyes*, I have made a copious collection and classification of the chief syntactical phenomena.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

² Paris, 1903. Cf. the reviews by Foerster, *loc. cit.*, col. 406, and by J. Bédier, *Romania*, XXXIII, pp. 438 ff.

³ See especially Foerster's long article, already cited.

⁴ Cf. *Antoine de la Sale et la légende du Tannhäuser*, *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique à Helsingfors*, XI, 101 ff.

⁵ See list of works consulted.

For purposes of comparison, I have often adduced the results of similar investigations of other writers of the period, especially Deschamps, Alain Chartier, and Commynes.

It is regrettable that we do not possess as yet a trustworthy critical text of *Saintré* and the *Quinze Joyes*. Hellény's edition of *Saintré*, which I have employed, is a mere reprint of that of Guichard¹ (1843). It is based mainly on a single manuscript,² corrected occasionally by two of another family.³ I do not believe, however, that the establishment of a critical text would seriously affect the results. The variants given by M. Raynaud⁴ consist mainly in the addition or omission of words or phrases which do not alter the construction. Moreover, the manuscript *I* represents one of La Sale's latest revisions, only two others (*G* and *H*) being posterior to it. Jannet's edition of the *Quinze Joyes* is based likewise on a single manuscript, that of Rouen (dated 1464). Jannet's text is faulty in a few passages. As, however, the three known manuscripts,⁵ according to Professor Foerster,⁶ are simply copies of a single original, it is probable that here also the establishment of a critical text would not seriously invalidate my results.⁷ Wright's text of the *Cent Nouvelles* is based on the single known manuscript and is generally

¹ Cf. the remarks of M. Raynaud, *Romania*, XXXI, 532, n., 544.

² MS. I (Raynaud), B. N. Fr. 1506, dated 1459.

³ Raynaud, *loc. cit.*, 544 ff.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 538 ff.

⁵ Rouen, Chantilly, and St. Petersburg.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, col. 408.

⁷ I have unfortunately not been able to obtain the recent dissertations of Soelter (Greifswald, 1902) and Dressler (Greifswald, 1903) on the St. Petersburg and Chantilly MSS. respectively. I have, however, partly compared the text of the Jannet edition with that of the *editio princeps*, lately reprinted by Heuckenkamp (Halle, 1901). The latter text is much shortened and somewhat rejuvenated (*que que* becomes *quoi que*, preposition *o* omitted, more frequent use of the subject-pronoun, etc.), but otherwise the syntactical peculiarities established for the Jannet text hold good for it also.

considered trustworthy. Doubtless a critical revision of all three texts would produce some modifications of the details of the syntax; but I believe that the chief differences in construction established by these comparisons would persist.

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE.¹

The use of the definite article was notably extended in the course of the fifteenth century.² But usage was still very loose and variable, so that we may expect a marked but hardly constant difference in the prose of the period. Such is the case in the works under consideration. The proportion³ (compared to present usage) of use to omission of the article is in P, 4:1; in Q, 5:1; but in C, 7:1.⁴ The higher proportion of omission in P is due to the frequent lack of the article with definite concrete nouns, determined in the sentence,⁵ as, for example: P, 170, *les aultres dames et damoyelles prindrent aussi chevaliers et escuyers qui estoient venus avecques luy*; 308, *tant que destriers peurent aller*; 411, *lors veissiez dames et moynnes de trembler*; cf. also 101, 152, 200, 247, 267, 308, 359, 395, etc.

I have noted but one similar example in Q: 9, *lors regarde lieu et temps et heure de parler de la matiere*. In C such constructions are much less numerous than in P, occurring only in lively narration with an historical infinitive.⁶

¹ I am of the opinion that henceforth all syntactical studies should adopt the divisions of Meyer-Lübke in volume III of the *Romanische Grammatik*. If, in this paper, I have followed the older grouping by parts of speech, it has been solely for convenience of reference to the preceding study by Schmidt.

² Cf. M-L., §§ 142-190; Gellrich, pp. 53-61.

³ In cases of enumeration, the reader should bear in mind the length of the three works, which are of the same format. P contains 430 pages, Q 146, C 549.

⁴ Schmidt, page 1.

⁵ A construction common in O. F.; cf. Tobler, *VB.*, II, 96 ff.

⁶ For examples, see Schmidt, 4.

With concrete nouns, denoting an object unique in its kind, the article is generally omitted. Of these, *paradis* and *enfer* are always found without the article: P, 36, *semblable à enfer*; 56, *la porte de paradis*;—Q, 5, *avoir paradis*. *Terre* varies in Q and C: Q,¹ 10, *trainent jusques à terre*; 3, *la terre est deserte*; but in P *terre* seems to be always without the article: 31, 61, 429, etc. With *soleil*, *lune*, and *ciel* the article appears regularly in all three works: P, 30, 57, 117; Q, 75, etc.

With class-names the variation is substantially the same in each. The older usage predominates, but examples of class-names with the article occur not infrequently. The varying usage is well shown by the following sentence (P, 32): *quel chose est meilleur que l'or? jaspé. Quel chose est meilleur que jaspé? sens*. Cf. also P, 42: *qui met home hors de la grace de Dieu*; 31, 34, 60, 61, 152, etc.;—Q, 62, *ils ne prisent riens pauvres femmes*; 24, 42, 81, 92, etc. But, with the article: P, 39, *non pas vivre pour boire et pour manger, comme les pourceaulx font*; 7, 8, 38, 40, etc.;—Q, 3, *telles fosses fait l'en à prendre les bestes sauvages*; 21, 34, 78, etc.²

With nouns denoting parts of the body³ many traces of the O. F. usage appear in P and C. P, 44, *en ame, en corps* (cf. 69, *en l'ame et en corps*); 79, *sur piez*; 210, *il fust de teste, de corps ou de bras tellement desarmé*; also 57, 251, 266, 287, 306, etc. For examples in C, see Schmidt, page 2. But in Q only one (doubtful) example of this usage has been observed; 5, *sans incision de membres*. The article, however, is frequently found with such nouns: P, 33, *seiche le corps et fait le cueur inique*; 60, 79, 106, etc.;—Q, 5, *mater la chair*; 23, *sous les piez*; 4, 8, 13, 24, 35, etc.

¹ See Schmidt, 1.

³ Cf. M.-L., § 161.

² For C, see Schmidt, 2.

Before abstract nouns¹ the omission of the article is quite general in all three works. In Q, however, more examples of the modern usage are found than in P or C. Thus in Q I have counted 29 examples of abstracts without the article to 13 with it; the proportion is thus approximately 2:1. In P (first 60 pages) a count gave 59 examples of omission to 5 of use, or approximately 11:1. In C no examples with the article are given by Schmidt.² The syntax of P and C here agrees substantially with that of Chartier.³

Proper nouns of any kind are so rare, especially in Q, that a definite comparison cannot be made. Note however the following: P, 4, *en Brebant*; 301, *six provinces, c'est assavoir, Judie, Persie, Sirie, Egypte, Surie, et Asie*;—Q, 2, *dont advint que France fut la plus noble terre du monde*. But, P, 306, *la grant Hermenie*; 429, *sur le Rosne*. For C, see Schmidt, pp. 3, 4.

With nouns denoting divisions of time,⁴ to which may be added words like *messe, vêpres*, the variation is constant in P and Q: P, 60, *Karesme, Pasques, Noel*; 64, *oyez messe*; 74, *pour estre dimenche ainsi joly*; 354, *vespres commencerent à sonner*;—Q, 24, *une heure ou deux de nuit*; 43, *jusques à matin*. But, P, 65, *la messe ouyr*; 76, *jusques au dimenche*; 108, *le printemps*; 139, *la minuyt*;—Q, 26, *de toute la nuit*; 43, *jusques au matin*; 101, *le samedi*.

With attributive *tout, tous*, an enumeration of the examples in the first 100 pages of P and Q gave the following result: P, 21 cases of omission to 14 of use; Q, 15 cases of omission to 19 of use. In C (see Schmidt, 4) the modern usage predominates, though many examples of omission occur.

Contrary to the modern rule, in P and C the article is regularly employed with a cardinal number, denoting a part of a larger number, expressed or understood:⁵ P, 57, *les*

¹ Cf. M.-L., § 151.

² Page 3.

³ Cf. Eder, 15 ff.

⁴ Cf. M.-L., § 149.

⁵ Cf. Diez, 792.

sept vertus principales, les trois sont divines, les quatre sont morales; 161, *XII lances, dont les six estoient du tout armées et vestues*; 65, 72, 164, 197, 220, 223, 239, 363, 402, 407. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 5. No examples are found in Q, but this is possibly due to chance.

Worthy of notice is the fact that in P alone examples are found of the omission of the article with *même*, a construction common in Middle French:¹ 164, *leurs selles couvertes de mesme drap d'or dont ilz estoient houssez*; 333, 405. No cases are found in Q or C, but this is not an archaic trait.

THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE.²

In respect to the indefinite article, the relative proportions are somewhat different from those of the definite. Q is most conservative, P next, and C most modern. In general, the proportion of use to omission is in Q, $1\frac{1}{2} : 2$; in P, $1 : 1$; in C,³ $2 : 1$. Examples: P, 20, *avez vous dame choisie*; 173, *bien grant temps fut passé avant de cesser*; 207, *jaçoit ce que Bouciquault fust puis tres vaillant chevalier*; 387, *damp Abbez, qui estoit gracieulx sire*;—Q, 14, *sa femme . . . est bonne et preude femme*; 52, *vous ne vistes oncques plus honneste femme ne plus doulce*, etc. For C, see Schmidt, 6.

With comparative *si*, *aussi*,⁴ P has 10 examples with the article to 9 of omission, Q but 2 cases of use to 15 of omission. In C, according to Schmidt,⁵ examples with the article are “ganz vereinzelt.”

With *autre*, we find in P the article expressed 11 times, omitted 4 times; in Q, it is expressed 11 times, omitted 11 times; in C,⁶ examples with the article are “selten.”

¹ Cf. M.-L., § 170.

² Cf. M.-L., §§ 191–200, Schayer, *Zur Lehre vom Gebrauch des unbestimmten Artikels und des Teilungsartikels im Altfranzösischen*, Berlin, 1896.

³ Schmidt, 6. ⁴ Worthy of note is the fact that *aussi* is not found in P.

⁵ Page 6.

⁶ Schmidt, 7.

With *tel* (100 pages), P uses the article 4 times, omits it 7 times; Q uses it twice, omits it 14 times. But in C¹ the modern usage is predominant. As examples of the omission of the indefinite article with *si*, *tel*, *autre*, are still common in the seventeenth century,² no great weight can be ascribed to these comparisons.

The old plural of the indefinite article³ occurs rarely in each of our works: P, 81, *ces chausses d'escarlote et unes aultres de brunette fine*; 195, *unes tres belles heures* (= *livre d'heures*); 245, *unes tres cleres et reluyssantes bardes*; 422, *unes lettres*;—Q, 34, *unes botes, ungs esperons, unes vieilles bouges*; 127, *ungs sanglons*. C⁴ has 5 examples.

THE PARTITIVE ARTICLE.⁵

The so-called partitive use of the preposition *de* with the article began to extend itself vigorously in the course of the fifteenth century, though omission was still the general rule. All the examples of the partitive have been noted and the results are presented in the following table:⁶

<i>de</i> + article + sing. noun :	P, 7; Q, 9; C, 16
<i>de</i> + adjective + sing. noun :	P, 1; Q, 0; C, 1
<i>de</i> + art. + adj. + sing. noun :	P, 1; Q, 2; C, 3
<i>des</i> + plural noun :	P, 7; Q, 17; C, 8
<i>de</i> + adj. + plu. noun :	P, 11; Q, 16; C, 9
<i>des</i> + adj. + plu. noun :	P, 1; Q, 1; C, 2
Total,	P, 28; Q, 45; C, 39

It will be seen that Q, although only one-third as long as P, employs the partitive construction one and one-half times

¹ Schmidt, 7. ² Haase, § 57. ³ Cf. M.-L., § 199. ⁴ Schmidt, 7.

⁵ Cf. Diez, 794; M.-L., § 366; for Commynes' usage, which nearly agrees with that of Q, see Stimming, 193.

⁶ For C, see Schmidt, 8, 9.

more frequently. Examples, P: 64, *de l'eau benoiste*; 75, 77, 211, 329, 356, 357; 367, *de son vin*;—418, *qui s'estoient donnez du bon temps ensemble*;—69, *je vous feray des biens*; 72, 72, 83, 106, 356, 428;—98, *de beaulx harnoyz de drap*; 133, 141, 161, 264, 309, 345, 346, 378, 391, 405;—109, *tu portes des bons conseils*. Q: 26, *de la viande froide*; 44, 63, 71, 90, 94, 109, 119, 124;—113, *et se donnent du bon temps*; 114;—30, *et lui bailleront des actaintes*; 39, 42, 60, 62, 62, 62, 62, 82, 82, 82, 82, 121, 132, 132;—22, *et dient de bonnes choses*; 37, 37, 45, 54, 81, 83, 91, 93, 100, 106, 106, 124, 128, 130;—70, *elle en a essayé des aultres*. Examples of the omission of the partitive occur on almost every page.

With adverbs of quantity, the following examples of the omission of partitive *de* have been noted: P, 83, *aultres biens assez*; 87, *il trouva argent assez et assez de demoutrance*; 112, *il avoit cuer et corps assez pour faire parler de luy*; 390, *qui leur font tres bonne chiere et honneur assez*;—Q, 7, *il a aises et plaisances largement*; 28, *j'ay assez robes*; 40, *n'a gueres grant chevance*; 47, *elle a assés robes*; 124, *j'ay ung pou affaires avec elles*;—C¹ has two examples with *assez*, one with *largement*.

Contrariwise, the article is used with *de* and an adverb of quantity in: P, 35, *des richesses assez*; 36, *tant engloutir des ames*; 100 (*assez*), 301 (*assez*), 311 (*assez*), 317 (*tant*);—Q, 30, *des biens et des vins plus qu'il n'en entreroit en une botte*; 88, *des biens assez*; 103, *des nouvelles assez*;—C² has four examples with *largement*, one with *assez*.

With adverbs of negation, I have counted nine examples of the use of partitive *de* in P, to ten in Q. Here again the proportion, taking into account Q's length, is much greater in the latter. In C, according to Schmidt,³ the modern usage predominates. The difference may be due to

¹Schmidt, 9.²Schmidt, 10.³Page 10.

the comparative infrequency of the negative complements, *pas*, *point*, in P.

THE NOUN.

A few traces of the Old French system of declension occur in Q, especially with the word *homme*, but they are probably due to an affectation of archaism on the part of the scribe.¹ Thus: 20, *en laquelle ne se doit bouter nulz sages homs*; 34, *le bons homs*; 54, *et m'eist Dieux*. In P the only remnants of the O. F. nominative are the word *Amours*, used constantly as a singular, and the expression *damp Abbez*. No traces occur in C.

Examples of the O. F. genitive without *de* are found in each work, somewhat more frequently in P than in Q or C. Thus, aside from the common formula *par Dieu mercy*, *la Dieu mercy*, we find in P: 66, *Cassiodore dict au livre des louanges saint Pol*; 67, *et vous souviengne du dict* (substantive) *Albertus*; 97, *sur l'espaule Jehan de Saintré la mist*;— in Q: 12, *par le sacrement Dieu*; 88, *en la chartre nostre Seigneur*. C² has three examples.

The O. F. dative without *à* occurs only in the formulae *si Dieu plaist*, *puisque Dieu plaist*. Note also P, 227, *le roy m'a commandé vous dire, l'ung et l'autre*.

THE ADJECTIVE.

A. Comparison.

To express the superlative idea, the definite article was not necessary in Old French,³ and traces of this usage still lingered in the seventeenth century.⁴ Of this older construction, the following instances are found in these works:—

¹ Cf. Villon's "ballade en viel langage françois," G. T., 385-412.

² Schmidt, 11.

³ M.-L., § 162.

⁴ Haase, § 29.

(1) With a following adjective, the article is not repeated in P, 223, *les cinq plus grosses*; 258, *le seigneur de Padua dernier*; 312, *leur desconfiture plus briefve*. No similar cases occur in Q and but one in C.¹—(2) In relative clauses, the article is more frequently omitted, especially with adverbial *plus* or *mieux*: P, 15, *celle qui plus desirez à estre sien*; 87, *les deux qui meilleures bouches avoient*; 16, 22, 84, 98, 131, 191, 211, 239, 333;—Q, 61, *les gens du monde à qui je suy plus tenu*; 87, 130. Schmidt¹ cites four examples from C.—(3) Of the O. F. favorite construction *plus tot que pot*,² one example occurs in Q, one in C, none in P. Q, 96, *à laquelle chose n'y a remede sinon la celer et reparer la chouse à mieulx que l'on peut*.

As examples of *mieux* for *plus*, I may cite: P, 360, *pour mieulx dignement gagner vos pardons*;—Q, 135, *je les regarde embridez et abestis mieulx que les autres*.

The modern rule regarding the neuter superlative is not observed in Q, 65: *je vous ferai la plus courroccée que vous fustes oncques*. The distinction was, however, practically unknown even in the seventeenth century.³

B. Agreement.

When modifying two or more nouns, the adjective still agrees with the nearest, as in Old French,⁴ in P and Q: P, 127, *la despense et finance à ce nécessaire*; 361, *les veulx et la chiere basse*;—Q, 1, *pour nulles prieres ne avoir*; 34, *quelque jeu ou instrumens qu'il voie*. Schmidt gives no examples of this rule from C, nor have I been able to discover any.

Other variations from modern usage which may be noted

¹ Page 13.

² Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 171.

³ Haase, p. 61.

⁴ A usage still common in Rabelais; cf. Huguet, 392.

are: P, 191, *saue sa grace*;—201, *à nuds genoulx*;—Q, 123, *plus de demie nuit*.

One example is found in P and Q of the old licence *elle fait le sourd*:¹ P, 253, *ma dame . . . ne voult pas estre la plus courtoise, ainsi fist le sourt*;—Q, 63, *la dame fait le malade*.

In adverbial function, adjectives still vary as in Old French,² in P: 98, *tous semblables vous en ferez faire de beaulx harnoyx de drap*; 324, *chevaulx tous blancs*; 410, *telz moynnes sont bien clers semez*.³ No examples are found in Q, which has the modern construction, 27, *Dieu sceit comme elles sont chier tenues et honnestement gardées*. In C⁴ adverbial *tout* agrees with feminine adjectives, but with masculine plurals remains invariable, following the modern rule. Schmidt cites no examples of other adverbial locutions.

C. Numerals.

P has six examples of the old construction, according to which the tens, hundreds, etc., are connected by *et*:⁵ 4, *cinquante et neuf*; 98, *cent et soixante*; 338, *mille et cinq cens*; 267, 301, 306. But without *et*: 99, *cent soixante*; 220; 286; 429, *vingt deux*. No examples occur in Q, but this is purely fortuitous. Three with *et* are found in C.

Of other variations from present usage, we may note: P, 112, *deux mil escuz*; but, 136, *sept mille*; 301, *sept mille, cinq cens, quarante et huyt*.

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

Three examples of the old periphrasis with *corps, personne*,⁶ are found in P: 47, *celle n'est point à comparer à*

¹ Tobler, *VB.*, I, 166.

² M.-L., § 130; Tobler, *VB.*, I, 75 ff.

³ Tobler, *loc. cit.*, has no examples of this locution from O. F. texts;

“doch kann dies zufällig sein.”

⁴ Schmidt, 41.

⁵ Cf. Darmesteter, § 182.

⁶ Diez, 809–810, Darmesteter-Sudre, § 398.

ma personne; 326, *n'y avoit celluy qui ne eust mis son corps pour luy*; 406, *et luy monstra ung chevalier semblable à sa personne*. One rather doubtful example occurs in Q: 128, *par Nostre Dame du Puy, où j'ay mon corps porté*. No cases are found in C. The periphrasis seems to have died quite early. No examples occur in Deschamps, Chartier or Commines, nor in the sixteenth century authors cited by Huguet.

In regard to the use of the subject forms, *je*, *tu*, etc., as tonic forms separated from the verb,¹ a remarkable difference is found between P and C on one side, and Q on the other. I have noted in P nine examples of this construction: 42, *tu, mon seul Dieu, as hay et hais*; 45, *il sur tous sera le mieulx condicionné*; 68; 113, *je qui vous ay choysi vous prie*; 122, 148, 164, 231, 384. Schmidt² cites fifteen examples from C, mostly of *il* with a parenthetical relative clause. C, unlike P, has no example of tonic *tu*.³ But Q has not a single example of these tonic subject forms, agreeing therein with Commines.⁴ Huguet⁵ thinks that this construction died out toward the end of the fifteenth century, but was later revived by Le Maire des Belges and Rabelais. Q, like Commines, has the modern usage fully developed: 62, *lui lesse les parolles*; 131, *quar moy mesmes la estranglasse*; etc.

Examples of pronouns in the predicate are so rare in P and Q that it is not possible to draw any definite conclusion. Each has one example of the older usage: P, 333, *certes, ce fut il*;—Q, 64, *c'est il qu'il y fait venir*. C contains six similar examples.⁶ P nowhere shows a case of the modern construction with the tonic object form,⁷ while Q has at least one such example: 55, *c'est moy*.

¹ Cf. Haase, V. and J., 11.

² Page 16.

³ Deschamps' usage agrees with that of P: Voll, 12, 13.

⁴ Stimming, 491.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁶ Schmidt, 16.

⁷ The sentence, 335, *ce n'est mye mon cuer, ne moy*, is not conclusive.

Before finite verbs, the tonic object forms are used only with impersonal *souvenir*: P, 18, *souviengne vous de moy*; 28, *souviengne toy* (cf. 62, *qu'il vous souviengne*); 68, etc.;—Q, 49, *souvengne vous de moy*. C¹ has one similar example. But the tonic dative with the preposition *à*, with verbs like *parler*,² occurs commonly in all three works: P, 14, *je vueil cy parler à vous*; 25, *meilleur qu'à vous n'appartient*; 84, *se à moy ne le voulez dire*; 241, *afin de mieulx deviser à luy*; 395, *j'auroye plus grant besoing d'estre à luy recommandé*;—Q, 48, *j'ay à parler à vous*; etc. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 16, 17.

In Old French a well-known rule required that the tonic object forms be employed with the infinitive and gerund.³ Traces of the modern construction, with the atonic forms, appear first in Froissart.⁴ In Chartier⁵ the older construction is still the more common. In Commines,⁶ however, the modern usage, aside from purely reflexive *soi*, is fully developed. An exact enumeration⁷ of all the different cases in our works has given the following results:—

Reflexive *me, te, se*, with the infinitive: P, 8; Q, 11; C (first 50 nouvelles), 23.

Reflexive *me, te, se*, with the gerund: P, 1 (140, *en s'excusant*, in chapter-heading⁸); Q, 2 (61, *en se gratant la teste*; 120, *en se merencoliant*); C, 1.

Reflexive *moi, toi, soi*, with the infinitive: P, 38; Q, 16; C (first 50 nouvelles), 23.

Reflexive *moi, toi, soi*, with the gerund: P, 10; Q, 3; C, 5.

Reflexive *eux* with the infinitive: P, 10; Q, 0; C, 4.

Reflexive *eux* with the gerund: P, 3; Q, 1; C, 0.

It will be seen that P has 61 examples of the tonic reflexives to 9 of the atonic; Q, 20 to 13; C, 32 to 24. No clearer

¹ Schmidt, 16.

² M.-L., § 378; Voll, 20, 21.

³ M.-L., § 722; Tobler, VB., II, 82–91.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für roman. Phil.*, v, 326. Deschamps (Voll, 13 ff.) keeps to the old usage.

⁵ Eder, 62–3.

⁶ Stimming, 492.

⁷ For C, see Schmidt, 17–19.

⁸ Probably not La Sale's, cf. Raynaud, *Romania*, xxxi, 531–32.

proof of the archaic character of P's syntax could be found. La Sale is fully as conservative as Chartier. P has furthermore one example of plural *soi*, also an archaic trait: ¹ 249, *avec luy quatre heraulx, pour le veoir et soy offrir à luy*.

With the non-reflexive pronouns, the conservative character of P is equally manifest:—

Non-reflexive *me, te*, with the infinitive: P, 1 (239, *de l'honneur qu'il vous a pleu me faire*); Q, 10; C (50 nouvelles), 4.

Non-reflexive *me, te*, with the gerund does not occur in any of the works.

Non-reflexive *moi, toi*, with the infinitive: P, 24; Q, 1; C, 17.

Non-reflexive *moi, toi*, with the gerund: P, 5; Q, 0; C, 1.

The resulting proportions of the employment of the tonic to the atonic forms of the pronouns, with the infinitive and gerund, are in P, 9:1; in Q, 1:1; in C, 2:1.

Tonic *soi*, referring to persons, was commonly used all through the M. F. period and in the seventeenth century.² The sole difference between our works that I have noted here is that *lui, elle*, with prepositions, referring to the subject, are somewhat more common in Q than in P or C. Examples: P, 19, *ma dame le fist à soy venir*; 159, *Saintré . . . de soy mesme fist response*; 92, 177, 201, 211, 222, etc.;—Q, 9, *la femme dist en soi mesmes*; 30, *tellement que tout de soy il sera dompté*; 19, 42, 43, 71, 105, etc. But, according to modern usage: P, 371, *adonc l'empereur les fist tous devant luy venir*; 395, etc.;—Q, 33, *il n'en fera ja rien pour lui*; 36, 44, 60, 82, etc.

The emphatic object-pronoun, repeating the atonic subject form (*je dis, moi*), appears first in the fourteenth century.³ Not many cases occur in the fifteenth. I have found no instances of this construction in P or Q, but in C Schmidt⁴ cites 12 examples.

¹ Deschamps has no example of plural *soi*: Voll, 17.

² Haase, 31–32, cf. Voll, 18.

³ Gessner, *Zur Lehre vom französischen Pronomen* (Berlin, 1873), I, 10.

⁴ Page 20.

One example of the atonic accusative in place of a dative is found in P: 185, *messire Enguerrant . . . haussa sa hache et le ferit tel coup*. Two instances are found in C:¹ none in Q.

The O. F. custom of omitting the subject pronouns was still not uncommon in the M. F. period.² An enumeration of the cases in the first 100 pages of P and Q gave the following results:—

	P.		Q.	
	EXPRESSED.	OMITTED.	EXPRESSED.	OMITTED.
<i>je</i>	192	68	414	39
<i>tu</i>	36	8	8	1
<i>il, elle</i>	329	110	926	114
neuter <i>il</i>	54	61	182	154
<i>nous</i>	20	10	24	1
<i>vous</i>	149	90	161	23
<i>ils, elles</i>	65	27	143	28

For the figures in C, see Schmidt, 21.

These figures give the following proportions of use to omission:—

<i>je</i> ,—	P, 3 : 1; Q, 11 : 1; C, 5 : 1.
<i>tu</i> ,—	P, 4½ : 1; Q, 8 : 1; C, —.
<i>Il, elle</i> ,—	P, 3 : 1; Q, 8 : 1; C, 2½ : 1.
neuter <i>il</i> ,—	P, 1 — : 1; Q, 1 + : 1; C, 1 : 1
<i>Nous</i> ,—	P, 2 : 1; Q, —; C, 3 : 1.
<i>vous</i> ,—	P, 1⅔ : 1; Q, 7 : 1; C, 2 : 1.
<i>ils, elles</i> ,—	P, 2 : 1; Q, 5 : 1; C, 2 : 1.

It will be seen that in this respect P and C are nearly alike, but that in Q the modern usage is much more predominant.

Omission of the accusative object, with a dative, was frequent in Old French, and subsisted till the seventeenth century.³ Examples of this construction are numerous in

¹ For C, see Schmidt, 21.

² Darmesteter, § 184, 185; Huguet, 344 ff.

³ M.-L., § 379; Haase, 5-6; Ebeling, note to *Auberée*, l. 655.

all three works.¹ P, 116, *puis fist faire le bracelet comme elle luy avoit commandé et puis vint à elle et luy monstra*; 14, 120, 191, 247, 384, etc. Q, 72, *sa femme cognoist bien qu'il y a quelque chose et se doubta de l'autre qui lui a dit*; 54, etc.

The accusative pronoun, without a following dative,² is also omitted six times in P: 60, *querez bon medecin de l'ame, ainsi que querriez pour la guarison du corps*; 130, *il envoya querir mes chevaulx et mener avecques les siens*; 209, 224, 345, 409, 220. No examples of this omission occur in Q, and but two in C.²

Omission of the neuter accusative *le*³ is common in each of the works: P, 51, *estre mocqué et farcé, ainsi comme d'autres ont esté*; 150, *plus suffisans que je ne suis*; 384, *qui fut seur, ne fut il mie*; 10, 20, 154, 189, 229, etc.;—Q, 11, *je fu bien mal de mon pere et suis encor*; 132, *il sera, dorenavant, plus subget qu'il ne fust oncques*. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 22.

The pleonastic subject pronoun, repeating a subject already expressed, is common in P and C:⁴ P, 175, *alors Saintré soy inclinant le tres bel ruby il print*; 65, *les gens qui ne cherchent monter trop hault, et sont contens de raison, ilz sont benoistz*; 26, *quiconques le fait aultrement, il est de bien faire lassez*. I have found no examples of this omission in Q.

In like manner, a preceding or following noun-object is often repeated by a pronoun in P: 59, *je vous commande que les sermons et les services de sainte Eglise, quant vous povez, les oyez*; 73, *dont à plusieurs, ce long parler . . . leur ennuyoit*; 330, 337, 364. This is much less common in Q and C; the latter⁵ has only two examples. For Q, note: 37, *il a doubté que elle le die à ses amis, qu'il die mal d'eulx*. Here P is somewhat more modern than Q or C.

¹ For C, see Schmidt, 21.

² Cf. Ebeling, *loc. cit.*, Mätzner, *Syntax*, II, 34.

³ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 105.

⁴ Schmidt, 22.

⁵ Schmidt, 22.

The interrogative pleonastic construction¹ (*Jean, vient-il ?*) was not firmly established till the seventeenth century. Two examples of it are found in P : 368, *Belle Cousine, vient elle ?* ; 407, *les oreilles, monseigneur de Saintré, vous cornioient elles ?*. Four cases occur in C, none in Q.

The atonic subject pronoun is used as the antecedent of a relative : P, 335, *il en devoit tres grièvement estre pugny qui le fait aultrement* ; 404, 407. This construction was common in the whole Middle French period.² Two examples are found in C,³ none in Q.

Pronominal *en*, referring to persons, is used in all of the works much more freely than at present, as was the case in the older language.⁴ Q moreover has one example of *en* referring to the second person : 49, *je vous prie que vous me dites si elle vous parla oncques puis de moy. Par ma foy, dist la chamberiere, elle n'en dit que tout bien*. Pleonastic *en* is also found in all three works : P, 11, *dont le peuple de Rome en eut grant soulas et joye* ; 16 ; 21 ; 44, *tellement que de son bien, de son honneur, et de tout son avancement elle en sera joyeuse* ; 63, 87, 199, 203, etc. It is very common in P. Q, 125, *il y en a aucunes d'elles*. It is very rare in Q, and C⁵ has only two examples.

On the other hand, *en* is omitted, contrary to modern usage, in P, 88, *puis que ainsi est* ; 301, *les Sarrazins estoient en grant nombre de Turcz et infidelles, plus qu'on n'avoit veu depuis le temps de Mahomet* ; 321, 404 ;—Q, 3, *et va tant à l'environ de la dicte nasse qu'il trouve l'entrée* ; 41, *si ainsi est*. No cases for C are given by Schmidt.

Pronominal *y*, referring to persons,⁶ is found also : P, 77, *je croy, Saintré, que vous avez à voz recepveurs compté. Nostre*

¹ Cf. Darmesteter-Sudre, § 391. Voll, 23, shows that it is unknown to Deschamps.

² Haase, V. and J., 22 ; Voll, 27, 29.

³ Schmidt, 22.

⁴ Haase, 23 ; Voll, 34.

⁵ Schmidt, 23.

⁶ Cf. Haase, 26–27.

*maistre, dist il, c'est ma dame ma mere qui y a doncques compté ; 396 ;—Q, 73, ainsi se gouverne la dame si sagement que, Dieu mercy, son mary n'y trouvera ja faulte ; 113. C has seven instances.¹ Pleonastic *y* is found : Q, 101, *sans y penser à nul mal ;—twice in C, never in P.**

In regard to the position on the object pronouns, C is more faithful to the O. F. usage² than P or Q, the latter being again most modern. C³ has but one example of the modern order, to four in P and six in Q : P, 17, *et ainsi me le promettez ; 24, ne vous le disoie je pas ; 72, 396 ;—Q, 9, vous me le direz ; 50, qui vous les a baillez ; 25, 53, 73, 130. Q has about twenty examples of the original order (the proportion is thus 3 : 1), while in P the excess is very great. Q has also five examples of the modern word-order with *y* and *en* : 101, *il y en a ; 96, 111, 112, 115 ;—while there are no instances at all in P or C.**

THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

The tonic form of the possessives, with the definite article, continued to be used adjectively through the sixteenth century.⁴ The construction was not, however, much affected by fifteenth century writers⁵ and is found in C alone,⁶ in the formula *la sienne merci*. No examples occur in P or Q. With the indefinite article, however, the tonic possessives appear eight times in C,⁷ twice in Q (*ung sien amy ; 73, ung mien amy*), but never in P. As this usage lingered late, and is still permissible in familiar speech, it is evident that no conclusion as to age can be drawn from this distinction.

The tonic possessive is not found joined to another pro-

¹ Schmidt, 24.

² M.-L., § 749.

³ Schmidt, 24-25.

⁴ Darmesteter, § 190 ; Huguet, 66 ff.

⁵ For Chartier, cf. Eder, 66 ; for Commynes, Toennies, 58.

⁶ Schmidt, 25.

⁷ Schmidt, 24-25.

noun in any of the works. The atonic form is however joined to a demonstrative pronoun in C¹ and in P: 40, *ceste leur gloire*; 111, *à ce vostre commandement*; 148, 353;—but never in Q. Moreover, in P alone it is found twice joined to a relative: 151, *desquelles voz armes . . . la royne, les dames et damoyselles . . . en ont telle joye*; 266, *auquel vostre voloir je obeyray*. In Q it appears united to an indefinite pronoun, once (56, *aucun son amy*), and there are five similar examples in C,¹ but none in P.

In the predicate, the tonic form without the article is found six times in P: 15, *celle qui plus desirez à estre sien*; 101, *tellement que tous sont siens*; 190, 401, 402, 406. This construction is not found in Q, but is frequent in C. With the article, the tonic form appears in the predicate once each in P and Q: P, 15, *quelle contenance est la vostre*;—Q, 73, *si n'est la vostre*;—never in C. On the other hand, the modern locution *c'est à moi* is found five times in C,² never in Q, and once (a rather doubtful case) in P: 76, *nous sommes tous à luy*.

The method of replacing the possessive by *de* with a personal pronoun³ is found in all three works: P, 55, *le commandement et garde de l'ame et du corps de vous*; 76, *pour l'amour de luy*; 152, 191, 200, 205, 319, 363, 397, 404. In Q, it is not common; I have noted only two examples: 26, *pour l'amour de moy*; 109, *le pource corps de luy n'aura jamés repoux*.

The possessive pronouns were still commonly employed in the fifteenth century with parts of the body, in cases where the modern language prefers the article. Here P is much more archaic than Q or C, having fifteen examples, in the first 200 pages, of such nouns with the possessive to five with the article, whereas Q has two with the possessive to eight

¹ Schmidt, 25.² Schmidt, 26.³ Cf. Stimming, 493; Voll, 20.

with the article, and in C only six instances with the possessive are found. In fact P shows a great fondness for a pleonastic possessive,¹ not shared by the other works; it employs the possessive with the dative of the personal pronoun: 11, *qui lui baillèrent en sa main une branche de lorier*; 48, 73, 360, 387, 427;—with a relative à qui or dont: 78, *ma dame, à qui ses yeulx ne cessoient de le regarder*; 211, *ce chevalier poullain, dont ses armes sont publiées*; 111, 138, 339;—or even with a de-phrase containing a noun: 204, *quant Saintré apperceut de ma dame son signal*; 23, *j'ay oy de vous toutes voz opinions*; 384, *Saintré, qui oyt² de ma dame sa tres cruelle responce*. In Q such cases are much rarer, being found only with lui or à qui: 33, *on lui abrege ses jours*; 48, *un jeune gallant, à qui elle tient son estat*; 91, 95, 130. The pleonasm seems to be unknown to C.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

The New French distinction between the *ille-* and *iste-* forms of the demonstrative was well developed as early as Joinville,³ and but few traces of the older usage appear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴ In this case another noteworthy difference is found to exist among the three works. In P I have noted seven examples of pronominal *cest* (all of them feminine) to four in C⁵ and one in Q: P, 210, *celles et cestes qui seroient faictes seroyent tenues pour parfaites*; 217, *et la raison est ceste*; 223, *cestes et celles*; 225; 260, *le roy . . . encores à ceste le requist*; 362;

¹ For all the following cases in O. F., cf. Tobler, *VB.*, II, 78 ff.

² Possibly *de*, in these last sentences, is not really possessive. It may be used as in the O. F. construction *oyez de aucun*; cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 17 ff.

³ Haase, V. and J., 31 ff.

⁴ Huguet, 83 ff.; Haase, 46 ff.

⁵ Schmidt, 27.

385, *savez vous autre chanson que ceste*;—Q, 136, *car j'ay plus belle matiere de le faire que cette-cy n'est*.¹

The form *cestui*, not uncommon in early sixteenth century writers, is found six times in P (five times as pronoun, once as adjective); it occurs only once (adjective) in C and never in Q: P, 10, *j'amoye tant cestuy que je ne pourrois jamais nul aultre tant soit peu amer*; 128, *sur cestuy* (neuter); 175, *vrayment cestuy est bien la fleur de tous les jeunes gentils hommes*; 188; 191; 63, *or advise, mon amy, de cestuy Senegue*. It will be seen that P has in all twelve examples of pronominal *iste*-forms, to four in C and one in Q. In this respect, P is more archaic than Deschamps² or even Joinville;³ other writers however, like Rustebuef⁴ and Chartier,⁵ employ the *iste*-forms more frequently.

Another archaic trait in P is the constant use of the *ille*-forms as adjectives. I have counted in P more than eighty examples of adjectival *celui*, etc., while Q contains only fourteen and C⁶ eighteen: P, 6, *celuy jouvencel*; 10, *celles vefves*; 17, *pour celle fois*; 119, *à icelle feste*; 210, *iceluy prix*, etc.;—Q, 3, *celuy poisson*; 5, *celles quinze joyes*; 41, *celle avarice*; 3, *icelles fosses*; 56, *ycelle robe*; etc. In this respect P shows about the same syntactical relations as Deschamps,⁷ while Q and C agree substantially with Rabelais.⁸

The *ille*-forms are frequently employed in P absolutely, in all positions in the sentence, without being accompanied by *ci* or *là*. This usage, rare in the sixteenth century⁹ and in Commynes,¹⁰ is also rare in Q and C. In Q the forms with

¹ Schmidt's "demonstrativum" *acquest* (C, I, 176) is not a pronoun, but the substantive *acquêt*, as the context clearly shows.

² Bode, 34.

³ Haase, V. and J., 31.

⁴ Schumacher, *Zur Syntax Rustebuefs* (Kiel, 1881), p. 18.

⁵ Eder, 72.

⁶ Schmidt, 28.

⁷ Bode, 36.

⁸ Huguet, 94 ff.

⁹ Cf. Huguet, 104.

¹⁰ Toennies, 60.

i- are the only ones used absolutely : 2, *les seigneurs d'icelles vouloient tollir franchise à leurs subjetz* ; 7, *faire ballades, icelles chanter* ; 33, 58, 135 (5 examples in all). Schmidt cites no examples of this construction in C ; I have however found the following : 1, 24, *je seroye celui* ; 1, 138, *vint ceste matiere à la congnoissance du maistre et de la maistresse des deux amans, et d'iceulx s'expandit et saillit en audience du pere et de la mere de Katherine*. In P, however, I have noted ten examples of *celui* and three of *icellui* : 51, *lors celle lui dit* ; 210 ; 225 ; 253 ; 25, *devez vous celles tant servir* ; 38, *je vous prie que soyez de ceulx* ; 71 ; 166 ; 264 ; 119, *par l'espace d'un an, se dedans icelluy vous ne trouvez chevalier* ; 187 ; 365.

The indefinite use of the absolute demonstratives (*comme celui qui, il n'y a pas celui qui*)¹ is found in all the works, very frequently in P and C,² less often in Q ; P, 80, *en la cour n'avoit celluy ne celle qui ne le jugeast une fois estre homme de bien* ; 98, 141, 143, 167, 197, etc. ; 14, *quant il oy parler de dame par amours, comme celui qui oneques ne l'avoit empensé, les yeulx lui lermoyent* ; 20, 23, 189, 347, etc. ;—Q, 130, *et n'y a celle qui ne die de tres bonnes raisons* ; 85, *son filzouldra prendre le gouvernement de soy comme celui à qui sa mort tarde* (only two examples).

The pronoun *celui* could be omitted in Old French before *de*, and even in the seventeenth century.³ This omission is not uncommon in P and Q : P, 95, *pour acquerir la grace de Dieu et puis de toutes gens* ; 109, *à ce pend largement de vostre honneur et ceulx qui aultrement le font* ; Q, 6, *considerons la repugnance qui est en leur entendement et le mien et de plusieurs autres*, etc. Schmidt cites no examples from C, but several are to be found : 1, 114, *elle compta tout au long*

¹ Cf. Darmesteter-Sudre, § 406, III ; Haase, § 26.

² Schmidt, 28.

³ Tobler, *VB.*, I, 111 ; Haase, 52 ; Stimming, 494 ; Huguet, 375.

la fasson et maniers de sa maladie, comme de son dormir, de boire et de manger.

P has also several examples of the demonstrative adjective *ce* employed with the force of the article, as in O. F.:¹ 102, *pour plus de familiarité, vous en porterez une à ceste feste de Noel*; 112; 246; 390, *s'il fait froit, ilz s'en vont à ces poiles d'Allemagne, se rigolent avecques ces fillettes tout l'yver*, etc. This usage persisted till the seventeenth century.²

Neutre *ce*, in the fifteenth century, was still commonly employed as subject or object without a following relative.³ Examples are found on almost every page, nor does there seem to be any perceptible difference among the three works in this respect. On the other hand, the accented forms *ceci*, *cela*, occur but sparingly in P and Q, more commonly in C. To be precise, P contains eight examples of these forms, Q six, while C⁴ has twenty-two, a difference hardly due to chance: P, 14, *que sera cecy*; 402, *cela, dist damp Abbez, et je le vous prometz*; 14, 69, 72, 85, 388, 396;—Q, 39, *s'il n'y avoit que cela*; 55, *qu'est ce cy*; 73, 74, 101, 123.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

The use of absolute *qui*, without an antecedent, was very widely spread in Old and Middle French and asserted itself still in the seventeenth century.⁵ This *qui* is common in all three works, being especially frequent in clauses with a conditional value. I have observed no differences in respect to this usage: P, 384, *qui bien y querroit, en vous peu s'en trouveroit*; 396, *qui fut seur, ne fut il mye*; etc.;—Q, 27, *qui doit venir de vos commeres aujourd'huy, il fault penser qu'elles soyent bien ayses*, etc.

¹ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 409.

² Haase, 44.

³ Darmesteter-Sudre, §§ 405-408.

⁴ Schmidt, 29.

⁵ M.-L., § 629; Haase, 66 ff.

I have found no case of the O. F. use of *qui* as object.¹ Of *qui*, referring to things, only the following doubtful example is found: P, 326, *la partie à qui Dieu donnera du pire*. Here *partie* contains a personal idea.

Que, as a personal subject form, occurs in each, most frequently in C, which has ten examples.² The instances in P, three in all, are rather uncertain: 44, *combien n'en ouy jamais parler de nulle que* (possibly the conjunction) *telle fut*; 140, *le matin ensuivant . . . que* (very likely the relative adverb) *le terme estoit de partir*; 259, *peu de tems avant que les Venissiens l'eussent conquis, que* (possibly the modal conjunction, = *de façon que*) *puis en prison le firent mourir*. Q has one undoubted case: 14, *par Dieu que le monde fist*. The difference between C and P-Q is noteworthy, but examples of this use of *que* are still frequent in *Jehan de Paris* and *Rabelais*.³

Traces of the old neuter nominative *que*⁴ also occur: P, 157, *voulez que je parface ce que en son veu contient*; 217, *adviengne de vous ce que à Dieu plaira*; 329; 374;—Q, 28, *se j'avoye ou X ou XII enfans, que ja ne sera, si Dieu plaist*; 82, *parler de tout ce que lui est advenu*. Six examples in C.

When referring to a whole clause, the modern *ce qui*, *ce que*, became the fixed usage only in the sixteenth century.⁵ Of the subject forms, C⁶ has only one example of *ce qui* in the first 50 *nouvelles*, P three (182, 399, 413), Q none. For the object forms, the relations are reversed. P contains twelve examples of *ce que* to four of *que* (52, 63, 134, 309), while C⁶ has fifteen of *ce que* to one of *que*. In Q examples of either form are lacking.

¹ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 410.

² Schmidt, 30.

³ Huguet, 117.

⁴ M.-L., § 614; Voll, 37.

⁵ M.-L., § 619; Haase, *Garnier*, 21.

⁶ Schmidt, 31.

Quoi, referring to a definite antecedent,¹ occurs twice in P: 183, *aultres diabolicques operations de mal engin, pour quoy* (plural) *l'ung contre l'autre ne puissent offendre ne deffendre*; 301, *pour le grant desbatement en quoy elle est*;—twice in Q: 119, *il a ung tres mauvais desboit, pour cause du fust en quoy il est*; ² 127, *puis prend son coutel de quoy il tranche*;—five times in C.³ Referring to indefinite *chose*, it is found once in P (375), once in Q (54), once in C.³

With the prepositions *de*, *par*, and *pour*, *quoi* forms conjunctions,⁴ which are more common in P and Q than in C. Thus we find *de quoi*: P. 19, 375; Q. 54, 74;—*par quoi*: P. 130, 149, 154, 211, 248; Q. 56, 125;—*pour quoi* (= *c'est pourquoi*): P. 92, 334; Q. 45. C has but one example each of *par quoi* and *pour quoi*. It will be seen that P has nine instances of indefinite *quoi* with prepositions, to five in Q and two in C.

Lequel, the frequent employment of which was a marked feature of M. F. syntax,⁵ is very common in each. The only difference in usage which I have noted is that adjectival *lequel*, very common in P and C, occurs only four times in Q: 19, 19, 42, 86.

The relative adverb *que* is found in P, as in O. F., extensively employed to express various relations where N. F. prefers a relative with a preposition: ⁶ 72, *chausses qui seront toutes brodées de couleur et devise que la bourse est*; 76; 87, *au plus matin qu'il fut levé*; 91, 106, 173, 194, 242, 244, etc. Q and C⁷ have each only two examples of this construction: Q, 42, *et se met en lieu que, s'il va riens*

¹ M.-L., § 614; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 411; Voll, 47.

² Sentence omitted in the *editio princeps*.

³ Schmidt, 32.

⁴ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 160 ff.

⁵ M.-L., § 621; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 412.

⁶ M.-L., § 628; Tobler, *VB.*, I, 123; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 415.

⁷ Schmidt, 33.

en la meson, il le sçaura bien; 91, *en la liberté que sont les autres*.

The relative adverb *dont*,¹ in its original local function, is common in P and C, less so in Q, which has only three examples: P, 28, *regarde dont tu viens et où tu vas*; 78, *demanda à l'escuyer dont il venoit*; 302, *et là est le mont de Liban, dont sault le fleuve de Jourdain*; 66, 88, 102, 111, 182, etc.;—Q, 31, *et ne se esmoient point dont il vient*; 40, 89. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 34.

Dont, in causal function,¹ is extremely frequent in P. It becomes often a mere conjunction, binding two sentences together in a loose way, the causal connection being indicated by *par ce* or *par ainsi* following. This usage is one of the most characteristic features of P's style and is much less frequent in Q and C. Examples: P, 15, *le petit Saintré, qui n'avoit senty ne gousté des amoureux desirs nullement, dont par ce avoit perdu contenance, . . . sans mot parler fut longuement*; 154, *et sur ce prent congié. Dont, pour priere nulle, Saintré ne vout demourer de disner*; 215, *et en ce temps ne tarda guieres que la nouvelle du trespas de son pere luy vint. Dont par ainsi il fut seigneur de Saintré*; 268, 36, 122, 172, 187, 259, etc.;—Q, 11, *je ne vouloie que vous; dont je fu bien mal de Monseigneur mon pere, et suis encor, dont je me doy bien hair*; 14, *il loue Dieu en son courage, dont il lui donna ung si riche joyau comme elle est*; 15, 19, 23, 61, 74.

The relative adverb *où*, till the seventeenth century, could refer to persons.² C has five examples of this construction,³ Q has two: 112, *elle se rémarie à ung aultre, où elle prent son plesir*; 130. No cases are found in P. On the other

¹ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 160, III, 38 ff. The usage is likewise very frequent in Deschamps, cf. Voll, 45.

² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 414; Haase, 81.

³ Schmidt, 34; cf. also Voll, 48.

hand, neuter où, without an antecedent and referring to a whole clause, occurs only in P: 204, *lors commencerent l'ung à l'autre festoyer, où furent mains baisiers donnés et mains rendus*; 322, *en laquelle retourner ne povoient, se la royne ne dormist avecques le roy, où ilz s'employèrent toutes fois que au roy plaisoit*. No similar cases are found in Q or C.

THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

Of the neuter nominative *qui*,¹ but one example is found in P: 337, *Saintré, qui vous a esmeu de ceste emprinse faire sans mon congié?* There is one similar example in C,² but none in Q. The periphrases *qu'est-ce qui* and *qu'est-ce que* are lacking in all three works.

Qui, subject, occurs once in P with the force of modern *quel*:³ 142, *qui est le cueur de femme qui se porroit tenir de plorer*. Also *quel* is used once by P for modern *lequel*: 402, *mais d'une chose vous prie, que pour ma premiere requeste ne m'esconduisiez*. *Et quelle, dist damp Abbez*.

In respect to the employment of the neuter forms in indirect questions, C for the first time in this investigation, shows itself as the most archaic of the three.⁴ Namely, P contains two examples of the neuter nominative *ce qui* (230, 420), Q six (21, 34, 45, 82, 97, 135), but neither has an example of *qui*. C⁵ has twelve examples of *ce qui* to six of *qui*. In respect to the accusative forms, P contains 24 examples of *que* to 49 of *ce que*; Q, 32 of *que* to 41 of *ce que*; but C,⁵ 53 of *que* to 29 of *ce que*.

Neuter *quelle chose* (= *que, ce que*) is found in P, 32, 69, etc., and in C:⁶ not in Q. But this is probably fortuitous.

¹ M.-L., § 515, Darmesteter, § 167.

² Schmidt, 35.

³ M.-L., § 517; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 418.

⁴ Haase, *V. und J.*, 54.

⁵ In *nouvelles* XI-L; Schmidt, 36.

⁶ Schmidt, 36.

A distinctive feature of Q's syntax is the use of the neuter atonic form *que* in concessive phrases: ¹ 44, *que qu'en soit*; 54; 91; 98, *que que nul die*. *Que que* and *quoi que* were used interchangeably in Old French,² but I have been unable to find examples of the former later than the fourteenth century. There are no traces of *que que* in P or C.

THE INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

Aucun, substantive and adjective, was still positive in meaning in the fifteenth century.³ Numerous examples are found in each of these works. P has, moreover, two instances of *aucun* with *ne*, expressing the idea "no one," as in New French: 177, *mais pour priere nulle, aucun n'y voulut demourer*; 411, *le seigneur de Saintré ordonna à ses gens de bien garder l'huys que aucun n'entrast*. Q and C are ignorant of this usage. Furthermore, C has seven examples of substantive *aucun*, always in the plural, with the article,⁴ a construction unknown to P and Q. *D'aucuns*, with participle *de*, is peculiar to P: 391, 419.

The modern positive form, *quelqu'un*, is found only in C,⁵ which contains three examples.

Aucun as adjective has yielded much more ground to *quelque* in C than in P or Q. In P, I have counted only ten examples of purely indefinite *quelque*: 54, 106, 112, 112, 121, 146, 148, 325; and in Q four: 45, 78, 81, 94. *Aucun*, on the other hand, is very frequent in both. C,⁶ on the contrary, in *nouvelles* XI-L, has 16 examples of *quelque* to 38 of *aucun*.

¹ In the *editio princeps*, these phrases are either omitted or changed to *quoi que*.

² Cf. Johannssen, *Der Ausdruck des Concessivverhältnisses im Altfranzösischen* (Kiel, 1884), 18 ff; also Tobler, *VB.*, III, 3-4.

³ Eder, 85-86.

⁴ Also common in Chartier: Eder, 19; Schmidt, 37.

⁵ Schmidt, 37.

⁶ Schmidt, 37.

Peculiar to P is the adverbial use of *aucun* in the locution *aucun peu*: 192, *messire Enguerrant qui pour la dolleur de sa main se faisoit aucun peu habiller*; 251, *aucun peu blessé*; 381, *aucun peu repoussés*. Similarly the positive adverb *aucunement* is very common in P (79, 156, 342, etc.), while only one example has been observed in Q (19), and none in C.

Chacun, adjective, is employed in about equal numbers in each of the works. Employed as a substantive with the indefinite article,¹ it occurs twice in P: 206, *ains à ung chascun plus doulx et agreable se monstroït tous les jours*; 317, *le roy et la royne, messeigneurs, les dames et damoiselles et ung chascun*;—once in Q: 85, *comme ung chascun doit faire*;—and once in C.²

Nul, positive, is frequent in each of the works. In P, however, negative *nul* is employed without the particle *ne*: 56, *nul fust plaisant à Dieu*; 174, *nul au monde pourroit mieulx faire*; 212; etc. This use of *nul*,³ with a complete negative force, does not occur in Q or C.

The old dative form *nullui* is also found in P, but not in the other works. It is employed not only as object of a preposition: 35, *homme de telle condition ne peult estre de nully aymé* (cf. 48, 150, 182), but also as the object or predicate of verbs: 94, *sans desservir nully*; 385, *est il nully, qui vous ay dit le contraire*; 429. The form is found as late as Rabelais, the *Heptameron*, and Marot.⁴ Contrariwise, the synonymous *nesun* occurs in C,⁵ but not in P or Q.

Rien, in its original signification as a positive feminine substantive, occurs three times in C,⁵ but never in P or Q.

Chose, as an indefinite pronoun, is about equally numerous in all three works. In C, however, it is fully established as

¹ A construction common in the sixteenth century: Darmesteter, § 173.

² II, p. 102.

³ Still found in Rabelais: Huguet, 160.

⁴ Huguet, 147-48.

⁵ Schmidt, 39.

a neuter,¹ while in P and Q it retains its original gender, as is shown in Q, 72, *il ne croiroit jamés chouse qui lui fust dite*. Furthermore, the modern *quelque chose* is found but once in P (135), twice in Q (56, 72), while it is frequent in C.¹

The numeral *un* appears as an indefinite (= *quelqu'un*), as in Old French, in P: 100, *puis tout secrettement par ung de sa chambre me fist donner cent LX escuz*; 125, 154, 410. C has three examples of this usage,¹ but Q has none. It recurs, however, commonly in Commynes and in early sixteenth century writers.²

Autrui, in its original dative function,³ without a preposition, is found twice in P: 55, *sy ne convoiteras point l'autrui*; ⁴ 133, *vous taillez larges courroyes d'autrui cuir*. In Q the word occurs but once, in its modern function, nor are any examples of the original usage found in C.⁵

The modern *la plupart* is common in C,⁵ but is not found in P or Q, which replace it in general by *la plus grant partie*: P, 167, 301; Q, 112, etc. P has also one example of the old form, *les plusieurs*: 69, *dont ne sceivent les plusieurs quelle chose ilz doivent prendre*.

Adjectival *quant*⁶ (= *combien de*) is found eight times in C,⁷ never in P. In Q it occurs only in the locution *quant que* (= *ce que*): 73, *j'en donne au deable tout quant que il en a dessoubz mes mains*; 75, 89, 109, 121, 132. C⁷ has likewise one example of adjectival *tant*,⁸ not found in P or Q.

*Autel*⁹ is also peculiar to C.

*Trestout*⁹ occurs in C and P (4, 161, etc.), never in Q.

Beaucoup, which appeared first in the fourteenth century,¹⁰

¹ Schmidt, 39.

² Stimming, 496; Huguet, 155.

³ Cf. Haase, *V. und J.*, 37.

⁴ This locution occurs in sixteenth century writers: Darmesteter, § 172.

⁵ Schmidt, 40.

⁶ Diez, 828.

⁷ Schmidt, 40.

⁸ Diez, 828.

⁹ Schmidt, 41.

¹⁰ Cf. Gessner, *op. cit.*, II, 28.

is very frequent in C, but is found only twice in P (50, 91), and never in Q.¹ In both the latter works, it is replaced by adverbial *moult* or adjectival *maint*.

The extended use of *quelconque* is peculiar to P, which employs it as an indefinite adjective (= *n'importe quel*) or as a concessive (= *quelque*):² 200, *à roy, ne à royne, ne à quelconques autres*; 369, *luy deffend que à quelconques personnes n'en dye riens*; 83, *de quelconques menasses, parolles rigoureuses, que devant mes femmes ne ailleurs je vous dye*; 267, *pour quelconque excusation que j'aye faicte*; 286; 374.

Concessive *quiconque*, common in the sixteenth century,³ is found only once, in Q: 22, *et se tiennent bien aises, quiconques ait la paine de le querir*.

THE VERB.

A. Class and Voice.

The following list shows the chief differences in the construction and regimen of verbs, in the three works. Variations from N. F. usage have alone been noted.⁴

(a) Impersonal verbs, no longer in use:

afferir, P, 1 (412); Q, 0; C, 1.

chaloir, P, 1 (82); Q, 3 (32, 62, 131); C, 2.

douloir, P, 1 (60); Q, 1 (86); C, 0; also reflexive, P, 238; Q, 134.

esecheoir, *mescheoir*, only in C.

(b) Transitive or intransitive verbs, with changed construction in N. F.

accroistre qc., P, 5 (48, 189, 200, 241, 325); Q, 1 (82); C, 1.

¹ In the *editio princeps* it often replaces *maint* or *moult* of the MSS.

² For similar constructions in O. F., cf. Johannssen, *op. cit.*, 28 ff, who cites no examples later than the fourteenth century.

³ Huguet, 155.

⁴ The figures indicate the number of examples in each work; those in parentheses, the page. For the examples in C, cf. Schmidt, 43-45. Cf. similar lists given by Bode, 46 ff.; Eder, 107 ff.; Huguet, 164 ff.

aider à qu., P, 7 (45, 82, 93, 111, 217, 234, 387); Q, 3 (121, 132, 132); C, 0.
approcher qu., P, 1 (330); Q, 0; C, 3; more commonly in P and Q *s'approcher de qu.* (P, 175, 261, etc.; Q, 53, 63).

changer qc., P, 5 (172, *s'en alla en sa loge pour changer destrier*; 173, 209, 216, 318); Q, 0; C, 0.

consentir qc., P, 4 (36, 226, 248, 258); Q, 1 (132); C, 1.

deviser qc.,¹ P, 5 (80, 126, 145, 229, 397); Q, 1 (55); C, 0.

douter qc.,² P, 5 (22, *doubtant le reffuz*; 114, 122, 125, 216); Q, 0; C, 0.

desmarcher qu., P, 2 (261, 376); Q, 0; C, 0.

esloigner qc.,³ P, 0; Q, 0; C, 4.

*ensuivre*⁴ *qu.*, *qc.*, P, 5 (8, 27, 49, 57, 108); Q, 0; C, 0.

esjoir qc., P, 1 (101, *les bonnes cheres esjouissent, lient et emprisonnent les cueurs*); Q, 0; C, 0.

hucher qu., P, 0; Q, 0; C, 3.

obeïr qu., P⁵, 3 (37, *les sept dons du saint esperit, vous devez croire et obeyr*; 98, 331); Q, 0 (*but obeïr à*, 111); C, 0.

partir qc., P, 3 (67, *lui et ses biens seront partis*; 211, *il vous partira de l'honneur*; 252); Q, 0; C, 0.

prier à qu., P, 16 (50, 73, 175, 182, etc.); Q, 2 (75, 124).

prier qu., P, 7; Q, 7; Schmidt gives no examples of *prier* in either construction.

sourdre qu., P, 1 (231, *ma dame, avec les autres dames, me vindrent sourdre*); Q, 0; C, 1.

supplier à qu., P, 5 (123, 248, 345, 372, 428); Q, 0; C, 0.

(c) Reflexive verbs no longer used as such :

s'apparoistre, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

s'arriver, personal, P, 1 (417, *quant onques s'estoient là arrivez*); Q, 0; C, 0.

se cesser, P, 1 (229); Q, 0; C, 1.

se commencer, P, 3 (4, 54, 124); Q, 0; C, 0.

se consentir, P, 2 (349, 387); Q, 0; C, 0.

se continuer, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

s'en courir, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

se desjeuner, P, 1 (303); Q, 0; C, 0.

se disner, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 1.

se dormir, P, 1 (321); Q, 0; C, 1.

se farcer, P, 1 (320); Q, 0; C, 2.

se feindre, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

se loger, P, 2 (145, 312); Q, 0 (always neuter); C, 3.

se partir, P, 10 (18, 93, 150, etc.); Q, 2 (71, 112); C, 5.

¹ With force of *s'entretenir de qc.*

² I. e., *craindre*.

³ I. e., *s'éloigner de qc.*

⁴ Also found with the form *ensieuvir*.

⁵ Has also *obeïr à*, 119.

se penser, P, 5 (203, 231, 308, 360, 387); Q, 1 (71); C, 2; reflexive *s'appenser* is frequent in P (12, 24, 79, etc.), but has not been noted in Q or C.

se prendre garde, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

se revenir, P, 0; Q, 1 (82); C, 0.

se sourdre, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

se tempester, P, 0; Q, 1 (56); C, 0.

s'en venir, P, 0; Q, 4 (124, 128, 130, 131); C, 6.

A marked feature of O. F. syntax is the faculty of omitting the reflexive pronoun with the infinitive, gerund and participle,¹ a trait still retained in N. F. after the verb *faire*. In P this omission is very common: *et sans dormir les convint lever*; 37; 87; 151; 160; 186, *il ne laissoit approucher de luy*; 193, *et s'en allerent en leurs loges desarmer et reposer*; 245, *qui s'en vont à saint Jacques, tres grandement louant du roy*; 309; 348, *il s'en alla laver au dressouer*; 379, *ilz estoient presque pasmez*; 384, 396, etc. This omission occurs even with *l'un l'autre*: 148, *alors luy et moy, tenant l'un l'autre par la main, nous agenouillames*; 176, *messire Enguerrant et Saintré vouldrent l'ung l'autre convoier*; 325. This trait is rare in Q; I have noted only three examples: 18, 27, 114. In C it has not been noticed by Schmidt, nor have I discovered any examples.²

The reflexive construction, for the passive,³ is more extended in P than in N. F., being used with a personal subject: 133, *nous devons nous ayder à un tel jeune escuyer*; *en verité, il se doibt bien aymer*. Note further 124, *les joustes qui se vouloient commencer*. Similar examples are not found in Q or C.

The impersonal form of the passive voice, replacing an active form with *on* or a personal subject, is frequent in P, less common in Q and C. The construction was found, how-

¹ M.-L., § 381; Haase, § 61. For examples in Deschamps, see Voll, 26.

² Commynes agrees with Q; the trait is very rare: cf. Stimming, 493.

³ M.-L., § 382.

ever, as late as the seventeenth century.¹ P, 22, *il luy doit estre pardonné*; 318, *ja n'y seroit chanté ne dances faictes*; 414, *accuse des villainies et mocqueries dont a esté cy devant parlé*;—Q, 17, *comme dit est*; 35, *le gallant vient ainsi comme ordonné lui est par Jehane*; 56, *lui a esté dit d'aucun son amy*.

Of the various periphrases with the gerund² our works show the following:—*Aller* + gerund: P, 261, *incontinent tira son espée, de laquelle à deux mains se va couvrant*; Q, 2, *et pource s'en allerent conquerant pays*; 15, *la dame va criant par la meson*;—C,³ one example. *Estre* + gerund: P, 58, *je ne suis point souvenant avoir leu*; 359, 409, 416;—Q, 32, *elles sont tousjours jouans et saillans*; 118;—C,² four examples.

The use of *faire* as *verbum vicarium*⁴ is about equally common in P and Q. The O. F. usage is fully preserved in both: P, 65, *la goulle tue plus de gens que les cousteaulx ne font*; 100; 141; 203; 222, *quant ma dame le veit, si lui sembla plus bel que oncques n'avoit fait*;—Q, 12; 22, *je me merveille bien, si font mes commeres*; 48, 68, 71, etc. This construction is not mentioned by Schmidt, but it appears in C frequently enough.

Examples of the employment of *estre* to form the compound tenses of the modal auxiliaries when a reflexive infinitive follows,⁵ appear in each work: P, 88, *puis que ainsi est, que de nulle de nous ne vous estes tant voulu fier*; 386, *ma tres redoubtée dame, qui tant s'est voulu incliner que de prendre la patience avec son pauvre moyne*;—Q, 126, *le meschant ne s'est peu tenir aujourd'hui de venir deux foix*.⁶ C has two examples with *savoir*, one with *pouvoir*.

¹ Haase, § 58.² M.-L., § 312-317.³ Schmidt, 66.⁴ Diez, 1068, 1084.⁵ M.-L., § 296; Tobler, VB., II, 37.⁶ Cf. also Q, 115: *en la nasse où ils estoient cuidé entrer*.

In C¹ three examples of the use of *avoir* to form the compound tenses of verbs of motion, *aller*, *entrer*, *arriver*, occur. No such cases are found in P or Q.

B. *Person and Number.*

In general, P keeps almost wholly to the O. F. usage, according to which the verb agrees with the subject nearest to it, and which permitted constructions *ad sensum* more freely than is allowed in N. F. With a preceding multiple subject, the verb is frequently in the singular: 24, *amours d'enfance et ignorance y ouvroit*; 25, *quel bien, quel prouffit, quel honneur vous en peult advenir*; 207, *leur amour et estat dura*; 341, 356, etc. A long multiple subject, consisting of proper names, is frequently summed up by *chascun*; in this case the verb agrees with the latter:² 112, *monseigneur, ma dame et messeigneurs mes beaulx oncles de Berry et Bourgogne et autres seigneurs et dames de nostre sang, chascun vous aydera*; 291, *des grants regrets que le roy et la royne, messeigneurs, dames et damoysselles et chascun fait d'eulx*; 142, *mesdits seigneurs, qui tres bonnes parolles chascun luy dist*. On the other hand, when *chascun* is followed by partitive *de* with a plural noun, the verb is often plural: 234, *chascun des seigneurs ducs leur baillèrent leurs lances*.

None of these licenses is found in Q. In C, Schmidt³ cites five examples of a singular verb following a multiple subject, but in each case the subject nouns are nearly synonymous, a construction still permissible.⁴

When the verb precedes a multiple subject, it is regularly singular in P, as in O. F.:⁵ 44, *si veult nature, droit et raison*; 112, *là où estoit nostre Dame et son enfant*; 353, *là*

¹ Schmidt, 67.

² M.-L., § 343-44; Tobler, *VB.*, I, 230 ff.; Mätzner, 380.

³ Page 47.

⁴ Mätzner, 380.

⁵ Haase, *V. und J.*, 79.

fut le vin et les espices apareillés; 354, *où estoit le dressouer et les tables mises*; 357, *illec fut damp Abbez et les prieurs remercier ma dame*. Q has again no example of this construction, and C¹ has but two. The present rule is predominant in both.

With a collective noun as subject, P has frequently a plural verb, as in O. F.² So always with *la plus grant partie*: 167, *la plus grant partie prient Dieu qu'il luy feust en ayde*; 301, 302. Also with other collectives: 308, *le grant trait des canons et coulevrines . . . grandement les endommageoient*; 311, *la grant bataille des Chrestiens virent la derniere bataille des Turcs*; 311, *l'arriere-garde frapperent au travers*; 349, *dont toute la compaignie jaçoit ce qu'ilz fussent bien desjeunez, si en furent ilz tres joyeux*. Q has a single example with *la plus grant partie*: 112, *il y en a la plus grant partie qui ne se povent partir de jouste leurs femmes*. C³ has two examples of the syllepsis *compaignie—ilz*, otherwise both follow the modern rule.

Constructions *ad sensum* are also frequent in P. Thus when a prepositional phrase denoting accompaniment is joined to the subject,⁴ the verb is in the plural: 138, *vostre dueil, allié du mien, ont tant assailly et combatu mon cuer*; 140, *Saintré, atout sa compaignie, vindrent prendre congié du roy*; 231, *ma dame, avec les autres dames, me vindrent sourdre*. A further peculiarity of P's syntax is the fact that with *l'un à l'autre*, etc., the verb is always plural, no matter whether the subject precedes or follows: 185, *l'ung contre l'autre desmarcherent et combatirent*; 185, *lors commencerent l'ung sur l'autre à ferir*; 193, *lors prindrent congié l'ung de l'autre*; 204, *lors commencerent l'ung à l'autre festoyer*;

¹Schmidt, 47. In Commynes, however, the singular is frequent. Cf. Stimming, 195.

²Diez, 981; Haase, *V. und J.*, 79.

³Schmidt, 45.

⁴M.-L., § 347; Haase, 159.

232; 394, *lors l'ung devant l'autre furent*, etc. None of these peculiar constructions is found in Q or C. With collectives P's usage agrees with that of Chartier.¹

In relative sentences, after *un de* + a plural noun, the verb is regularly in the singular² in Q and C.³ Q, 89, *une des grans douleurs qui soit sur terre*; 130, 131. No examples occur in P.

Attraction of the relative to the subject of the preceding clause⁴ is found in P: 285, *moy qui suis celui qui tant vous ay aymée*;—Q, 65, *si je fusse femme qui me gouvernasse mauvesement*. C⁵ has three similar examples. A more violent attraction occurs in P: 325, *je vueil estre de tous qui cy sommes le maindre*.

A different violation of the modern rule for agreement in a relative clause occurs in P:⁶ 24, *icy n'a que vous et moy qui nous peust ouyr*; 52, *cy n'a que vous et moy qui nous puisse ouyr*. No such cases are found in Q or C.

Agreement with the logical subject in impersonal constructions,⁷ where N. F. prefers the singular, is found frequently in P and C, never in Q: P, 74, *et par ainsi ne luy restoient plus que deux escuz*; 227, *ilz ne sont hommes nulz qui mieulx le sceussent faire*; 341, *car sont plus de seize ans que nous n'y fusmes*; 377, 389, 403, 428. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 47.

C. The Tenses.

The distinctions now recognized in the employment of the past tenses were by no means fixed in the fifteenth century.

¹ Eder, 119. For Commines' usage, cf. Stimming, 194. Tobler, VB., I, 231, cites similar cases of agreement with *l'un vers l'autre* from O. F. I have been unable to discover any later examples.

² As in O. F. Cf. Tobler, VB., I, 239.

³ Schmidt, 46.

⁴ Cf. Haase, *Zur Syntax Robert Garniers*, 39.

⁵ Schmidt, 46.

⁶ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 460.

⁷ This construction is the rule in Froissart. Cf. Riese, *Recherches sur l'usage syntaxique de Froissart*, Halle, 1880, p. 17.

As, however, no noticeable differences can be established in the usage of the three works which concern us here, I have thought it useless to accumulate examples of the confusion observable. I may notice briefly the fact that in P and C¹ a change in tense from past to historical present or *vice versa*, in the same sentence, occurs more frequently than in Q.

D. *The Moods.*

In independent clauses of wish or command, the subjunctive is used, as in O. F.,² without introductory *que*: P, 29, 39, 60, 66, 72; 75, *Dieu doint bonne vie à ma dame*; 82, 89, 119, 137, 138, etc.;—Q, 8, *or avant, fait il, y aille pour ceste fois*; 27, 28, 51, 106, 130. The modern construction with *que* occurs also, somewhat more frequently in P than in Q: P, 62, *que les hommes de sang s'esloignent de moy*; 86, 100, 132, 141, etc.; Q, 38, *que la malle boce s'y puisse ferir*; 128.

Likewise the subjunctive appears in independent (paratactic) concessive sentences:³ P, 287, *vous priant tous que chascun, perte ou gaingne, que soyez honorablement*;—Q, 21, *pour ce en convient avoir, en ait ou non*; 106, *et ira, face pluye ou gresle*; 109.

Peculiar to P and Q is the use of the paratactic concessive subjunctive with *tant*:⁴ P, 34, *et ne peult la noblesse, tant soit elle grande ne puissant, surmonter la mort*; 225, 398, 428;—Q, 9, *il n'avoit personne, tant fust elle de petit estat, qui fust si mal abillée comme je estoie*; 25, 65, 80. Similar examples do not apparently occur in C, though they are found as late as the seventeenth century.⁵

In substantive subject clauses the employment of the

¹Schmidt, 48.

²M.-L., § 117. For C, cf. Schmidt, 49–50.

³M.-L., p. 584; see Schmidt, 50, for examples in C.

⁴Cf. Johannssen, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁵Haase, § 45, G.

indicative and subjunctive is essentially the same as in N. F. A few examples may be noted of the indicative in impersonal expressions: ¹ P, 112, *puisque Dieu plaist que estes tant en grace*; 154, *il a pleu à Dieu que mon emprise est premiere-ment venue en voz mains*; 190, *bien semble qu'il est de noble lieu party*;—Q, 10, *c'estoit grant honte que je n'estoye mieulx abillée*; 106, *quelque tort qu'elle ait, il lui semble qu'elle ait droit et qu'elle est sage*. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 52.

In object clauses with verbs of thought and expression the subjunctive is still common, as in O. F.² Wherever a subjective doubt is possible, the subjunctive occurs of right: P, 19, *il pensa qu'elle eust toute sa promesse mise en oubly*; 390, *quant à moy, je croy qu'il soit ainsi*; 403, *je cuide qu'il soit mal de moy à cause de la lucte*;—Q, 3, *comme il cuide que les aultres soient*; 46, *mais je croy qu'il ne soit homme au monde si doulx ne si gracieulx comme vous*. For C, see Schmidt, 52.

An occasional indicative with verbs of will and emotion is found in P and Q: P, 44, *si veult nature, droit et raison qu'elle l'en doit trop mieulx aymer*; 365, *je plains que ma dame n'est cy*;—Q, 63, *elle tant est courrocée que leurs maistres sont liens*; 124, *si suy moult esbahie que ton mary ne le tua*.³

In relative clauses depending on a superlative the indicative appears several times in P: 195, *cent aulnes de la plus fine toille de Reims qu'il avoit peu finer*; 323; 341; 422, *en la meilleure façon et maniere qu'il sceut*. In such clauses Q has the subjunctive uniformly, but C⁴ has one example of the indicative. Worthy of note is the employment of the

¹ Cf. M.-L., § 666.

² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 445, I.

³ The forms *dictes*, *faites*, which are found in object-clauses after *prier*, *adjurer* (P, 320; Q, 48, 75), are probably subjunctives. Cf. Tobler, VB., I, 29.

⁴ Schmidt, 51.

indicative in a relative clause after an indefinite antecedent : Q, 118, *il n'est chose qui plus desplaist à jeunes homes que une vieille femme*. A distinctive O. F. trait in P and Q, not found in C, is the use of a relative clause for a concessive :¹ P, 219, *dont ilz devoient jouter et donner la mesure telle qui luy plaisoyt* ; 366, *luy baille sa lectre de response à la royne, qui fut telle qui s'ensuyt* ;—Q, 8, *de tieulx abillemens que à l'aventure son mary n'a pas paiez* ; 24, *il n'est home si enragé que sa femme ne face franc et debonnaire* ; 65.

In respect to the construction in temporal clauses, P contains a single example of the indicative with *ains que* :² 100, *ains qu'il fut ung mois accompli, il eut varletz*. Q and C have uniformly the subjunctive in such clauses. Peculiar to C³ is the temporal use of *comme*, with both indicative and subjunctive.

In concessive clauses the deviations from N. F. usage are more marked. As in O. F. either the indicative or the subjunctive is employed, according to the subjective conception.⁴ Nevertheless it should be noted that in P and Q the indicative is relatively more common than in C. With *combien que* P employs the subjunctive : 17, *combien que feussent vrayes* (so 28, 88, 46, 141, 212, 216, 268) ; the indicative : 5, *combien que sa personne estoit et feust tousjours linge et menue* (so 44, 57, 99, 105, 186, 202, 288, 394) ;—Q has the subjunctive : 21, *combien qu'il ait mis grant paine à la trouver* (so 36, 53, 59, 135) ; the indicative : 7, *combien qu'il a aises et plaisances largement* (so 9, 25, 27, etc. : 16 examples in all) ;—C⁵ has 11 examples of *combien que* with

¹ M.-L., 638 ; cf. also Strohmeyer, *Über verschiedene Functionen des altfranzösischen Relativsatzes*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 21 ff.

² For similar cases in O. F., cf. Mätschke, *Die Nebensätze der Zeit im Altfranzösischen*, Kiel, 1887, p. 46.

³ Schmidt, 51.

⁴ M.-L., § 673 ; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 447, vi.

⁵ Schmidt, 50.

the indicative, otherwise the subjunctive. With *mais que*, P has the subjunctive: 13, *mais que soyons en la chambre, nous rirons* (so 19, 24, 65, 75, 83, 258, 417); the indicative: 345, *ma dame delibere d'y aller, mais que la presse et foison du peuple fut passée*, so 407, *je les vouldroye avoir maintenant, mais que en coffres et en sacz les me faictes apporter*;—Q and C¹ have the subjunctive invariably. With *jaçoit ce que*, P has the subjunctive: 47 and 49, *jaçoit ce qu'ilz ne soient de corps ne de gens d'armes les plus fors* (so 153, 157, 200, 207, 211, 244, 302, 349, 406); the indicative or conditional: 45, *jaçoit ce qu'on pourroit dire*, so 91 and 150, *jaçoit ce que plusieurs aultres sont icy en vostre court* (so 192, 211, 335, 425);—Q has the subjunctive: 58, *jaçoit ce qu'elle soit preude femme*; the indicative: 58, *jaçoit ce qu'elle est bien aise*. C² contains one example of *jaçoit ce que* with the conditional, else invariably the subjunctive. We have thus eighteen examples of the indicative in concessive sentences in P, seventeen in Q, twelve in C. Q is relatively the most archaic.

It may furthermore be noted that P contains one example of concessive *par — que*: 265, *par armes que vous ayez faictes . . . n'avez voulu estre chevalier*. Concessive *pour — que*³ is common in all three works. Q, moreover, has one example of the O. F. concessive *comme que*:⁴ 61, *et savoy-je bien, fait elle, que vous en eussiez affaire?* *Comme que*⁵ *elle les avoit envoiez tout en essayant et par despit du bon homme*.

Conditional sentences.⁶ In unreal conditions of present time, the modern construction (*si j'avais, je donnerais*) is the rule in each. Of the O. F. construction with the imperfect subjunctive in one or both clauses, we find the following

¹ Schmidt, 50.

² Schmidt, 51.

³ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, II, 20 ff.

⁴ Cf. Johannssen, *op. cit.*, 31.

⁵ In the *editio princeps* replaced by *combien que* + the subjunctive.

⁶ Cf. M.-L., §§ 681–690; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 447, v.

examples :—With the imperfect subjunctive in both clauses : P, 31, *oneques dame d'honneur ne peust aymer homme envieux, se ne feust les bonnes vertuz pour en estre le meilleur* ; 86 ;—Q, 17, *si ce ne fust vostre honneur et le mien, je n'en parlasse ja* ; 32, 37, 54, 90 ;—C¹ has four examples of this construction. It will be seen that Q is relatively more archaic than P or C.—Imperfect subjunctive in the protasis, conditional in the apodosis : P, 15, *et si j'en eusse, je le diroye volentiers* ; 129, 287, 391 ;—no examples in Q, one in C.¹—Imperfect indicative in the protasis, imperfect subjunctive in the apodosis : no examples in P, two in Q (30, 130), one in C.¹

In unreal conditions of past time, the O. F. usage is fully preserved. No examples are found with the perfect conditional. For sentences with the pluperfect subjunctive in both clauses, see P, 172, 177, 231, 413 ;—Q, 16, 45, 86, 130. Of more interest in this connection is the retention of the imperfect subjunctive in its original O. F. function as a pluperfect :² P, 309, *se ne fust l'ayde de Dieu, et qu'il fust bien secouru, sans nul remede il estoit mort* ; 396 ; 420 ;—Q, 40, *ses parens l'eussent plus haultement mariée, si ce ne fust ung petit eschapeillon qu'elle avoit fait en sa jeunesse* ; 93 ;—C has four examples.³

In incomplete conditions with *comme si*,³ the subjunctive is the invariable rule in Q and C, while P has three examples with the indicative : 211, 377, 384.

The present subjunctive is found occasionally in P in *si*-clauses,⁴ to express wish or future contingency : 131, *se Dieu vous doint joye, nous vous prions que puissions voir voz paremens* ; 247, *se Dieu vous gard* ; 399, *s'aucune malle vueillance ou nouvelle en adviegne, il s'en excusera et deschargera du tout sur vous*. In Q this is found only in the old formula *si m'aist Dieu* (17, 25).

¹ Schmidt, 53.

² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 454.

³ Schmidt, 54.

⁴ M.-L., § 685 ; cf. Bischoff, *Der Conjunctiv bei Chrestien*, Halle, s. d., pp. 11, 12.

Peculiar to P is the retention of the O. F. hypothetical subjunctive in incomplete exclamatory conditions : 287, *lors ouyssiez de tous coustez cueurs tendrement souspirer et veissiez yeulx de toutes gens plourer* ; 290, 309, 333, 336, 411, 417.¹ No traces of this construction exist in Q or C.

E. *The Infinitive.*

The use of the infinitive as a substantive was very widespread in O. F., but has since that period been much restricted.² In the fifteenth century this usage is still common in Chartier,³ less so in Villon, and quite rare in Commynes.⁴ Here a noticeable distinction is to be observed between P and C⁵ on one hand, and Q on the other. In the two former the infinitive-substantive is still very common, being used not only with the definite article, but also with pronouns and adjectives ; it may also take an object or an adverbial modifier, just like a verb : P, 36, *pour le departir* ; 42, *luxure est ardeur à l'assembler, puantise au departir* ; 151, *au prendre congîé* ; 158, *ne cessa le deviser de la beauté de Saintré* ; 167, *tant de l'aller que du venir* ; 189, *le parler* ; 215, *au lever des cercles* ; 227, *pour l'arriver* ; 425, *le commencer de parler d'icelle dame remist à elle* ; 25, *au long aller* ; 101, *par le faulx parler des dames* ; 27, *nul deshonneste parler* ; 31, *ce bien vivre* ; 32, *ce revoir* ; 48, *à l'entrer des armes* ; 98, *vostre chevaucher* ; 118, *à l'asseoir des tables* ; 154, *vostre vouloir* ; 168, *à ce rompre de lances* ; 171, *au joindre des lances* ; 173, *à cause du ferir bas* ; 311, *avant le commencer des armes* ; 234, *son partir* ; 211, *le bouter de son espée* ; 362, *son dormyr* ; 387, *au premier prier* ; 389, *vostre*

¹ This construction is especially common in the O. F. epics ; cf. Quiehl, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunctivs in den ältesten franz. Sprachdenkmälern*, Kiel, 1888, p. 40.

² M.-L., § 16 ; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 448.

³ Eder, 93.

⁴ Stimming, 491.

⁵ See Schmidt, 55-56.

cuyder; 403, *et n'y vault le prier du seigneur de Saintré*, etc. But in Q, I have discovered only three examples of this infinitive: 3, *qu'ilz ont sentu au flayrer*; 56, *au long aller*; 82, *telle paine que le bon homme aura eu à l'aller, il l'aura au revenir*.

P has, moreover, some examples of the infinitive-substantive with a subject:¹ 228, *au departir l'ung de l'autre*; 254, *au departir les ungs des aultres*;—no cases in Q or C.

A frequent variety of this construction in P and C, unknown to Q, is the employment of the infinitive-substantive with *à* and a relative clause containing the verb *faire*, as the equivalent of a temporal clause:² P, 78, *au retourner qu'ilz firent*; 122, *au saillir que le roy fist*; 124, *au revenir qu'elle eut fait*; 145, 153, 155, 169, 185, 186, 224, 234, 361. C³ has six examples of this construction.

The use of the infinitive with accusative, rare in O. F., but common in the sixteenth century,⁴ is rare in P and Q, but common in C: P, 63, *si je sçavoie les dieux n'avoir point de congnoissance*;⁵ 213, *disans estre tres desplaisant qu'elle ne les entendoit*; 317, *lequel service voulons et ordonnons estre ainsi continué*; 329, *je me congnois si grandement avoir mespris*;—Q, 5, *lesquelles ceulx qui sont mariés ne croient nulles aultres joyes estre pareilles*. C⁶ has eighteen examples of this construction.

The simple infinitive is used as the subject of impersonal verbs, as in O. F.⁷, in each of the works. So with *plaire*: P, 19, 93, 123, etc. (15 examples); Q, 5, 100, 102;—*convenir*: P, 18, 243, 301, 354, 403, 417; Q, 8, 21. In C⁸ however seven examples of the modern construction with *de* are found, to one in P: 407, *quant vous plaira de les avoir*;

¹ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 90.

² Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 24.

³ Schmidt, 55.

⁴ Darmesteter, § 204; cf. also Tobler, *VB.*, I, 88 ff.

⁵ Translation from Seneca.

⁶ Schmidt, 57.

⁷ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 449, I; M.-L., §§ 339–40.

⁸ Schmidt, 58.

and one in Q: 17, *bien que à ma cousine ou ma commere ne plaist point d'y venir*. P has also retained the O. F. construction with *falloir*¹ in two cases: 288, *de celle ne fault point à parler*; 428, *et ne fault mye à demander s'elle estoit bien honteuse*.

P has likewise several examples of the simple infinitive used as the logical subject or predicate with the verb *estre*: 63, *trop seroit longue chose . . . les vouloir toutes exposer*; 154, *se vostre vouloir estoit me quicter du scelle de ma promesse*; 334, *supplyant que vostre bon plaisir soit la nous laisser poursuyr*; 429, *quant le plaisir de Dieu fut à soy vouloir prendre son ame*. Q has a single example of this construction: 119, *or considerez si c'est bien fait mettre deux choses contraires ensemble*. C has no instances of this construction with nouns, but several with adjectival expressions like *il est force*, *il est necessaire*, etc.

In comparative clauses after *que* (*quam*) our works have generally the simple infinitive: P, 17, *Saintré, qui ne pensoit pas moins que estre deshonnouré*; 234;—Q, 1, *c'est plus grant felicité de vivre en franchise et liberté que soi asservir*; 39, *nul ne se peut plus gaster que soy enveloper en ces deux liens*. C² has two examples. The infinitive with *de* is also found: P, 20, 52, 386, 419; Q, 5, 124. After *aimer mieux que*, *valoir mieux que*, the simple infinitive is the invariable rule in P and Q: P, 33, 49, 362, etc.; Q, 2, 23, 64, 92; while in C³ four examples with *de* are found.

The object infinitive with verbs.—Here I shall note only the chief cases of differing constructions in the three works:⁴—

attendre, with *à*, Q, 19, 65, 80; with simple inf., C, one example.

s'attendre, with *à*, Q, 19; with simple inf., C, one example.

accoustumer, with *de*, P, 65; with *à*, Q, 6, 23, 44, 48, 88; with simple inf., Q, 17, 32, 34; in C always with *de*.

¹ Tobler, *VB.*, I, 214.

² Schmidt, 59.

³ Schmidt, 60.

⁴ For examples in C, cf. Schmidt, 59-62.

advertir, with simple inf., P, 91 ; always with *de* in Q and C.

apprendre, with *de*, C, two ex., always with *à* in P.

avancer, always with *à* in P, always with *de* in C.

commander, generally with the simple inf. ; P has two ex. with *à* : 188, 262 ; C one with *de*.

commencer, in P, 16 ex. with *à* to one with simple inf. (351) ; in Q always with *à* ; in C with *à* or *de*, as in N. F.

deliberer, in P one ex. with *à* (412) ; in Q always with *de* ; in C one ex. with simple inf.

desirer, in P with simple inf. : 216, 234, 404 ; with *à*, 15, 17 ; with *de*, 317, 325, 359 ;—in Q with simple inf., 2, 31 ; with *de*, 118 ;—C has all three constructions.

emprendre, with *de*, P, 112, 115, 246, 330 ; with *à*, P, 146 ;—in Q always with *à* (78, etc.) ;—in C one ex. with *de*.

s'efforcer, in P, five ex. with *de*, one with *à* (105) ; in C with *de*.

entendre, in P with *de* : 73, 353 ; with *à* : 359, 411 ; with simple inf. : 183, 211, 338, 357 ;—in Q with *à* : 62 ;—in C one ex. with *à*, one with simple inf.

se garder, in P with simple inf. : 337, 359 ;—in C always with *de*.

laisser, in P always with *à* : 60, 193, 201, 218, etc. ;—in Q with *à* : 69, 74, 86 ; with *de* : 6 ;—in C only one ex. with *à*.

mander, in P with simple inf. : 111, 368 ; elsewhere with *de*.

offrir, always with *à* in P and Q ; C has one ex. with *de*.

ordonner, in P with simple inf., five ex. : 224, 234, etc. ; with *de*, five ex. : 159, 205, etc. ; with *à*, four ex. : 6, 92, etc. ;—in Q with simple inf. : 25 ;—in C one ex. with simple inf.

prier, generally with *de* as in N. F. : P has one ex. with *à* (133), one with simple inf. (240) ; C, one ex. with simple inf.

penser, invariably with *de* in P and C, as in O. F. ;—in Q with *de* : 31, 87, 123 ; with *à* : 23, 40.

promettre, always with *de* in P ; in Q, one ex. with simple inf. (50) ; in C, three ex. with simple inf.

requerir, in P with *à* : 203, 399 ;—in Q and C always with *de*.

sembler, with *de* : P, 257 ;—elsewhere as in N. F.

tenir, in P with *de* : 209, 210, 225 ; with simple inf. : 210 ;—in Q and C always with *à*.

The infinitive with *de*, employed as the subject of a following verb,¹ is found in P : 309, *de les nommer seroit trop longue chose* ;—and in C ;²—never in Q.

¹ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 450.

² Schmidt, 60.

The so-called historical infinitive with *de*¹ is extremely common in C,² while there are but three examples in P: 171, *et alors les trompettes de sonner et les cris du peuple*; 173, 329;—and none in Q. This is not an O. F. trait.

The locution *faire à* + the infinitive,³ expressing necessity, occurs once in P: 396, *bien fait à reprendre le cueur d'un gentilhomme qui, pour une lucte, n'ose soubztenir sa loyaulté*;—nine times in C,⁴ never in Q.

I may note also the fact that C⁴ construes *aimer mieuz* with *à* three times; this is never found in P or Q.

Avant with the simple infinitive is found once in C,⁵ but: P, 404, *avant que de descendre*; Q, 4, *avant que perdre franchise*.

Devant que + infinitive occurs once in P (168), never in Q or C.

En + infinitive is found once in P: 106, *employez vostre temps soit en conquestes d'armes, soit en services de seigneurs, ou en estre servy*;—once also in C,⁵ never in Q.

Par with the infinitive, a construction still common in the seventeenth century,⁶ is found twice in P (30, 108), once in Q (5), but eleven times in C.⁵

P also contains two examples of *estre pour* + the infinitive, expressing a near futurity:⁷ 157, *et quant je fuz pour monter à cheval, il m'envoya quarante florins*; 332. No similar cases occur in Q or C.

F. The Gerund and Present Participle.

In Old French the gerund was as a rule always kept distinct from the present participle, and not inflected. First

¹ M.-L., § 529; cf. also Marcou, *Der historische Infinitiv im Französischen*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 13-14.

² Schmidt, 61.

³ Diez, 937.

⁴ Schmidt, 62.

⁵ Schmidt, 63.

⁶ Haase, 207.

⁷ Diez, 940; a common Romance construction.

in the fourteenth century a confusion set in, the gerund becoming inflected like the verbal adjective, and this confusion lasted till the seventeenth century.¹ The so-called participial gerund is not uncommon in all three works. P and Q agree in usage very nearly, while in C the uninflected form is relatively more frequent. Of the uninflected form P contains 16 examples with a feminine singular, 6 with a feminine plural, 9 with a masculine plural—total 31; Q contains 9 with a feminine singular, 2 with a feminine plural, 2 with a masculine plural—total 13; C (100 pages) has 39 with a feminine singular, 1 with a feminine plural, 2 with a masculine plural—total 42. Of the inflected forms, P contains 3 with a feminine singular (with the ending *-ans*), none with a feminine plural, 19 with a masculine plural—total 22; Q contains none with a feminine singular, 3 with a feminine plural (with the ending *-ans*), 4 with a masculine plural—total 7; C has none with a feminine singular, 6 with a feminine plural (*-ans*), 5 with a masculine plural—total 11. The proportion of uninflected to inflected forms is thus in P, $1\frac{4}{10}:1$; in Q, $1\frac{9}{10}:1$; in C, $3\frac{8}{10}:1$.²

A further distinction is the fact that in P the ending *-ans* is found with singular nouns, both masculine and feminine, a last remnant of the O. F. case-system; 21, *lors à jointes mains estans tousjours à genoulx, requis de rechief à ma dame merci*; 200, *tres desirans de son retour, ma dame . . .*; 213, *la royne . . . leur demanda des dames et estas de leurs pays, disans estre tres desplaisant qu'elle ne les entendist*; 11, 288,

¹ M.-L., § 500; Haase, § 91; cf. also Klemenz, *Der syntactische Gebrauch des Participium Praesentis und des Gerundiums im Altfranzösischen*, Breslau, 1884, pp. 26 ff.; Vogels, *Roman. Studien*, v, 534–556.

² I believe that the prevalence of the modern rule in C is due mostly to the fact that it is more popular in style and has fewer literary pretensions than P or Q. The use of the inflected gerund, in Old and Middle French, was more or less a Latinism; cf. Vogels, *loc. cit.*, p. 535.

336, etc. In Q only one example is found: 6, *ainsi, regardans cestes peines . . . considerans la repugnence . . . me suy delicté à escripvre icelles quinze joyes*;—and in C none. The latter, however, contains two examples of the feminine plural in *-antes*,¹ not found in P or Q.

Q contains one example of inflected prepositional *durant*: 5, *durans les saints mysteres*.

Of present participles with passive force,² I have noted the following examples in P: 200, *Guillaume, qui est bien entendant*; 336, *Saintré et ses compaignons ordonnerent une tres belle lectre d'armes, adressans à la court de l'empereur*; 391, *le seigneur de Saintré, tres desplaisant de la charge et injure que donnoit aux gentilz hommes damp Abbez*.

P likewise shows several remnants of the O. F. use of the gerund as a case of the infinitive;³ thus it may be used with a preposition, taking the article: 263, *au clinssant qu'elle (la lance) fist*; or may have a subject expressed: 263, *devant le roy de France, en gardant Dieu son corps de peine et loyal exoine, il accompliroit sa requeste*. Such examples are unknown to Q and C.⁴

P also contains many examples of the free use of the gerund, not referring to the subject or object:⁵ 99, *et en disant ces parolles (l'escuyer), tous (les pages) furent despouillez et s'en vont couchier*; 264, *et en combatant l'ung contre l'autre, fortune voulut . . .*; 384, *et en disant ces mots (la dame), le seigneur de Saintré prestement descendit*. I have noted no similar cases in Q, and in C they are very rare.

In regard to the omission of *en* before the gerund, where N. F. usage demands it, P is again more archaic.⁶ Thus in 100 pages, P has 17 examples of the gerund with *en*, to 6

¹ Schmidt, 65.

² Tobler, *VB.*, I, 36 ff.

³ M.-L., § 498; Tobler, *VB.*, I, 51–52.

⁴ And also to Chartier and Commines.

⁵ M.-L., § 499; Huguet, 219. ⁶ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 457, I.

without *en*; Q has 23 with to 5 without; and in C, judging by the examples given by Schmidt, page 65, the proportion is about the same as in Q.

Lastly I may note P's peculiar use of the present participle, adverbially modified, as a noun: 118, *le mieulx dansant*; 119, *les mieulx chantans*, etc. Similar examples are found in Deschamps.¹

G. *The Perfect Participle.*

In respect to the agreement of the perfect participle with *avoir*,² the O. F. usage is much more thoroughly preserved in P than in Q and C. Namely, we find in P 23 examples of the participle agreeing with a following noun-object: 58, *qui ait volentiers accomplies les oeuvres de misericorde*; 96, *les services et gracieusetez ont avancez voz jours*; 120, 140, 149, 202, 216, 227, etc. Q, on the other hand, has but three such cases: 85, *qui avoit fort entretenue la guerre*; 96; 103;—and C³ only seven. P here agrees in usage with Deschamps,⁴ and is more archaic than Chartier,⁵ who has only a few similar examples.

In the common word-order, auxiliary-object-participle, agreement is the rule in P, in which there are in all twelve examples: 18, *quant Saintré eut les autres enfans ses compaignons trouvés* (so 20, 21, 23, 51, 71, 117, etc.); and one of non-agreement (19);—while in Q, in which this word-order is rare, not one example of agreement is found. C,³ in turn, has seven cases of this usage.

Likewise in the position, object-auxiliary-participle, or participle-object-auxiliary, P generally shows agreement: 46, *les rois telles batailles ont ordonnées*; 62, *tant d'autres petites misericordes nous a il recommandées*; 354, *que ses*

¹ Bode, 75.

² M.-L., § 416.

³ Schmidt, 67.

⁴ Bode, 77.

⁵ Eder, 142.

dueilz avoit oubliez; 81, *comme si jamais veue ne l'eust*. Q has no examples of such constructions, C only one.¹

Of cases of non-agreement with a preceding pronominal object P has six examples: 34, *celle tres glorieuse vertu de charité qui est fille de Dieu et qu'il nous a tant recommandé*; 50, 198, 211, 223, 236;—Q has two: 82, *telle paine que le bon homme aura eu*; 110, *pour les maux qu'il a souffry*;—while C shows fourteen.² It will be noticed that C has a tendency to leave the participle invariable in all positions.

Non-agreement of the participle when used with *estre* is never found in P. It occurs once (possibly twice³) in Q: 104, *le pere et la mere sont tant courrocé que c'est merveilles*;—and twice in C.⁴

Each work has a single example of agreement of the participle with the object of a dependant infinitive: P, 404, *à la requeste d'elle ne l'eust daignée plus aymer*; Q, 125, *pourquoy je vous ay envoiées querir*.

In P alone is found a single example of the old rule of the agreement of the participle of reflexive verbs with the subject:⁵ 418, *et à tant laisseray cy à parler de ma dame et de la guerison de damp Abbez, qui par l'espace de deux ans s'estoient donnez du bon temps ensemble*.

The absolute perfect participle is about equally common in all three works. But the construction by which a predicative participle is employed with the noun-object of a temporal preposition⁶ is found in P and C,⁷ not in Q: P, 103, *apres la messe ouye, Jehan de Saintré ne cessa qu'il eust les palefreniers*; 213, *avant les espices venues*; 116, 140, 146, 196, etc. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 68.

¹ Schmidt, 67.

² Schmidt, 66.

³ The sentence: 112, *l'amour de ses enfans est oublié*, is doubtful, owing to the change of gender of *amour*.

⁴ Schmidt, 68.

⁵ M.-L., §§ 295, 416; Tobler, VB., II, 51 ff.

⁶ Tobler, VB., I, 113 ff.

⁷ Schmidt, 68. Schmidt ends his study of C's syntax at this point.

ADVERBS.

A. *Adverbs of Negation.*

In respect to the use of the negative particles *pas*, *point*,¹ P is again more conservative than Q and C, which are here very nearly in harmony. An enumeration of the negative sentences in the first fifty pages of each gave the following results:—

<i>ne</i> alone, in a principal clause :	P, 19 ; Q, 21 ; C, 12.
<i>ne</i> alone, in a subordinate clause :	P, 17 ; Q, 22 ; C, 16.
<i>ne</i> <i>pas</i> :	P, 25 ; Q, 59 ; C, 61.
<i>ne</i> <i>point</i> :	P, 15 ; Q, 34 ; C, 7.
<i>ne</i> <i>mie</i> :	P, 2 ; Q, 0 ; C, 0.

Or, as a total, P contains 36 cases of *ne* alone to 40 of *ne* with a negative complement ; Q, 43 to 93 ; C, 28 to 68. In other words, the negative particles *pas*, *point*, are employed twice as frequently in Q and C as in P.

Worthy of note is further the fact that the particle *mie* is very frequently employed in P, but is unknown to Q and rare in C: P, 8, *et ne le font mie pour l'amour de Dieu*; 332, *il ne dit mye de la sienne*, etc. ;—C, I, 3, 381, etc.

The tonic form of the negation is used with a verb in all three works.² Here a distinction is apparent between P and C on the one hand, Q on the other. In the two former, tonic *non* is employed with the infinitive, gerund, and with finite verb-forms often in *emphatic* responses: P, 13, *esse la contenance d'un escuyer de bien que de non convoier les dames*; 21, *non faisoient nulle des autres*; 67, *gardez de non oublier les richesses des cieulx*; 76, *ma mere, dist il, non ay vrayement*; 82, *non sera il*; 83; 89; 94; 186, *messire Enguerrant, non sentant le meschief qu'il avoit*; 200; 222; 319; 321, *il vous a dit la verité. Non a, dist elle*; 403;—C, I, 3, *veez cy*

¹ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 484 ; M.-L., § 193.

² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 480 ; Huguet, 259 ff. ; Bode, 85 ; Eder, 149.

ja retourné de son voyage bon mary, non querant ceste si bonne aventure; 26; 31, *pour non resister*; 33, *par ma foy, non ay*; 34; 37; 40; etc. In Q, however, tonic *non* is found only with the verb *faire*, in emphatic responses: 11, *non fais, sire, fait elle*; 43, *certes, m'amie, fera il, non feray*; 47, 48, 102, 129. Q's usage agrees nearly with that of Commynes.¹

The use of the negative particle *point*, without *ne*, in interrogative sentences,² occurs rarely in each of the works: P, 318, *estes vous . . . point changié*; 407, *avez vous point desjeuné*;—Q, 77, *ma cousine m'avoit demandé si je auroye point de robe à mes levailles*;—C, I, 25, *madame demande s'il l'avoit point senty*.

The so-called expletive *ne* in dependant clauses³ is found omitted, (a) after verbs of fearing in P and Q, (b) in comparative clauses in Q alone: P, 381, *il doubta qu'elle fut malade*; 403, *doubtant que voulsissiez faire ung trop grant et excessif appareil*;—Q, 54, *j'ay paour que elle me descouvra à son mary*; 73, 103, 113;—Q, 12, *pleust à Dieu qu'il ne vous en tenist jamés plus qu'il fait à moy*. Contrary to modern usage, this *ne* is employed in P and C after the verb *defendre*:⁴ P, 15, *et encores vous deffens que ne soyez noy-seux*;—C, II, 115, *et de fait luy deffendit par motz exprès et menasses que jamais ne se trovast s'il ne luy mandoit*.

B. Other Adverbs.

The O. F. adverb *enz*⁵ (*intus*) is used once in P: 76, *et quant ilz furent entrez enz*;—twice in C: I, 173; II, 241;—never in Q.

¹ Commynes uses *non* with the verb *faire* and with the infinitive; Stimming, 502.

² These sentences are not in reality negative: cf. Schultze, *Der altfranzösische Fragesatz*, pp. 27 ff. Such phrases are not infrequent in Commynes: Toennies, 73; Stimming, 501.

³ M.-L., §§ 706, 709.

⁴ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 481, B. 2.

⁵ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 468.

Peculiar to P is the use of the O. F. adverb of place *illecques*: 157, *illecques publicquement fist lire la lectre*; 158, 176, 268, 274, 424. C employs twice the form *illec*: I, 38; II, 242. Q never uses it. This adverb is common in Deschamps¹ and in Chartier,² but becomes very rare at the end of the fifteenth century.³

Peculiar to Q is the employment of *mais* in its original adverbial function⁴ (= *plus*): 15, *oncques mais n'avint si grant honte à femme de mon lignage*; 45, *la dame ne se aide point ne mais se hobe que une pierre*; 64; 98. Villon⁵ has several examples of this usage, but it seems to be unknown to the other authors of the period.

Peculiar to P is the frequent absolute use of *plus*, equivalent to *davantage*, *de plus*, *plus longtemps*: 47, *par quatre choses seullement et pour nulle plus*; 78, *je voudroye qu'il eust plus trois ou quatre de mes ans*; 93, *il a honte d'estre plus paige*; 105, 162, 257, 390, etc. P furthermore employs *oultre plus* with the same signification: 21, *et oultre plus vous sçavez*; 207; etc. Such locutions are unknown to Q and C.

Meshuy (= *jamais, aujourd'huy*) is peculiar to C: I, 8, 48, 161; II, 149; etc.

Q alone has an example of the M. F. adverb *quant et quant*:⁶ 82, *en ce cas il conviendra qu'il trote à pied, et qu'il soit tousjours quant et quant*.

Adverbial *puis* is peculiar to P: 62, *laquelle oncques puis ne lui vint*; 264, *et à tant laisseray à parler de toutes ces armes et des aultres qui puis il fist*.

Adverbial *si*, in the predicate with *estre* or other verbs,⁷ is common in P, less so in Q and C: P, 17, *et si fera ma dame*; 29, *ce pechié est à Dieu desplaisant, si est il à l'honneur et au*

¹ Bode, 81.³ Cf. Huguet, 231.⁵ G. T., 215, 290, 720, etc.⁶ Darmesteter, § 240.² Eder, 215.⁴ Cf. Tobler, VB., III, 26 ff.⁷ Cf. Tobler, VB., I, 105 ff.

corps de celluy qui l'est; 87, celle nuyet luy fut si longue que onques si longue ne fut, si lui sembla;—Q, 128, que maudit soit il de Dieu. Amen, font elles, et si est il.

Adverbial *tant*, in affirmative clauses, is found several times in P: 18, *lors commença tant qu'il peult à fuyr*; 154, *dont tant comme je puis et sçay, humblement je vous en remercie*; 235, *ne vous poroye dire le tres grant deuil que le seigneur de Loysselench fist tant de sa male fortune comme de ce qu'ung si jeune homme l'avoit fouillé*; 310; 329; etc. This construction is still found in Deschamps,¹ but is unknown to Commynes.² No examples occur in Q or C. *Tant*, with adjectives and adverbs, is common in all three works. The temporal *à tant* occurs in P: 199, 335, etc.;—and in C: II, 24;—but not in Q.

Adverbial *trop* (= *très, bien*) was used with adjectives commonly in the fifteenth century. But in P and C it is found only with comparatives: P, 9, *trop plus honnourées*, 21, *l'aymoit trop mieulx*; 34, 44, 105, 187, 192, etc.;—C, II, 20, *je l'ayme trop mieulx que vous*. In Q, on the other hand, it does not appear with comparatives, but with simple adjectives: 25, *et la chambriere qui la garde respont que elle est trop malade*; 43, 51, 79, 99, 125. Here P and C agree with Chartier³ and Rabelais.⁴

PREPOSITIONS.

À, denoting accompaniment or means,⁵ is common in P: 126, *il avoit tous chevaliers, tel, tel et tel à XIV chevaulx, LX escuyers à XXII chevaulx*; 141; 198; 219; 241; 334, *avons tous aujourd'huy voué, que à vostre bon congié et licence, nous porterons ceste emprise d'armes*; 369, *il la trouva avecques damp Abbez, viz à viz à table, à bien peu de gens*. In

¹ Bode, 79.

² Stimming, 502.

³ Eder, 49.

⁴ Huguet, 255.

⁵ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 462, v.

Q: this usage is very rare: 64, *vous ne travaillez si non à despendre et à gaster tout, à gens dont je n'ay que faire*. This use of à is still common in Commynes.¹

À, denoting possession (still common in vulgar speech), is frequent in P: 6, *aisné filz au seigneur de Saintré*; 56, *vertus theologiennes, meres au bon esperit*; 261, *la visiere à Saintré*; 319; 329; etc. In Q this use of à is rare (113, *la couleur à Jacob*), as it is in Commynes.²

À l'encontre de (= contre) occurs in P alone: *ilz bataillent jour et nuyet à l'encontre de l'ame*, 54; etc.

Atout³ (= avec) occurs in P and C, never in Q: P, 140, *Saintré, atout sa compaignie*; 162, 291, 334, 384;—C, I, 20, etc.

Aval is likewise restricted to P and C: P, 195, *aval leur face*; C, II, 92, 131.

The O. F. use of *de* to introduce a logical subject or predicate⁴ is preserved by P, though it is not frequent: 29, *et quant au deuxiesme pechié, qui est de ire*; 203, *de ce qu'il en dist, fut plus à l'honneur de messire Enguerrant que au sien*; 341, *la desplaisance et maladie de nostre cueur n'est fors que du desir*. Q prefers *que de*: 55, *ce n'est rien que d'une pouvre femme seule*; 131; etc.

One example of *de* with comparatives, before a noun or pronoun,⁵ occurs in P and Q: P, 368, *maistre Julien n'en pensa guieres moins de la verité*;—Q, 48, *si sui je aisnée d'elle*.

Devant,⁶ as a temporal preposition, occurs in P alone: 17, *davant deux jours, il auroit choisi et fait dame pour servir*.

Entre, meaning "together," introducing a compound subject,⁷ as was common in O. F., is frequent in P: 13, *allez*

¹ Stimming, 203.

² Only one example: Stimming, 201.

³ M.-L., § 444.

⁴ Cf. Tobler, VB., I, 5 ff.

⁵ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 374.

⁶ Cf. Huguet, 294.

⁷ Diez, 1083, note; Tobler, VB., I, 273.

deshors entre vous hommes, et nous laissez icy; 333, *vous sçavez qu'entre nous femmes sommes malades quant il nous plaist*; 389, 403, 421. This usage is unknown to Q and C and seems to have died out quite early. The only other author of the fifteenth century in whom I have been able to find an example is A. Greban.¹ It is unknown to Commines.²

Emprès (= *auprès de*) is peculiar to Q and C: 8, *ils ont le past emprès*³ *eux dedans la nasse*; 25, 48, 82, 120; C, 1, 188, 272, etc.

*Encontre*⁴ is found only in P and C: P, 109, *pour s'esprouver encontre quelque chevalier*; 260;—C, 1, 27, etc.

Enmy occurs only in C: 1, 75, etc.

Entour is peculiar to P: 15, *entour ses dois*; 99; 188; etc.

Endroit, common in O. F.,⁵ occurs twice in Q: 60, *lors les gallants, chacun endroit soy*; 135, *mais chacun, endroit soy, croit le contraire*;—never in P or C.

Environ (= *aux environs de*) occurs in Q: 8, *se tournoye et serche le jeunes homs environ la nasse*; 18; 130;—and in C (only in expressions of time: 1, 74, *environ la mynuyt*);—never in P.

The O. F. preposition *o, ot* (*apud*) is found in Q:⁶ 82, *parler o ses commeres*; 86, *coucher o luy*; 88; 92; 118; and in C. It is not found in P, but occurs in Chartier,⁷ Villon,⁸ and A. Greban.⁹

Par, denoting extent of time,¹⁰ is very common in P: 12, *par plusieurs jours*; 20, *par deux foyz*; 20, *par quatre jours*;

¹ *Mystère de la Passion*, 14373.

² Stimming, 205.

³ In the *editio princeps* replaced by *auprès de*.

⁴ Cf. Huguet, 276.

⁵ Still found in Deschamps: cf. Bode, 88.

⁶ Not used in the *editio princeps*.

⁷ Eder, 201.

⁸ G. T., 1499.

⁹ *Passion*, 10976.

¹⁰ M.-L., § 453; Stimming, 206; Huguet, 299.

113, *vous le porterez par l'espace d'ung an*; 120, 151, 322, 422, etc. In Q and C this usage is much restricted: Q, 77, *y a prins touz plaisirs par deux ou par trois ou quatre ans*.

Finally, I may notice P's use of *sur* with a superlative, as in O. F.¹ (= *plus que*): 25, *se elle n'est sur toutes la plus cruelle*; 45, *il sur tous sera le mieulx condicionné*; 229, 313, 351. This is found only once in Q: 74, *mon amy, que je ame sur toutes choses qui sont en terre*.

CONJUNCTIONS.

The O. F. *si*, coördinating conjunction, is found very commonly in each of these works, in most of its O. F. functions.² In P, however, it is used more frequently to introduce the main clause, especially after a preceding temporal clause:³ 75, *et quant ma dame veit qu'il ne respondit rien, si lui dist*; 18, 20, 76, 222, 381, etc. I have not observed any instances of this usage in Q, but it is common in other authors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The conjunction *ni* appears most frequently in its O. F. form *ne*. In P, more often than in Q or C, this *ne* appears in sentences where no strictly negative force is apparent:⁴ P, 34, *tant soit elle grande ne puissante*; 188, *où est celluy, ne où fut oncques qui . . .*; 190; 369, *et pensa que actendroit pour luy envoyer ne escripvre*; 377; etc.;—Q, 46, *je croy qu'il ne soit femme du monde si doulx ne si gracieulx comme vous estes*; 61, *et que en pui-je mes, Sire, fait elle, ne que voulez vous que je en face*; 116.

¹ Haase, p. 371. Not found in Commynes.

² M.-L., § 547: cf. Wehrmann, *Roman. Studien*, v, 399 ff.

³ Darmesteter, § 291.

⁴ Diez, 1082; Huguet, 318; Wehrmann, *loc. cit.*, 414 ff.

In correlated contrasted clauses (N. F. *plus . . . plus, autant . . . autant*)¹ P employs *tant plus . . . et (tant) plus*: 12, *dont, tant plus à lui elle parloit, et tant plus lui venoit à plaisir*; 80, *car tant plus elle le regardoit, et tant plus il luy plaisoit*; 99, *tant plus vous croissez, se ne vous amandez, et plus chetifz et meschans serez*; etc. Q prefers *de tant plus . . . de tant plus*: 59, *et de tant qu'il l'aura plus chiere, de tant luy fera el plus de melencolies*. Commynes here agrees with Q, but has also the modern *plus . . . et plus*.²

In dependant clauses denoting cause or result P employs frequently the conjunctions *en tant que, pour tant que*,³ which are unknown to Q: P, 23, *il a failly, en tant qu'il devoit avoir dame choisie*; 333, *chascun accouroit, pour tant que oncques chose plus joyeuse à veoir ne fut*; etc.

Peculiar to P is further the conjunction *par ainsi que*, concessive: 247, *et par ainsi que l'adventurier ait lectres de son roy . . . qu'il est gentil homme de nom et d'armes*; 412, *et vostre bon faulcon, je le retiens, par ainsi que le me garderez*.

Parquoi,⁴ causative (= *c'est pourquoi*), is also of common occurrence in P: 130, *la dame advertit la royne que Saintré estoit merveilleusement acoustré de coursiers et aultres choses; parquoy ladite royne dist à Saintré qu'il fist amener ses chevaulx*; 149, 154, 211, 248, etc. Q has only two examples: 56, 125.

To express contemporaneous time relations, P employs *endementiers que* and *entendis que*,⁵ both of which are unknown to Q and C: P, 79, *et endementiers qu'ilz dansoient, le petit Saintré les yeulx de ma dame ne cessoit de regarder*; 151, 153, 219, etc. 362, *ma dame, entendis que vostre compaignie fait bonne chere, je vous vueil monstrier mon edifice nouvel*.

¹ Mätzner, 533; Tobler, VB., II, 51 ff.

² Stimming, 506.

⁴ Common in Commynes: Stimming, 506.

³ M.-L., p. 639.

⁵ M.-L., § 599.

P has two examples of the use of the temporal conjunction *quand* to express a causal relation,¹ as was common in O. F.: 325, *de ma part le vous accorde, remercia quant vous m'avez en tel nombre et compaignie prins et esleu*; 417, *la veissiez pleurs et souspirs et mauldire leurs vies, quant oncques s'estoient la arrivez*.

Peculiar to Q is the use of *puisque* in a temporal function, also common in O. F.:² 9, *car c'est une chose, puisque je la vous auroye dite, vous n'en feriez compte*; 25, *oncques puis qu'il partoît, que elle ne mengea*.

WORD-ORDER AND VARIA.

P has preserved a distinctive trait of the older word-order in imperative sentences. The O. F. rule was that when the command began with an adverb like *or*, *car*, etc., the pronominal object assumed its usual position before the verb.³ P has many examples of this usage: 17, *or doneques, dist ma dame, vous en allez*; 24, *or nous dictes qui elle est*; 24, *or vous tirez donc çà*; 50, *or me dictes vostre intencion*; 53, 72, 413, etc. In Q there is no trace of this usage, nor in C either, so far as I have observed.⁴

Other peculiarities of P's word-order, which are found rarely or not at all in Q and C, are the following:—

(a) The order subject + object + verb:⁵ 11, *desirans veoir lequel d'eulx l'autre surmonteroît*; 46, *mais les empereurs, les rois et les autres princes terriens . . . telles batailles ont*

¹ M.-L., § 587.

² M.-L., § 601.

³ Cf. Estienne, *Grammaire de la langue d'oïl*, 343; Englaender, *Der Imperativ im Altfranzösischen*, Breslau, 1889, p. 48; Krüger, *Ueber die Wortstellung in der franz. Prosalitteratur des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1876, p. 26; Morf, *Roman. Studien*, III, 230.

⁴ Deschamps' usage agrees with that of P: Voll, 16.

⁵ M.-L., § 748; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 494, 2.

ordonnées et maintenues ; 145, *le roy d'armes d'Anjou . . . à Saintré ledit scelle presenta.*

(b) The order adverbial modifier + verb (no subject expressed) :¹ 20, *lors tout à coup à genoulx et à mains jointes se mist* ; 37, *mais tousjours verras que de paresse et de infortune seront tousjours accompagnés* ; 319, *je vous prie que ce soir avecques la royne dormiez.*

(c) The order auxiliary + object + participle :² 42, *qui ont ce pechié tant blasmé* ; 18, *quant Saintré eut les autres enfans ses compaignons trouvés* ; 177, *se les seigneurs de la court . . . n'eussent Saintré oultre son gré retenu.* Q has apparently only one example of this order : 128, *par Nostre Dame du Puy, où j'ay mon corps porté.* It is, however, common in C and in Commines.³

(d) The order preposition + object or adverb + infinitive :⁴ 3, *pour trop ou peu escripvre* ; 16, *pour le service d'amour acquerir* ; 24, *à couleur changer* ; 27, *à loyaulment une telle dame servir* ; etc. In Q I have again found only one example : 95, *il ne s'esmoye de nulle chose, fors de ses delits et plaisances trouver.*

(e) P is also fond of placing the noun objects of a dependent infinitive before the principal verb :⁵ 50, *si prie à Dieu que tout, ou la plus grant partie, vous doint avoir bien ouy et retenu* ; 79, *le petit Saintré les yeulx de ma dame ne cessoient de regarder* ; etc.

P is also noteworthy for the boldness of its omissions. Thus in many cases the object pronoun is not repeated before several succeeding verbs, even though the regimen of the verbs vary, one taking the accusative and the other the dative : 68, *à qui leur pourra mieulx complaire et plus subtilement flater* ; 156, *ilz luy firent tres bel accueil et festoyerent*

¹ Also frequent in Commines : cf. Toennies, 20.

² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 494, 3 ; M.-L., § 737.

⁴ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 496.

³ Stimming, 220.

⁵ Cf. Stimming, 192.

sollennellement; 383, *chascun lui vint faire la reverence et acoller*; 421; etc. Q shows no case exactly similar, though the following sentence contains an omission no longer permissible: 103, *la mere a bien introduite la fille et enseignee qu'elle luy donne de grans estorces*. P also often fails to repeat an auxiliary verb, even though one of the following participles demands a different auxiliary from the preceding: 315, *quant le seigneur de Saintré et celle noble et chevaleresque compaignie furent venuz à saint Denis et faites en eglises leurs devociions, furent au devant d'eulx les trois seigneurs ducs*; 406; 419, *les cueurs, dont vous en estes tres faulcement et mauvaisement serviz et puis à la fin habandonnez*. Similarly the second auxiliary may be omitted with a changed subject: 64, *et quant serez en vostre porpoint laccé et vos chausses bien nectes et bien tendues*; 121, *Saintré fut tout de neuf et ses gens bien habillés*; 350, *et quant damp Abbez et le maistre d'ostel furent venuz, et le premier assis, ma dame dist à damp Abbez, etc.* Q contains no similar licences, which are however frequent in O. F. and occasionally found as late as the seventeenth century.¹

Lastly, I should like to call attention to the frequent anacolutha and changes of construction in P. La Sale is not a very practised writer; he frequently becomes embroiled in a long sentence, forgets his subject, and continues with a totally different construction. Cf., for example: 23, *le povre tant esbahy et ainsi gehenné d'elles, force luy fut de dire oui*; 49, *ceulx qui errent en toutes choses sans raison, tout se peut amender, fors que les erreurs desordonnées, guerres et batailles*; 94, *le roy, qui par ses gracieusetez et par les bons rapports qu'il en avoit, l'acorda tres volentiers*; 342, *et nous sçavons que se ma dame sçavoit que de nous venist, suis acertainée qu'elle n'en*

¹For similar cases in O. F. and a discussion of them, see Tobler, *VB.*, I, 107 ff.

seroit mye contente. Note also 49, 127, 195, 241, 243, 258, 285, 309, 370, 389. Such anacolutha are practically absent from Q, which in general manages long sentences and balances its periods much better than P.

CONCLUSION.

I think that it must be evident from the preceding comparisons that the syntactical usage of the *Quinze Joyes* and the *Cent Nouvelles* is not that of La Sale in *Saintré*. I need not call attention here to the principal points of divergence;¹ that would be merely to recapitulate most of the preceding pages. In almost every case where an exact comparison is possible, La Sale's syntax differs more from that of the works hitherto ascribed to him than the latter does from that of Commynes. Many of the divergences can doubtless be ascribed to the copyists, but after making all consideration for this, enough differences remain to make it decidedly improbable that La Sale had any hand in the composition of the *Quinze Joyes* and the *Cent Nouvelles*. Moreover the manuscripts on which our editions are based date from the same decade of the fifteenth century, and were all written during La Sale's lifetime. Is it likely that an author who paid so much attention to style² in *Saintré* would allow works of such different syntax to be given to the world, even anonymously? In any case, it must now be admitted that the burden of proof lies with those who still assert La Sale's authorship.

¹ The most noteworthy differences in usage are those which affect the partitive article, the subject pronouns, the tonic object pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns, the reflexive verbs, the rules for agreement of verbs and perfect participles, the negative adverbs, and the word-order.

² Cf. Raynaud, *Romania*, xxxi, 538 ff.

The question as to date is more difficult. Generally speaking, *Saintré* is more conservative, has preserved more fully the Old French usage than either of the other works. I have enumerated the syntactical traits in which a marked divergence is to be observed. They number eighty-two: of them, the *Quinze Joyes* is most conservative in twelve,¹ the *Cent Nouvelles* in eight,² leaving the great majority, sixty-two, in favor of *Saintré*. At all events, the study of the syntax does not confirm the views of the author of *Une Énigme littéraire* as to the date of the *Quinze Joyes*. Syntactically, that work can hardly belong to the fourteenth century. The comparisons with Deschamps' usage demonstrate this clearly. The syntax of *Saintré* agrees on the whole most closely with that of Chartier, that of the other works with that of Commynes. This fact may be explained, I think, by remembering that La Sale wrote *Saintré* when advanced in years, and was evidently much influenced by the preceding courtly literature. The syntax then permits the assertion that *Saintré* is the older work; as concerns the relative age of the *Quinze Joyes* and the *Cent Nouvelles*, it hardly allows a definite conclusion.

WILLIAM PIERCE SHEPARD.

¹ Namely, in the use of the indefinite article, the interrogative inversion of pronouns, the indicative in concessive clauses, the imperfect subjunctive in conditional sentences, and the employment of the forms *que que*, adverbial *mais*, *trop*, *endroit*, *environ*, *o*, *puisque*, and lack of *beaucoup*.

² Namely, in the use of relatives, of neuter interrogatives, of the indefinites *quant*, *tant*, the word-order of object pronouns, and the forms *nesun*, *rien*, and *meshuy*.

NOTE.—The preceding pages were given to the printer before I received the conclusion of C. Haag's paper, *Antoine de la Sale und die ihm zugeschriebenen Werke*, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXIII (1904), 101–135, 315–351. Haag's results, based on a study of the intellectual and moral characteristics, the style and spirit, of the three works, are essentially the same as mine. He holds likewise that La Sale cannot be the author of the *Quinze Joyes* and the *Cent Nouvelles*, though he thinks that the author of the latter may have had some personal or literary relations with him.

ABBREVIATIONS AND WORKS CITED.

- P*: *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, edition Hellény, Paris, 1890.
Q: *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage*, edition Jannet, Paris, 1857.
C: *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, edition Wright, Paris, 1857–58.
O. F.: Old French.
M. F.: Middle French (centuries XV–XVI).
N. F.: New French.
Schmidt, *Syntactische Studien über die Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Zurich Diss.), Frauenfeld, 1888.
Diez, *Romanische Grammatik*, 5^{te} Auflage, Bonn, 1882.
M-L: Meyer-Lübke, *Romanische Grammatik*, 3^{ter} Band, *Syntax*, Leipzig, 1899.
Mätzner, *Französische Grammatik*, 3^{te} Auflage, Berlin, 1885.
Tobler, *VB.* = *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik*: 1^{te} Reihe, 2^{te} Auflage, Leipzig, 1902; 2^{te} Reihe, 1894; 3^{te} Reihe, 1899.
Darmesteter, *Le seizième Siècle en France*, par Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, Paris, 1887.
Darmesteter-Sudre, *Cours de grammaire historique de la langue française*, Paris, 1898.
Haase, *Syntaxe française du XVII^e siècle*, traduite par M. Obert, Paris, 1898.
Haase, *V. und J.* = *Syntaktische Untersuchungen zu Villehardouin und Joinville*, Berlin, 1884.
Haase, Garnier = *Zur Syntax Robert Garniers*, *Franz. Studien*, v, 1 ff.
Voll, *Das Personal- und Relativpronomen in den Balades de Moralitez des Eustache Deschamps* (Munich Diss.), Freising, 1896.
Bode, *Syntaktische Studien zu Eustache Deschamps* (Leipzig Diss.), Leipzig, 1900.
Eder, *Syntaktische Studien zu Alain Chartiers Prosa*, Würzburg, 1889.
Toennies, *La Syntaxe de Commynes*, Berlin, 1876.
Stimming, *Die Syntax des Commynes*, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, I, pp. 191 ff., 489 ff.
Huguet, *Étude sur la syntaxe de Rabelais*, Paris, 1894.
Gellrich, *Remarques sur l'emploi de l'article en vieux français* (Leipzig Diss.), Langenbielau, 1881.

XIV.—*PALÆMON AND ARCYTE, PROGNE, MARCUS GEMINUS, AND THE THEATRE IN WHICH THEY WERE ACTED, AS DESCRIBED BY JOHN BEREBLOCK (1566).*

I.

In 1887 Mr. Charles Plummer in his *Elizabethan Oxford*¹ reprinted from various sources several records of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in 1566. This visit was a great event for town and university, especially since Oxford wished to outdo the welcome which Cambridge had given the Queen on a similar occasion two years before. Consequently the various ceremonies, stage-plays, and disputations of her five days' stay at Oxford were carefully chronicled. The most enthusiastic of the chroniclers was a certain John Bereblock, whose Latin *Commentarii*² is a most detailed and valuable record. In the course of this commentary Bereblock makes large and interesting additions to our knowledge of three lost plays, *Marcus Geminus*, the *Palæmon and Arcyte* of Richard Edwards, and the *Progne* of Dr. James Calphill, all of which were acted during the Queen's visit. He also gives an important description of the manner in which plays were staged at the universities. One need only compare Bereblock's account of *Palæmon and Arcyte* with the commonly quoted account that is found in Anthony à Wood's

¹ Oxford Historical Society, Oxford, 1887.

² The full title reads as follows: "*Commentarii sivi Ephemeræ Actiones Rerum Illustrum Ozonii Gestarum In Adventu Serenissimæ Principis Elizabethæ. Ad Amplissimos Viros Dominum Gulielmum Brokum, Dominum de Cobham, et Dominum Gulielmum Petreum, Regium a sanctioribus secretis Consiliarium. Per J. B. Collegii ibidem Exoniensis socium.*" For an account of Bereblock's life see Plummer, p. xvi.

*Athene Oxoniensis*¹ to see how greatly superior Bereblock's is as a synopsis of the play. The other two plays are of less interest, but Bereblock is the only writer who has handed down to us any summary of them.

His work was first printed by Hearne² in 1729; yet valuable as it is, it has been strangely overlooked by students of pre-Shakespearian drama, even since its republication by Mr. Plummer. It has seemed worth while, therefore, to translate those parts of Bereblock's *Commentarii* that deal with the plays and with the "theatre" in which they were presented. Extracts have also been taken from the work of two other chroniclers of the Queen's visit. These two are Nicholas Robinson,³ who writes in Latin, and Richard Stephens,⁴ author of a very brief commentary in English.

¹ Edition of 1813, vol. 1, col. 353. A slightly different account printed from Wood's manuscript corrected by Mr. Gough is found in Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1823, vol. i, pp. 210-211 and pp. 212-213.

² This and other antiquarian papers were published along with his edition of the *History of the life and reign of Richard II by the Monk of Evesham*, Oxford, 1729. The manuscript had been given Hearne by Thomas Ward, of Warwick, Esq. From Hearne it was reprinted by Nichols in the first edition of the *Progresses*, but was not retained in the edition of 1823.

³ Robinson, then Bishop of Bangor, was a Cambridge man. He was present at the Queen's visit at Cambridge in 1564, and wrote an account of that also. The Oxford account was first printed by Nichols in his *Progresses*.

⁴ Stephens' "Brief Rehearsall of all such Things as were done In The University Of Oxford During The Queen's Majesty's Abode There," was an "Extract Drawn Out Of A Longer Treatise Made by Mr. Neale, Reader of Hebrew At Oxford" (quotations from the title-page). Of Neale's original work there seems to be no trace. Mr. Plummer says (p. xvii, note 3), that in his opinion Neale's work must be practically embodied in Wood's account of this visit in the *History and Antiquities* (Ed. Gutch, ii, pp. 154 ff.), since this account agrees closely and even verbally with that of Stephens; and since the scribe who made the Harleian Copy of the latter omits the report of the Queen's speech to the University, saying it is almost exactly the same as printed in Wood's *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* The "Brief Rehearsall" was first printed by Nichols in his *Progresses*, but was not retained in the second edition.

In comparison with Bereblock it will be seen that they give little or no summary of the plots, though Robinson records some details of authorship, composition, and source not mentioned by the other two. In the last part of the paper I have brought together and discussed a few suggestive points about the plays, and have also spoken of the conditions under which plays were acted in the great halls of the universities, as throwing light on the question of the genesis of the first permanent theatre.

The translations attempt to render the sense of the Latin without smoothing away the extravagances and peculiarities of the style. In places, especially in Bereblock, the meaning is obscure and it may have been guessed wrongly. Bereblock's style, in marked contrast with Robinson's, is inflated and grandiloquent, and this fact must be taken into consideration in judging his comments. He seems to be painstaking, however; and he certainly is copious in his accounts, not only of the plays, but of the disputations and the many other events and arrangements of the Queen's visit. Nothing like his description of the stage conditions is given by either Robinson or Stephens.

II.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH PLAYS WERE PRESENTED : FROM THE LATIN OF BEREBLOCK.¹

"At nightfall a most splendid play was presented, which to those who had looked forward to it all day at leisure was a crowning recompense in its brilliance. Nothing, now, more costly or magnificent could be imagined than its staging and arrangement. In the first place there was a

¹ Hearne, pp. 263-264. Plummer, pp. 123-124.

remarkable proscenium there, with an approach thrown open from the great solid wall; and from it a hanging wooden bridge, supported also by props, is stretched across to the great hall of the college by means of a small, highly burnished cable running through the cross pieces, the whole being adorned with festal garlands and with an embossed and painted canopy. Through this bridge, without commotion and without contact with the pressing crowd, the Queen might hasten by an easy ascent to the play, when it was ready. The hall was panelled with gilt, and the roof inside was arched and frescoed (*laqueari aurato, et picto arcuatoque introrsus tecto*); in its size and loftiness you would say that it copied after the grandeur of an old Roman palace, and in its magnificence that it imitated some model of antiquity.

“In the upper part of the hall, where it looks to the west, a stage is built, large and lofty, and many steps high. Along all the walls balconies and scaffoldings were constructed; these had many tiers of better seats, from which noble men and women might look on, and the people could get a view of the plays from round about. Cressets, lamps, and burning candles made a brilliant light there. With so many lights arranged in branches and circles, and with so many torches, here and there, giving forth a flickering gleam of varying power, the place was resplendent; so that the lights seem to shine like the day and to aid the splendor of the plays by their very great brightness. On each side of the stage magnificent palaces and well equipped houses are built up for the actors in the comedies and for the masked persons (*commædis ac personatis*). On high a seat had been fixed, adorned with cushions and tapestries and covered with a golden canopy; this was the place made ready for the Queen. But she, indeed, was certainly not present on this night.”

*MARCUS GEMINUS: FROM THE LATIN OF BEREBLOCK.*¹

[Sunday, Sept. 1, 1566.]

"When, now, everything had been prepared in this fashion, and the house was filled comfortably full, straightway we could see on the stage Geminus Campanus, whom Duillius and Cotta (on account of their hatred and unscrupulous rivalry) accuse before Alexander Severus. Slaves, farmers, and peasants, corrupted by bribes, are introduced as witnesses. Nothing could be more laughable than to observe them, exulting vulgarly in their certain success, now quarreling about the punishment of Geminus, now wrangling over the sharing of his property; and then to see them deploring their (*suum*, his?)² bad luck with lamentings and tears like women. When this scene had been sufficiently acted out, freedmen of a more honorable stamp are finally brought forward,—men who could not be induced by threats or rewards to make a wrongful accusation. So by *their* writings, *their* testimony, witness and examination, the conspiracy was made clear. The slaves therefore, formerly

¹ Hearne, p. 264. Plummer, pp. 124-125.

² If *suum* means *their*, which is the common construction, then this clause anticipates a later part of the action of the play: and the clause "when this scene had been sufficiently acted out," refers only to the accusation of Geminus and the confidence of his accusers. After this the more honorable freedmen were brought in, the accusers were nonplussed, and *then* their lamentations, and deplorings, and tears made a laughable contrast to their previous assurance. By giving *suum* the rarer construction, by which it may be construed to refer, not to the grammatical subject, but to the subject of discourse, *i. e.* Geminus, we get a quite different and more comic situation. According to this interpretation, Duillius and Cotta are *secret* accusers of Geminus. They are wrangling over the division of his property, when he appears, and they suddenly change their note to elaborate, hypocritical sympathizing with him for the bad luck of which they are the secret cause. Then the more honorable witnesses give their testimony, and both the villainy and the hypocrisy of Duillius and Cotta are revealed.

accusers, now at the Emperor's command are fixed on the cross, Duillius and Cotta are deservedly punished, the freed-men are rewarded, Geminus is acquitted; and great applause is won from all. When the play is finished, we disperse for the night."

*MARCUS GEMINUS: FROM THE LATIN OF ROBINSON.*¹

"This day was closed by a sort of History of a certain Geminus, which History some learned men of Christ's College had turned into the form of a comedy, but in prose; and they acted it on the stage, in the hall of the same college, where all was splendid enough in the way of magnificence and decoration, with regal costliness; and this was done with the aid of Master Edwards, who remained almost two months at the University for completing a certain English work which he gave on the following night. At this historical comedy there were present the Queen's Council, and noble men and women, together with the Ambassador of the Spanish King. The Queen was absent, either because of fear of illness, or because hindered by other business. It had already struck the first hour after midnight when this play was finished."

*MARCUS GEMINUS: QUOTED FROM THE ENGLISH ACCOUNT BY STEPHENS.*²

"This night was played, in the Common Hall of Christ's Church (a fair large scaffold being provided, with lights all of wax, prince-like), a Latin play, named *Marcus Geminus*, at which divers noblemen were present; but the Queen's Majesty came not abroad all this day."

¹ Nichols, 2d ed., vol. i, p. 235. Plummer, pp. 178-179.

² Plummer, p. 199.

*PALÆMON AND ARCYTE: FROM THE LATIN OF BEREBLOCK.*¹*First Part.*

[Monday, Sept. 2, 1566.]

“At the approach of night, they came together for the play that has been made ready. Its wonderful setting and its lavish elegance had so filled everybody’s minds and ears with its marvellous reputation that a mighty and countless crowd of people gathered together, tremendously and immoderately anxious to see. Moreover, the presence of the Queen, of which they had been deprived for two days now, had added such a great desire for it in the minds of all that the number was far greater and more infinite on that account. Scarcely had the Queen come in, together with the nobles and the chief men, and taken her seat on the lofty throne, when all the approaches to the theatre (this was the hall of the college) were thronged with so great crowd, and the steps were already so filled with people, that by their violent pushing they disturbed the common joy by a frightful accident. A certain wall of great square stones had been built there; it was a bulwark propping each side of a pair of steps to bear the rush of the people going up; the crowd becomes too dense, the rush too great, the wall, although quite firm, could not stand the strain; it gives way from the side of the stairs, three men are overwhelmed by the falling mass, as many more wounded. Of those who were overwhelmed the one who survived longest lived not over two days. The wounded, by the application of remedies, soon recovered.

“This untoward happening, although touching every one with sadness, could by no means destroy the enjoyment of the occasion. Accordingly, taught by the misfortune of others to be more careful, all turn again to the play. There one

¹ Hearne, pp. 268–270. Plummer, pp. 127–129.

might behold two youthful princes, Arcyte and Palæmon, who had long lived as comrades in their native land, whom a like mortal danger and a common prison had bound together, and whom kinship and a solemn oath had rendered brothers. These two friends fell desperately in love with one and the same maiden, Emilia, sister of the Duke of Athens. Here, then, in the case of these men one might observe that their souls, tossed backward and forward, hither and yon, and scarcely at peace with each other in prison, were disturbed with more furious passion, that they contended, and did battle with each other. Why waste words? They are held in check by their oath, they heed no oath; they are prisoners, they burst forth; they are banished,¹ love forbids long exile; two days is too long, three days is unbearable. The princely youth, therefore, heeding not the penalty of death, returns in meaner garb and calls himself Philostrates instead of Arcyte. He devotes himself to every sort of service, no task too humble for him to perform, nothing so distasteful to his princely nature which by the presence of Emilia does not become sweet and cleanly; without her the most pleasant pursuits are toilsome, hard, and hateful.

“Meanwhile Palæmon tricks the guard with a sleeping potion, escapes from his hard imprisonment, flees by night, hiding in the woods during the day, and at length meets his brother. Here their common love for Emilia rouses their strife anew, and it had already caused such tumultuous and passionate reproaches that they were on the point of fighting, but forthwith by the arrival of Theseus the fight is checked. Palæmon then tells who he is, and for what cause they were fighting; nor yet does he beg for his life, although his offence

¹ The text here has plural verbs (*prohibentur, curant, incarcerationantur, erumpunt, exulant*), but there is evidently some rhetorical confusion in the passage, for the action can refer only to Arcyte.

has been serious. The Duke, softened by the prayers of the ladies, who just then happened to come up with him in the hunt, appoints a contest between the princes, and commands them to prepare for battle within fourteen days, promising the maiden as a reward to the victor. It is impossible to tell with what delight and gladness the youths went their way; and we, too, after having all cried out to God for the Queen, departed for the night."

*Second Part.*¹

[Wednesday, Sept. 4, 1566.]

"The Queen and the nobles are invited to the play, and they accept the invitation. All sat down in their places. Then there was a great silence. Already on the stage the two knights, Arcyte and Palæmon, were ready at the appointed day, each surrounded by a very bold array. On one side was Emetrius, King of India, in whose charge was Arcyte. A hundred soldiers followed him. As many on the other side follow in the train of Thracian Lycurgus, to whose valor, faithfulness, and good fortune Palæmon had entrusted himself. Theseus thought that the battle ought to be decided by a single contest, and that the maiden should be given to him who should win the victory. This arrangement does not displease the kings, nor do the brothers make objection to it.

"Thereupon marble lists are made in the woods, and three very sacred altars are built there, to one of which, that of Diana, Emilia approaches as a suppliant. Here, then, she

¹ Hearne, pp. 281-282. Plummer, pp. 138-139. The representation of *Palæmon and Arcyte* was to have been completed on Tuesday, but was postponed a day. Under Tuesday Bereblock says: "No play was given on this night, because the Queen, delayed by the rather long disputation which preceded it, could not be present at the play without some risk to her health." (Hearne, p. 277; Plummer, pp. 135, 183, 201.)

prays for a maiden life and unbroken chastity, but in her unhappiness she could not make a long entreaty. The goddess predicted marriage. On the other side Arcyte sought victory from him in whose watchful care are warlike virtues. Immediately to him Mars thunders out victory. To Venus at her altar Palæmon makes his prayer for the maiden, and the goddess straightway promises her to him. Here now a quarrel was on foot among the gods. It is Saturn who settles it.

“Meanwhile each chief looked to the care of the arms for his soldiery, and, that finished, the blast and blare of trumpets is heard. Then in hand to hand conflict they fight fiercely. When at the very first onset the weapons resounded and the shining blades gleamed, a great shudder seized the spectators.¹ For a time success fell to neither contestant, and, wearied with fighting, they twice stop to rest; at the third onset, when not only the movements of their bodies and the parrying of their swords, but even their wounds and blood are visible to everybody, Palæmon sinks to the ground and lies prostrate before his victorious cousin. All joyfully shout their approbation to Arcyte and receive him with gratulations. Palæmon, lifeless and exhausted, having failed of every hope, was none the less tormented still by love, and therefore prays now with loftier eloquence and more fervid supplication, and casts reproaches upon Venus, saying that he had served her from infancy, and that now she had neither desire nor power to help him. Venus could not endure his reproaches, nor could she bear with equanimity to see Mars preferred over her. Womanlike, she pleads her case with lamentations and by weeping. Saturn, stirred by her tears, strikes with subterranean fire the princely victor, as he goes in his triumph crowned splendidly with laurel. Thus Arcyte quickly dies. Then there was a funeral ceremony of great

¹This and the following sentence are imitated from Livy, Bk. i, ch. xxv.

magnificence: he is honored with a public funeral, nobles bear the pall, the kings follow the bier, and the body is burned with solemn pomp. Afterwards at the suggestion of the kings¹ and by the common consent of all, the maiden is given to Palæmon; and this act (the theatre by this time being very full) was approved by the throng with a tremendous shout and clapping of hands. And this was the play that was presented on that night."

*PALÆMON AND ARCYTE: FROM THE LATIN OF ROBINSON.*²

First Part.

"As on the previous night, so also on this, the theatre was splendidly adorned, where the *Knight's Tale* (as Chaucer calls it) was publicly exhibited—having been translated from Latin into the English tongue by Master Edwards and some other alumni of the college. After the Queen's Majesty had gone into the theatre, and all the approaches were closed, by some chance or reason a part of a certain wall (by which you go into the theatre) fell, and it overwhelmed a scholar of St. Mary's Hall and a townsman by name of Penny, who were killed on the spot; and also the leg of a certain other scholar was broken, and both legs of the cook were crushed and his face was made almost unrecognizable with the wounds from the falling stones. Nevertheless the play was not stopped, but was continued till midnight."

*Second Part.*³

"On this night what was left of the History or Tale of *Palæmon and Arcyte* was acted, the Queen herself being present at the representation."

¹ *Regio consilio.* I take the *regio* to refer to the two kings, Emetrius and Lycurgus.

² Nichols, 2d ed., vol. i, p. 236. Plummer, pp. 179–180.

³ Nichols, 2d ed., vol. i, p. 240. Plummer, p. 185.

*PALEMON AND ARCYTE: QUOTED FROM THE ENGLISH
ACCOUNT BY STEPHENS.¹*

First Part.

"This day at night, the Queen heard the first half of an English play called *Palemon and Arcite*, made by one Mr. Edwards, of her Chappell, and played in the common or great hall at Christ's Church.

"At the beginning of the play there were, by a mischance, three slain; the one a scholer of St. Mary's Hall named Walker, the other a cooke named John Gilbert, and the third a brewer named Mr. Pennie (and more hurt), by the press of the multitude, who thrust down a piece of the side wall of a stair upon them, which the Queen understanding, was very sorry for that mishappe; and then forthwith sent her own surgeons to help them, but by that time they were passt remedy."

Second Part.²

"This day, at night, the Queen heard the other half of the forenamed play, *Palemon and Arcite*, in the Common Hall at Christ's Church; and the same ended, gave Mr. Edwards, the maker thereof, great thanks for his pains."

PROGNE: FROM THE LATIN OF BEREBLOCK.³

[Thursday, Sept. 5, 1566.]

"This day was the sixth from the Queen's coming to the city. It gave now the fourth night of our plays in the theatre. On this occasion a very fine and costly entertainment, as the universal wish desired, is rendered with the help of all. On account of its elegance and of the magnifi-

¹ Plummer, p. 200.

² Plummer, p. 202.

³ Hearne, pp. 290-293. Plummer, pp. 146-148.

cence of the scene, the Queen and the nobles were wonderfully and very exceedingly delighted. The subject of the play is given by Ovid in the sixth book of the *Metamorphoses*. From there, so far as possible, we will report the story.¹ First there is heard distinctly there a sort of subterranean noise, shut in and fearful. Hence from infernal regions Diomedes ascends. That was truly horrible then : he foams at the mouth, he has flaming head, feet, arms, which flame not with a fortuitous, but with innate, deep-seated burning ; he himself in truth is only too wretchedly terrified and distracted with the glowing brands of the furies ; he is driven to an awful and unspeakable crime ; on his proper home forsooth he vomits the venom of his bitterness (*virus acerbitatis suæ evomere*) ; he foretells all dire things for the wedding chambers of his grandsons. But that Demon, so hideous, so frightful, so deadly to those about him, the furies do not suffer to stand still very long anywhere ; to the lower regions again with great wailings and strugglings as if to some prison-house they force him down. Tereus meanwhile comes home from Athens, and cunningly and craftily reports to his wife Progne the fictitious death of her sister Philomel.

Lachrimæ fecere fidem, velamina Progne
Deripit ex humeris, auro fulgentia lato.
Induiturque atras vestes,
Et luget non sic lugendæ fata sororis.

For Philomel was not at that time without sensibility and life, but having been forced by violence she had endured the vile lustful outrages of her brother Tereus, a wanton and impure man. Nor yet did the daring man stop at that.

¹ In a second MS. (Bodl. Add. A. 63), which Mr. Plummer used in collation with Hearne's text, this sentence is omitted. Berekblock quotes freely from Ovid, patching together verses and parts of verses to form his quotations. These more or less garbled verses I have reprinted just as they stand in Berekblock.

For the fresh lust of passion drove him on to commit another mad crime: for he made sure of her silence with bloody cruelty:

Arreptamque coma, flexis post terga lacertis
Vincula pati cogit.
Luctantemque loqui comprehensam forcipe linguam
Abstulit ense ferox.

De scelere hoc possit ne miseranda queri.
Os mutum facti caret indice.

fugam custodia claudit.

"Then she was stoned with stones.¹ There she had instead of bedchambers a stable, instead of supping rooms a prison, instead of a couch a litter of straw.

Grande doloris
Ingenium est, miserisque venit solertia rebus.
Indicium sceleris filis intexuit albis.

Tradidit uni,
Utque ferat Domine gestu rogat, illa rogata
Pertulit ad Progenem.
Evolvitur vestes sœvi matrona tyranni,
Fortunæque suæ carmen miserabile legit,
Et mirum potuisse (silet!) dolor ora repressit.

It is wonderful how she longed to seek vengeance for the blood of her sister. She goes about therefore to avenge wrongs with wrongs, and injuries with injuries; nor is it at all reverent to add crimes to crimes already committed. So first of all she planned a device by which she could get back her sister who had been snatched from her. She feigns the sacrifices of father Bacchus and attended by many Bacchanals

¹ This statement is very curious. In none of the many classical versions of the story does any such stoning take place: instead Progne is shut within the stone walls of the stable, as in Ovid, *structa rigent solido stabulorum mœnia saxo* (v. 573). Bereblock's words are *Saxis tum facta ejus lapidatio est*, which can have no other meaning than that the stones were cast upon her (cf. Forcellini's *Lexicon*). *Lapidatio* is probably a slip in Bereblock's latinity, for it seems unlikely that there was a stoning scene in the play.

Venit ad stabula avia tandem,
 Exululatque, evoeque sonat, portusque refringit.
 Germanamque rapit, raptæque insignia Bacchi
 Induit.
 Attonitamque trahens, intra sua mœnia ducit,
fletumque sororis
 Corripiciens, Non est lachrimis hoc, inquit, agendum,
 Sed ferro, seu, si quid habes, quod vincere ferrum
 Possit, in omne nefas ego me, germana, paravi.
 Aut ego cum facibus regalia tecta cremabo,
 Aut linguam, aut oculos, aut quæ tibi membra pudorem
 Abstulerunt, ferro rapiam, aut per vulnera mille
 Sontem animam expellam.

Peragit dum talia Progne,
 Ad matrem veniebat Itis. Quid possit ab illo
 Admonita est, oculisque tuens immitibus, ah ! quam
 Es similis patri, dixit, nec plura loquuta,
 Triste parat facinus.
 Mater Itin puerum, visu miserabile ! mactat,
Apponitque fero viscera cocta patri.
 Ipse sedens solio Tereus sublimis avito,
 Vescitur, inque suam sua viscera congerit alvum.
 Vescenti Philomela caput cervice resectum
 Misit in ora patris, nec tempore maluit ullo
 Posse loqui.
 Thracius ingenti mensas clamore repellit,
 Et sequitur nudo genitas Pandione ferro.

And that play was a notable portrayal of mankind in its evil deeds, and was for the spectators, as it were, a clear moral of all those who indulge too much either in love or in wrath, each of which even if they come to fairly good men nevertheless inflame them with too strong desire, and make them far fiercer and more ungovernable, and very different in voice, countenance, spirit, in word, and deed, from moderation and self-control. At the end of the play, when now the people with mighty assent had given their applause and approbation in the name of the Queen, they turn hastily homeward."

*PROGNE: FROM THE LATIN OF ROBINSON.*¹

"Afterwards the Queen's Majesty is led into the Hall, where the wax candles had been lighted, because eight o'clock had already struck. In the silence of this night there is exhibited on the stage how King Tereus devours his son, slain and prepared by his wife Progne on account of her outraged sister,—all indeed exactly as it should be, with great magnificence, and splendor truly regal. When this Tragedy received its applause, we retire for the night."

*PROGNE: QUOTED FROM THE ENGLISH ACCOUNT
BY STEPHENS.*²

"This day, at night, was played in the Common Hall at Christ's Church a Tragedy in Latin named *Progne*."

III.

MARCUS GEMINUS.

Bereblock's summary of the play *Marcus Geminus* is the only one preserved to us. The play was no doubt of slight importance. Written in Latin, composed by scholars, it was merely one of the many plays that constitute the school, or educational, drama in England.

The *history* of the title character, Geminus, is doubtful. What foundation there is for it I have not yet been able to find. Robinson speaks of the play as based on "a sort of History of a certain Geminus" (*historia quædam Gemini cujusdam*), a statement which suggests the doubtful place of Geminus in history. This "History"—true, legendary, or imagined—was "turned into a comedy," and furnishes one

¹ Nichols, 2d ed., vol. i, p. 244. Plummer, p. 189.

² Plummer, p. 203.

more example of the practice, common even in the first years of Elizabeth, of making plays from previous plays or narratives. *Marcus Geminus*, moreover, is one of the early comedies in prose (*Comædiæ, sed oratione soluta*). The *sed* indicates the unusualness of a prose comedy. Gascoigne in the same year was making the first important contribution to the prose drama in his *Supposes*.

Just how much help Richard Edwards gave toward the production of *Geminus* is not quite clear from Robinson's statement, but the order of phrasing perhaps justifies the assumption that his assistance was in staging rather than composing it.

PALÆMON AND ARCYTE.

Palæmon and Arcyte, the last and best work of Richard Edwards (1523–1566), is thoroughly summarized by Berenblock. It may fairly be ranked as a romantic play, showing the rising Italian influence in English drama. In this it reminds one of the later romantic comedies of Lyly. To be sure, its characters and its scene are drawn from classical realms (like Lyly again); but the play is based on Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, which goes back to the *Teseide* of Boccaccio, and the story is distinctly a story of romantic love, as the author's happily extant *Damon and Pythias* is a story of romantic friendship.

In connection with the source which Edwards used, a startling query is suggested by the statement of Robinson translated above. Robinson speaks of the play as "the *Knight's Tale* (as Chancer calls it)—translated from Latin into the English tongue by Master Edwards, and some other alumni of the college." If this statement be literally true, there are two consequences: first, Edwards must be shorn of the credit, his by all other contemporary notices, of the authorship of a play which enjoyed unusual popularity;

secondly, the existence of a hitherto unknown Latin version of the Palæmon and Arcyte story must be assumed. This Latin version might have been a pre-Chaucerian romance, which is most unlikely; or a post-Chaucerian translation of the *Knight's Tale* into Latin; or more probably a Latin dramatization of Chaucer's poem belonging to the period from 1520–1540; for, if not in dramatic form, the word *translated* could not have been strictly used by Robinson.

These are the consequences, if we accept Robinson's statement. It is easier for me, personally, to believe that Robinson's words are the result of his confusing *Palæmon and Arcyte* with the Latin play *Marcus Geminus*, which was "turned into the form of a comedy" by certain learned men of Christ's College, with the help of Edwards. Yet the manuscript of a Latin play entitled *Fabula Militis* or *Palæmon et Arcita* may some day be discovered.

Of more present importance than the question of the source used by Edwards, is the question of his work as itself a possible source of a notable play of the Jacobean period. What is its relation to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, a dramatization of the same story? The various editors of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*,¹ depending for their knowledge of *Palæmon and Arcyte* upon the frequently quoted but very slender account of it given in Anthony à Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*,² have asserted that Edwards's play was not a source. As a matter of fact, Wood's account gives so little of the real substance of the play that from it nothing can be concluded either way. From Bereblock's full summary, however, it is possible to *prove*, as far as such things can be

¹ Littledale, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, edited for the New Shakespeare Society, London, 1885, introd., pp. 9–11; Rolfe, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, New York, 1883, introd., pp. 24–25; and others.

² Edition of 1813, vol. i, col. 353.

proved, that *Palæmon and Arcyte* was not a source of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

I have already discussed this subject in another paper (*Journal of Germanic Philology*, vol. iv, no. 3), where the argument may be found in full. Most of Berebblock's account of *Palæmon and Arcyte* has already been translated there.

Other matters connected with the play—its relation to early romantic comedy in England, its allegorical significance, its part in the influence of Edwards on Lyly—I must reserve for discussion in a later paper on Richard Edwards.

PROGNE.

The author of *Progne* was Dr. James Calfhill, whose life is briefly told by Nichols.¹ Calfhill's play is a dramatization of the old story of Procne, Tereus, and Philomela, which is related by many classical writers, but by Ovid² with most detail. From Ovid Berebblock quotes freely in his report,—so freely, that it is doubtful whether his account of some points is based on the play or on the poem, much of the action being set forth in Ovid's verses.

It would naturally be supposed from Berebblock's statement that Calfhill used Ovid directly as his source. But it is entirely possible that he simply adapted a dramatic version that already existed. I discover that such a version did exist, and is now extant, though unfortunately inaccessible to me. Brunet in his *Manuel du Libraire* cites the following books: (no. 16159) "*Progne*, tragoedia. *In Academia Veneta*, 1558, in-4;" and (no. 16677) "*La Progne*,

¹ "James Calfhill of Shropshire. Admitted at Oxford 1545; student of Ch. Ch. 1548; A. M. 1552; second canon of Ch. Ch. 1560; D. D. of Bocking and Archdeacon of Colchester, and nominated to Worcester 1570 but died before consecration. *Ath. Ox.* C. 163." Nichols, 2d ed., vol. i, p. 230.

² *Metamorphoses*, VI, 412-674 (Teubner text).

tragedia di Lod. Domenichi. Fierenze, Giunti, 1561, in-8." The 1558 *Progne* is a Latin play, and the 1561 *La Progne*, of course, an Italian one (there was also a *La Progne* by Girolamo Parabosco, published in 1547, and an unpublished tragedy of that title written by Allessandro Spinello, at Venice in 1549).¹ The Latin play of 1558 was written in 1464 by Gregorio Corraro, and from it, as Zeno shows, Domenichi took his *La Progne* of 1561.² Corraro's play was printed again in the 17th century, and yet, in spite of its being fairly well known, a Dutch writer named Heerkens, finding a copy, tried to palm it on the scholarly world as an antique, the work of Lucius Varius, the Augustan tragedian. Heerkens announced his "discovery" in the introduction to his book of Latin verse entitled *Icones* (1787), where he quoted long passages from the play (to which he gave the title *Tereus*), together with the prologue entire. He intended to edit his *Tereus* showily, but scholars became suspicious and the imposture was brought to light.³

I am not now able to lay hands on a copy of *Icones*, and must leave the investigation of Calfhill's indebtedness to Corraro to a more fortunate time; but since Corraro's prologue, as printed by Heerkens, introduces the character of Diomedes,⁴ as Calfhill's did (a character not mentioned by

¹ Fontanini's *Biblioteca dell' Eloquenza Italiana*, with Zeno's annotations, Parma, 1803. Tome i, p. 513, and Zeno's note (a).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 513-14. Zeno's note (b).

³ For a clear statement of the facts of this curious literary incident, v. *Lucius Varius et Cassius Parmensis*, Aug. Weichert, 1836, pp. 118-120; *Operette di Iacopo Morelli*, Venezia, 1820, vol. ii, pp. 211-217; Brunet's bibliographical note under *Progne*. The exposure of Heerkens was made by David Christian Grimm in an essay, *Tragœdia vetus latina Tereus deperditarum XV soror*, Annabergæ, 1790, and by Morelli in a letter of 1792, the reference for which is given just above.

⁴ Diomedes, King of Thrace, is not elsewhere mentioned as an ancestor of Tereus, but the relationship was naturally assumed, and must have been easily understood by the cultured audience.

Ovid¹), there is every reason to suspect a close relationship between the plays.

It is possible that Calhill, following the dramatic vogue of the day, turned the prologue borrowed from Corraro into a dumb show. Certainly this part of the play might have been easily presented in pantomime, and the action as narrated above by Bereblock bears a curious likeness to the dumb show before the fourth act of *Gorboduc*. *Gorboduc* had been acted before the Queen in 1561, and the pirated edition was printed in 1565, only the year before *Progne* was produced. "The Order and Signification of the Domme Shew before the Fourth Act" is stated in these words :

"First the musick of howboies began to plaie, during which there came from vnder the stage, as though out of hell, three Furies, Alecto, Megera, and Ctesiphone, clad in black garmentes sprinkled with bloud and flames, their bodies girt with snakes, their heds spred with serpentes in-stead of heare; the one bearing in her hand a snake, the other a whip, and the third a burning firebrand; ech driving before them a king and a queene, which, moued by furies, vnnaturally had slaine their owne children: the names of the kings and queenes were these, Tantalus, Medea, Athamas, Ino, Cambises, Althea. After that the Furies and these had passed about the stage thrise, they departed; and than the musick ceased. Hereby was signified the vnnaturall murders to follow, that is to say, Porrex slaine by his owne mother, and of King Gorboduc and Queene Viden, killed by their owne subiectes."²

The similarity of this to the torment of Diomedes and to the "signification" of his torment is obvious. The dumb show in *Progne*, then,—if we are safe in calling it a dumb

¹ The only suggestion in Ovid for the whole scene of Diomedes and the furies is in the following passage :

"Eumenides tenuere faces de funere raptas ;
Eumenides stravere torum, tectoque profanus
Incubuit bubo thalamique in culmine sedit.
Hac ave coniuncti Progne Tereusque, parentes
Hac ave sunt facti." (VI, 430-434.)

² Manly, *Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, vol. ii, p. 246.

show,—may have been suggested by *Gorboduc*; and at any rate served to modernize the play and bring it into line with the well defined vogue of dumb shows, examples of which are found in *Jocasta* (1566), and *Tancred and Gismunda* (1568), as well as in *Gorboduc*.

Without access to either Corraro's *Progne* or Heerkens' extracts from it, I cannot furnish any positive evidence that Calhill made use of the Italian author's play; but a bit of negative testimony, to help show that he did not dramatize directly from Ovid, may be added. In Ovid no moral is drawn, but Bereblock's last paragraph shows that here the lesson of the story was not unappreciated. While the moralizing may be Bereblock's own, there may have been at the end of the play a speech exploiting the lesson. This speech may have had no counterpart in Corraro, but was possibly modelled (like the dumb show) after a fashion of the time. For moralizing is put into the mouth of Eubulus at the end of *Gorboduc*, and of Edwards's Eubulus at the end of *Damon and Pythias*. Gascoigne gives a somewhat similar treatment of the moral of the same story in his *Complaint of Phylomene* (1576-7), a poem which shows a contemporary interest in the theme. These moralizing speeches, no doubt, show the influence of the morality plays even upon those authors who were breaking the pathway to the new dramatic field.

THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH PLAYS WERE PRESENTED.

Mr. Ordish in his *Early London Theatres* discusses the influence that the early conditions under which plays were acted had upon the form and construction of the Theatre and Curtain of 1576. Though he develops an argument for the influence of the amphitheatre of ancient England in determining the circular configuration of these first London

playhouses, he goes on to show that the innyards were the *immediate* predecessors of the early theatres. This idea of the form of the playhouse being an adaptation of the conditions of the innyard is the commonly accepted one. Yet Mr. Ordish adds that there may have been other influences at work, of which we have now lost sight. "Nor is it known," he says, "under what stage arrangements the player acted when at home; *i. e.*, at a royal palace or the residence of the master whose servants they were. It is probable that the courtyard was the usual theatre; but we do not know, and these conditions probably told upon the arrangements of the playhouse as much as did the formation in the innyards."¹

The narrative of Bereblock gives us just the information necessary to understand how plays were presented before royalty and nobility in the great halls, and we can see how such conditions as are described must have influenced the plans of the players and managers who ventured the erection of the first playhouse.

In the yards of the inns, where a play was to be given, a platform was built out from one side for a stage; the rooms behind it were used for dressing rooms and the balcony of the stage; the balconies on the other three sides served for the nobler spectators, while the groundlings held the courtyard itself. From Bereblock we learn that essentially the same conditions obtained at the magnificent production at Oxford. The problem was the same: a play was to be presented; and a rectangular space was available for it. Accordingly, at one end of the hall "the stage was built large and lofty, and many steps high. Along all the walls balconies and scaffoldings were constructed; these had many tiers of better seats, from which noble men and women might look on, and the people could get a view of the plays

¹ P. 28.

all round about." There is thus a close similarity between the main features of the temporary playhouse here and at the inns.¹ It is *not* to be assumed, however, that the preparations for a play in a great hall (as this at Oxford) were in any way imitated from the contrivances of the players in the innyards. The very opposite is more likely.

For what suggested to the common players the idea of using the courts of the inns for their theatre? When plays were still being presented on pageant wagons in the towns, the nobles and the court were entertained by dramatic performances in the halls of the castles and palaces. It is evident that on such occasions special provision must have been made, so that as many as possible could see. In a square or rectangular hall the most obvious and easy thing for this purpose was to build scaffoldings or balconies along the walls, as Bereblock reports was done at Oxford. Now

¹ Somewhat different arrangements were made for the presentation of the *Aulularia* at Cambridge, 1564, "For the hearing and playing whereof, was made, by her Highness surveyor and at her own cost, in the body of the [King's College] Church, a great stage containing the breadth of the Church from the one side to the other, that the Chappels might serve for Houses. In the length it ran two of the lower Chappels full, with the pillars on a side. Upon the south wall was hanged a cloth of State, with the appurtenances and half-path for her Majesty.

In the rood-loft another stage for Ladies and Gentlewomen to stand on. And the two lower tables, under the said rood-loft, were greatly enlarged and rayled for the choyce officers of the Court.

There was, before her Majesty's coming, made in the King's College Hall, a great stage. But because it was judged by divers to be too little, and too close for her Highness and her company, and also for her lodging, it was taken down." Nichols, 2d ed., vol. i, p. 166.

In the plan of the Christmas festivities of the Temple in 1561-2 we have the following statement, which describes a theatre more nearly like that described by Bereblock: "*The Banquetting Night*. It is proper to the Butler's office, to give warning to every House of Court of this banquet; to the end that they, and the Innes of Chancery, be invited thereto, to see a play and mask. The Hall is to be furnished with scaffolds to sit on, for Ladies to behold the sports, on each side." Nichols, 2d ed., vol. i, p. 141.

when the companies of players which acted at the great halls looked about for a way to present their plays in public, the square courtyard of the inn at once suggested itself as offering the essential features of the great hall. A platform only need be erected; the rooms of the inn with their balconies were adaptable for spectators in place of the balconies with tiers of seats rising above one another, and except for the absence of a roof the place was a fair substitute for the theatres of the nobility. It is, then, entirely credible that the notion of using the innyards for plays was derived from the previous experience of the actors in the great halls.

This view suggests at once that just as the manner of dramatic presentations before the nobles and the court led to the use of the innyards for a substitute, so the conditions in the great halls must have partly furnished the model for the first permanent public theatre—the Theatre of 1576.

This view has greater weight from the fact that the drama of England during the early years of Elizabeth's reign was coming more and more under the patronage of the schools, the nobles, and the court. So far as we know, almost every significant play between 1558 and 1576 was enacted under the auspices of the universities or the court.¹ Burbage and his company, who established the Theatre and played in it, were the Earl of Leicester's men; thus those who planned and built the first playhouse were undoubtedly quite as familiar with the conditions at the castles and palaces as with those at the Talbot, or Boar's Head, or the other inns. In setting about the construction of a permanent building for plays

¹ It is sufficient to mention *Ferrex and Porrex* at the Inner Temple, *Apus and Virginia* by Westminster scholars, *Julius Sesar* (?) at Court, *Jocasta* at Gray's Inn, *Damon and Pythias* at Westminster, *Palæmon and Arcyte* at Oxford, *Roister Doister* by school boys, *Gammer Gurton's Needle* at Cambridge, *Supposes* at Gray's Inn.

they naturally did not neglect to consider suggestions from the best temporary theatres England afforded—those of the palaces and universities. In playing at the inns they had had to take things as they found them ; they could not have afforded, nor would they have been allowed by the inn-keepers, to build up such arrangements as were possible to the wealthy and great. In putting up a permanent structure, however, they naturally combined the best features of both these kinds of improvised theatres,—the balcony with many tiers of seats from the palace hall, and the additional second balcony suggested by the two or three stories of the inn. The innyard, open to the air above, no doubt taught that the theatre could be less expensively built without a roof and still give the crowd in the pit as much comfort as it was accustomed to ; while the balconies modelled after those of the halls were more commodious and convenient to see from than those of the inns. Thus every main feature of the early playhouse can be traced to the conditions either of the hall or the innyard. If we assume, as has hitherto been done, that the Theatre was a development from the innyard alone, it must be granted that Burbage made notable improvements on his model ; but when we conceive this double origin of the Theatre, it is at once seen that it was merely the embodiment in permanent form of things already familiar. Even the curved or octagonal form of the Theatre, which has been pointed to as a great advance over the square innyard, may very well have been borrowed from the shape of the balconies used in the great halls. Why should *they* not have been curved or cut off at the corners ? Why should the credit for the idea (which is after all a very obvious one) of rounding off the inconvenient corners be given to James Burbage rather than to some one of the nameless carpenters at the court who for years had been

facing the same problem of how to make a theatre out of a rectangular space? At any rate, the conditions which prevailed at the dramatic performances of the universities and the court can no longer be overlooked in seeking the genesis of the public theatre. They must be granted to be an equal if not a dominant influence in its development.

W. Y. DURAND.

XV.—THE HERMIT AND THE SAINT.

In the progress of Oriental stories westward, a movement which has been, to say the least, far from uncommon, the means and methods of transportation are usually extraordinarily difficult to ascertain. When analogues of tales well-known in the folk and formal literatures of Europe are found in the East, it is easy enough to assume that the parent form of the type was Asiatic in origin; but it is no light task to show the successive stages by which the material passed from the one continent to the other. In cases where the story was adopted by the Christian church at an early date for the moral or religious instruction of its adherents, there is perhaps less difficulty than elsewhere in believing that it was actually transplanted from the East, since the lives of the hermits of the desert, those reservoirs of Christian example, were strongly tinged by Oriental thought.

This latter kind of narrative is well illustrated by the tale of the hermit who, after years of austere living, discovers that another man, though surrounded by wealth and clothed with temporal authority, has become his equal or superior in righteousness. The discomforture of the good man when he learns that the essential character of holiness lies rather in humility and simplicity of heart than in outward show of piety gives the story point. Though obscured in some of the versions, it bears evidence that asceticism, even when it fell upon degenerate days, sometimes remembered the meaning of true piety. The narrative thus furnishes a refreshing contrast to the multitude of tales in which morbid laceration of spirit and flesh are commended at the expense of more useful virtues.

The characters of the little comedy differ greatly in the

several versions; but one of them in almost every case is a holy man or a hermit, while the second usually lives in the world. The other differences are only such as might be expected in the development of a particular theme by different hands. As long ago as 1856 Simrock discussed the narrative in connection with its appearance as prologue to the Middle High German romance, *Der gute Gerhard*.¹ His work was done excellently, though it did not exhaust the subject. Somewhat later Köhler² discovered a couple of Jewish variants, which broadened the field of study materially and also called the attention of Benfey to the story. The latter was able to add³ two Indian versions of the motive, one of them earlier than that discovered by Simrock, and both closer to the usual form of the tale. In 1880 Gaster printed,⁴ in the same journal in which Köhler's paper had appeared, the later of the two Jewish versions mentioned by him, giving at the same time much additional information.

There the question rested, as far as I know, until 1902, when I treated the story briefly in my dissertation⁵ with reference to a variant from the north of England. Unhappily, I did not then know the previous studies in the theme and so dealt for the most part with legendary material which I found independently. In the same year Menéndez Pidal, on his reception into the Spanish Academy, took the theme as the subject of his address⁶ in treating the sources

¹ *Der gute Gerhard und die dankbaren Todten*, 1856.

² *Zum guten Gerhard*, *Germania* (1867) XII, pp. 55-60. Reprinted in *Kleinere Schriften*, 1890, I, pp. 32-38.

³ *Zum guten Gerhard*, *Germania* XII, pp. 310-318.

⁴ *Zur Quellenkunde deutscher Sagen und Märchen*, *Germania* XXV, pp. 274-285.

⁵ *The North-English Homily Collection*, 1902, pp. 73-75.

⁶ *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la Recepción pública de D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, 1902, pp. 5-65. Dr. S. Griswold Morley of Harvard drew my attention to this monograph and added to his kindness by lending me his copy.

of a play by Tirso de Molina. This discourse contains the most adequate account of the tale that has yet been made. The author sketches its wanderings with his accustomed brilliance and erudition, adding several variants which were before unknown. My only excuse for treating the subject again is the fact that Menéndez Pidal for some reason neglected the material in Simrock's book, and that the versions which I myself have found throw new light on certain features of the migration of the theme.

The oldest variant that has yet been discovered is found in the Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*,¹ of which the approximate date in its earliest form is the fifth century B. C.² A short summary will be sufficient for our purpose, since the homiletics with which this early form is plentifully garnished could, of necessity, not pass into the popular versions told in other lands. It must also be regarded as extremely unlikely that so highly developed a literary form as this of the *Mahābhārata* became the progenitor by lineal descent of the folk-tales dealing with the theme, which are scattered over the world, unless, indeed, by means of popular analyses derived from the epic.

A virtuous brahman, named Kauçika, once stood under a tree, reciting the Vedas, when a crane let fall its droppings upon him. In anger he cursed the bird, so that it fell dead to the earth. He then went to a village to ask alms and was kept waiting by a woman, who turned from him to attend to the wants of her husband. He became angry at this and asked her whether she was ignorant of the honor due to brahmans and of their power. The woman answered: "I am no crane, O first of the brahmans." Whereupon, she read him a lecture on her own duty as a wife and his as a

¹ III, vv. 13652-14115. Analyzed by Benfey, *Germania* XII, pp. 311-316, and by Menéndez Pidal, pp. 11-17.

² Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, 1900, p. 285.

brahman and told him to seek true virtue in the person of a hunter at Mithilā. The brahman found this man in a slaughter-house, selling game and buffalo meat. The hunter informed him that his coming had been foreseen by himself and invited him to his house, where he treated him with all courtesy. To the brahman's protest against his carrying on so vile a trade, the hunter responded that it was his duty, that he cared for his old parents with reverence, spoke the truth, fostered no malice, gave what alms he could, and lived with manly integrity. He then showed his parents and how well he cared for them. Turning on the brahman, he pointed out to him that in leaving his parents without comfort in their age he acted selfishly and should return to care for them. This the converted brahman proceeded to do.

The story of the brahman was copied in the collection of tales entitled *Āukasaptati*,¹ which was made about 1070 A. D.² This form is much briefer than the other but, as far as is evident from the summary which I follow, changes no feature of the tale except to relate that the hunter actually fed his parents while giving the brahman an exposition of his duty. The names are, of course, changed throughout.

An entirely different tale, which yet has sufficient likeness to ours to be worth noting is found in the *Rāmāyana*,³ an epic now regarded as later than the *Mahābhārata* but as perhaps existing in its primitive form as early as the fifth century B. C.⁴ In this, the king Viṣvāmītra is instructed by Brahma that a holy life is better than war and lives as a hermit. His self-righteousness in this estate is rebuked, and by successive stages of a thousand years he is brought to the

¹ Analyzed by Benfey, *Germania* XII, pp. 317, 318.

² Macdonell, p. 376.

³ Book I. Analyzed by Simrock, pp. 40-42.

⁴ Monier-Williams, *Indian Epic Poetry*, p. 3; Macdonell, p. 309.

holiness of a brahman. The point of this narrative is altogether different from that of the other, but it tallies with the moral of at least two European variants, which will be discussed below.

Whatever the ultimate source of the theme, whether it was started on its wandering career by the *Mahābhārata* or, as seems more probable, by the folk-tale which the epic used, it next appears in western Asia with certain highly significant variations in its form. That it passed from India to Persia before the Sassanid empire was destroyed by the Mohammedans in 641 A. D. cannot reasonably be doubted, though there is only the evidence of probability that it existed in Pahlavi.¹ Persia of the middle period was certainly a great distributor of tales; and ours next appears among the Mohammedans and Jews, whose relations with Persia were those of antagonists and neighbors.

Two Arabian and two Hebrew variants have thus far been discovered. Three of these fall into a group by themselves and closely resemble the story in the *Mahābhārata*, while the fourth, though markedly dissimilar to the other Oriental forms, is strikingly like the prevailing European type. Let us first consider the group which I have mentioned.

This includes one Arabian story and the two Hebrew forms, of which the Arabian and the older Jewish variants correspond in all essential traits, except that the names have been changed. An analysis of the Arabian² will therefore suffice. On Mount Sinai Moses asks Allah who will be his companion in Paradise and is told through an angel to go to

¹ See Menéndez Pidal, pp. 17-20, for an admirable rapid sketch of the path of the tale from India to the Arabs, Jews, and Christians.

² I follow the summary of Menéndez Pidal, pp. 20-22. He takes the tale (see p. 59) from F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas moriscas*, 1885, I, pp. 315-322, or from the analysis given by M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 1893, p. 291, which do not differ essentially.

a certain city where dwells a butcher called Jacob, who will be his associate in the next world. He goes to the city, finds that Jacob is regarded as desperately wicked, but asks him for lodging that night. His request is reluctantly granted. Jacob then goes into an inner room where he feeds, washes, and tenderly cares for his aged parents. It is revealed to the old father, when he prays, that his son will be the companion of Moses in Paradise. When Jacob comes out, the observant Moses tells who he is. The aged couple hear the news and forthwith die of joy. In the older Jewish tale,¹ Joshua ben Illem and the butcher Nannas are the names of the two characters. As this Hebrew variant is admittedly older than the one cited below,² and as the Hebrew probably comes from the Arabian, or directly from the Persian, it appears that this double variant must be at least as old as the eleventh century.

The younger Jewish tale was the work of a rabbi Nissim, whose identity and date are uncertain. He was either Nissim ben Jacob, who lived about 1030, or Nissim ben Ascher ben Meschullam of the thirteenth century.³ A pious and learned man prays that he may know who will be his companion in Paradise. He is told by a dream and a voice from heaven that a certain butcher is the man. He finds the butcher and asks him about his life, learning that he gives half of his income to the poor and lives on the other

¹ Noted by Köhler, *Germania* XII, p. 59, after Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, col. 588, from an old collection of stories on the Decalogue. Menéndez Pidal, p. 59, cites it from the Spanish redaction found in M. Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-spanische Chrestomathie*, 1896, pp. 92-94.

² Köhler and Menéndez Pidal, as cited.

³ See Köhler, as cited. The story was translated in A. M. Tendlau, *Fellmeiers Abende. Märchen und Geschichten aus grauer Vorzeit*, 1856, pp. 110 ff., whence it was taken by Köhler, pp. 55-58. Another translation was made by Gaster, *Germania* XXV, pp. 280-282, from Jellinek, *Beth-hamidrasch*, pp. 136 ff. See Menéndez Pidal, pp. 24, 25, for a summary.

half. When questioned further, he relates as a special deed of merit on his part how he once bought a captive maiden at the cost of almost all his property, reared her in his house, and was about to give her to his son in marriage. At the wedding feast, a young man appeared to whom the maiden had been long ago betrothed. With his son's consent, he gave her to this man together with the gifts prepared for the young couple. This, he says, is the most meritorious deed that he recalls doing. The pious and learned man concludes that he is happy in having such an one for his equal in Paradise.

The forms just summarized are alike in changing the hunter of the *Mahābhārata* to a butcher, and in simplifying the double humiliation of the brahman to an appeal on the part of the first person of the tale to know his equal in virtue.¹ The adoption of the motive by peoples whose social customs differed from those of India sufficiently explains these changes of detail. The type represented by the Arabian and the older Jewish tales follows the Indian original in making reverential care for parents the virtue immediately praised. The fundamental precept, however, is not this, as Menéndez Pidal appears to think, but rather the lesson that true goodness lies in the humble performance of duty without outward show of piety. Were it not so, such changes as those found in Nissim's tale and in most of the variants still to be cited would be inexplicable. The later Hebrew variant, to be sure, is not a simple form but a compound of our theme with *The Ransomed Woman*, which is often found in combination with *The Grateful Dead*.² The butcher gives half of his income to the poor and instances his kindness to a captive maiden as the one act of his life which merits special grace. The point of the original story

¹ See Menéndez Pidal, p. 19, for comment on these changes.

² I hope soon to publish a new study of these related types.

is not altered, as will be observed, in spite of the addition of new material.

The same thing is true of the second Arabian tale, which, though too late to be regarded of itself as a source of the European variants, is of peculiar interest. *The Pious King*¹ is one of the many stories which were appended to the *Arabian Nights* without any claim to be regarded as really a part of that collection. A holy man, who has lived all his life in piety, is troubled by the removal of a cloud which has long overshadowed him. He sets out to discover who is more worthy of the protection of heaven than himself and finds a king, who in the midst of outward splendor lives privately in great austerity with his wife, supporting himself by the labor of his hands. Here we have in a fully developed form the type which the influence of the church was to make predominant in Europe,—the holy ascetic, the heavenly warning, the man in authority doing his penance secretly. The last factor, the transformation of the second person of the narrative from a despised position to the height of worldly honor, emphasizes the real significance of the motive as stated above.² The story, as we have it, is later than several of the ecclesiastical adaptations of Europe; but the source of the story may well have been the ancestor, not many degrees removed, of some of the very similar versions in the West.

No less than five of these are found in the *Vitae Patrum* attached to the lives of as many hermit saints of the desert. Their connection with the East is thus not remote, while by means of the popularity of the collections in which they were imbedded they became the property of all Christendom.

¹ *Nachträge zu 1001 Nacht*, trans. von Hammer and Zinserling, 1823, I, pp. 281-284. Given by Simrock, pp. 42-45.

² Menéndez Pidal, p. 26, notes that the second person of the tale changes in the Christian variants, but he does not use *The Pious King*.

It was natural enough that the theme should be applied to the hermits, as Menéndez Pidal shows,¹ because they were so peculiarly tempted to spiritual pride by reason of their renunciation of the world.

The tale of Paul and Anthony² may first be mentioned, since the characters are supposed to have lived as early as the end of the fourth century. Anthony was, indeed, the founder of the solitary life. When the two hermits have lived in holiness for sixty years, one of them is informed by a voice from heaven that the other is better than he. On investigation he finds that this pinnacle of goodness has been attained by rigorous asceticism. Here the point of the narrative is greatly obscured, since the piety of the two hermits does not differ in kind. Somewhat the same thing is true of the story concerning the hermit Pyoterius,³ who is told by an angel that a certain nun is better than he. He finds her living with great humility of heart and demeanor a life of extreme austerity. Both of these narratives recall the anecdote from the *Rāmāyana* cited above.

In the case of two other tales, attached to the lives of Macharius and Eucharistius or Eucharius, there is a closer correspondence with the typical form of *The Pious King*. In the first of these,⁴ St. Macharius is informed by a voice from heaven that two women are more than his peers in the sight of God. He visits them and learns that they have

¹ P. 27.

² Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus Latina*, xxiii, col. 22 ff. Analyzed by Simrock, pp. 17-21; Menéndez Pidal, pp. 27, 28. The latter refers to Herolt, *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, H. 4, and *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*, Humilitas, No. 7.

³ Migne, LXXIII, col. 984 and 1140; LXXIV, col. 299. Simrock, pp. 21-23, and Menéndez Pidal, p. 29.

⁴ Migne, LXXIII, col. 778. Simrock, pp. 23, 24; *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 74; Menéndez Pidal, p. 29. On p. 60, the latter refers to Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, M. 11, and *Libro de los exemplos*, No. 145.

lived in obedience to their husbands for fifteen years without ever giving way to anger. William de Wadington, it may be noted, when he retold this story in Old French in the latter part of the thirteenth century,¹ lengthened the period of good-temper from fifteen to twenty years. In the story of Eucharistius,² two hermits learn by means of a heavenly voice that their betters in piety are a man named Eucharistius (Eucharius) and his wife. The result of a visit to the couple is the discovery that they live together in continence on one-third of their wages as shepherds, giving the remainder in charity. In both of these tales, it will be seen, the type is somewhat changed from that found in *The Pious King* by the fact that the exemplar of goodness is not a man in high station, yet they are closer to it than to the older Arabian and Hebrew forms in that feminine virtue is substituted for masculine, or is a partaker of it.

In the fifth of the stories found in the *Vitae Patrum*, however, the characteristic trait of *The Pious King* is preserved, whence it was transmitted, as will be shown, to a couple of later tales which complete a highly interesting chain of narratives extending from Arabia to England. This story concerns the hermit Paphnutius³ and is triplicate in form. The hermit is first told by an angel that a certain flute-player is his equal in virtue. He investigates and finds that the man has only lately repented of his evil life as a robber, but

¹ See *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, etc., ed. Furnivall, 1862, p. 62 ff. Re-ed. E. E. T. S. 119, 1901, pp. 69 ff.

² Migne, LXXIII, col. 1006; *Scala Celi*, by Joannes Junior (Gobius), ed. 1480, Castitas 8. Simrock, pp. 24, 25; *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 74; Menéndez Pidal, p. 29. Additional references from the latter: Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, M. 7, and *Magnum Spec. Exemp.*, Castitas, No. 2.

³ Migne, LXXIII, col. 1170 ff. Simrock, pp. 26-30; *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 74. Menéndez Pidal, pp. 31-33, gives the first adventure only, and on p. 60 additional references to Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, lib. XIV, cap. 76; Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, M. 8 and 9; and *Scala Celi*, Misericordia.

has acquired favor with heaven by acting the good Samaritan to a poor woman. The hermit is edified and returns to his cell. Again he is informed, this time by a voice from heaven, that a certain *protocomes* (= admiral or provost) is as good as he. Accordingly, he visits the provost and finds that for thirty years he has lived with his wife in some splendor, but honestly, charitably, and continently. Paphnutius learns another lesson in true piety and departs. Again he is told that a certain merchant is his equal in goodness and finds that the man conducts his business as a lover of Christ should. This story combines the two Arabian types and adds a third anecdote for good measure. The comparison with the converted robber who follows the lowly profession of flute-player bears an unmistakeable likeness to Nissim's Jewish tale and must derive from the same source. The second part is as unmistakeably allied to *The Pious King*. Which of the two versions was first told of Paphnutius it is impossible to determine. The process of reduplication here shown has been the frequent resource of story-tellers in every age.

Before passing to the secular adaptations of the *Paphnutius* legend, it must be noted that the tale thus connected with the lives of five hermits of the African desert is told of Pope Gregory the Great¹ and of the sainted bishop Severinus of France.² In the first of these variants, a hermit asks God who will be his peer in the life to come and learns that it will be Pope Gregory. He laments that his voluntary poverty avails him so little, since his glory is not to surpass

¹ I cite from the summary by Menéndez Pidal, p. 30, who refers to Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.*, T. 9; *Magnum Spec. Exemp.*, *Judicium temerarium*, No. 10, from *Vita S. Gregorii Papae*, lib. 2, cap. 59; and *Libro de los enxemplos*, No. 51.

² Surius, *De Probatiss. Sanctorum Vitis*, 1618, iv, pp. 359, 360. In part by Gregory of Tours, *Liber de Gloria Confessorum* XLV, Migne, LXXI, col. 862. Summary by Simrock, pp. 33-35.

that of a rich pope. The following night, the Lord asks him how he dares to compare his poverty with Gregory's wealth, inasmuch as he is more attached to the only thing he possesses, a cat which he fondles all day long, than is Gregory to all his splendor. In the second variant, a hermit and a bishop are told by God that Severinus is their superior and equal in virtue respectively. They find that though he lives surrounded by wealth he holds it in little esteem, makes no more account of it, in fact, than the hermit does of a wooden drinking-cup which he has preserved since the days of his worldliness. This anecdote with its slight variations is little more than a recasting of the second part of the *Paphnutius* legend applied to the praise of two princes of the church.¹ It may be surmised that the story about Gregory gave rise to that about Severinus.

The next transformation is more interesting in that it brings us into another field of literature, though an adjacent one. It is the story of the *Provost of Aquileia*, which is found twice in Old French. In the first of these variants the form and treatment are those of a *fabliau*, though the subject better befits the *conte dévot*.² It must be classed as the former, since its purpose was evidently anything but edification. The second variant, closely related to the first in content indeed, fulfils better the requirements of the *conte dévot* and may be so considered. It is the work of the

¹ In the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria, the hermit Adrian, who has lived sixty years in holiness, declares that he is surpassed in faith by Catherine soon after her conversion. See Capgrave, *Life of St. Katharine*, ed. Horstmann and Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 100, 1893, Book III, vv. 855 ff., p. 222. Menéndez Pidal, p. 61, notes that at the end of the *Barlaam and Josaphat* in the *Vitae Patrum* it is revealed to Josaphat that he will have the same glory as his father. He believes himself worthy of more, and Barlaam appears to him to rebuke him for such pride.

² *Du Prevost d'Aquille ou d'un Hermite que la Dame Fist Baigner en Aigue Froide*, Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes*, 1823, II, p. 187. Simrock, pp. 32, 33. *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 74.

legend-writer of the fifteenth century, Jean Mielot.¹ A certain hermit, who for thirty years (in Mielot ten years) had lived in solitude, prayed heaven to learn who was his equal and was told that the Provost of Aquileia was the man. He found the provost riding out from the city with a gay company and was given a ring to take to the officer's wife. With her he underwent some very humiliating and decidedly risky adventures; but his virtue was rather strengthened than destroyed by his hard experience, since he found that the life of the provost was really much more austere than his own. Here we have the narrative of Paphnutius over again not only in essentials but with so many similar details that one can scarcely doubt the connection between the two. The man of real virtue in both cases is a provost. He, or the hermit, has lived for thirty years in abstinence and humility. The only really original part of the French story is the account of the holy man's adventures with the wife. This is due to the Gallic humor of the poet, who thus sought, and doubtless successfully, to tickle the ears of his middle-class audience. The correspondence of titles in the two narratives would be almost sufficient to prove the parentage of the Old French version, even if the similarity of incident were lacking. There can be little doubt, it seems to me, that we have to do with a story in *fabliau* form directly based upon an anecdote in the life of a saint.

The probability of this is measurably increased by the transformation next to be noted. This is the story of *The Hermit and Saint Oswald*, found in its complete form in the collection of homilies in the vernacular, written about the beginning of the fourteenth century in the extreme north of England.² It was briefly retold in the *Promptuarium*

¹ *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, ed. G. F. Warner, Roxb. Club, 1885, No. 71, p. 76.

² In the homily for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity: MS. Ashmole 42, ff. 155 a-156 b; MS. Camb. (Univ. Libr.) Gg. V. 31, ff. 97 b-101 a; MS.

*Exemplorum*¹ by John Herolt, a Dominican, who wrote in the early part of the fifteenth century. Here King Oswald, the Northumbrian saint of the seventh century steps into the place of the provost. The hermit is impersonally enough named Goodman in the metrical homily but is called Symeon by Herolt. In almost every detail this North-English variant conforms to the Old French *fabliau*. Where Mielot differs from the latter, the story of St. Oswald is the same. Thus they agree in such a detail as the length of time which the hermit had passed in solitude. The only point of divergence concerns the adventures of the hermit with the wife, where the farcical situation of his treatment as provost or king is somewhat more skilfully worked out in the French. In the English there is also an introductory episode, an allegorical account of how the hermit's attention was directed to the superior virtue of the king by watching two fish in a stream. Herolt has no hint of this, which is probably only an embellishment introduced by the author of these popular sermons.

The question arises,—how was the story transferred from the *fabliau* to the homily? It is not told in the ordinary lives of St. Oswald, yet that it was currently related of him is proved by Herolt's summary. We must conclude that popular tradition first ascribed the tale to a well-known saint, taking it over in the specialized form in which it appeared as a *fabliau*. We have thus very clearly the reversion of a narrative once legendary from secular to ecclesiastical use. This is the more interesting because the form of the tale is so little altered in the transference,

Camb. (Univ. Libr.) Dd. I. 1, ff. 159 b–162 b; ms. Lambeth 260, f. 46 a–b; ms. Harl. 2391, ff. 198 a–201 a; ms. Phillipps 8122, ff. 118 a–122 a; ms. Phillipps 8254, ff. 116 a–120 a; ms. Bodl. Libr. Eng. poet. c. 4 (a fragment). *Anal. North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 73.

¹ *Prompt. Exemp.*, A. 7. *North-Engl. Hom. Coll.*, p. 75.

though it was intended merely to amuse in the one case and to edify as well as interest in the other. It illustrates to advantage the methods of hagiological borrowing, that nothing was counted common or unclean which could be turned to homiletic use.

The story of *The Hermit and the Saint* found its way by another path into the secular literature of Europe in Rudolf von Ems' *Der gute Gerhard*, a Middle High German poem of the early thirteenth century.¹ The emperor Otto is represented as praying to know what reward he shall have for his good deeds. A heavenly voice informs him that his pride has destroyed his merit and advises him to take the merchant, Gerhard of Cologne for his example. The emperor goes to Gerhard and asks him the secret of his goodness. In reply he hears a form of the story of *The Ransomed Woman*, almost identical with that of Nissim's Hebrew tale. The narrative is somewhat embellished, it is true. The butcher has become a rich merchant,² the captive maiden a princess, and the lost suitor a prince. Yet, as Köhler pointed out,³ the story is not essentially altered save in the opening scene, which is everywhere treated with some freedom. Where Rudolf found the tale we do not know; but he was familiar with learned literature,⁴ so that we may surmise the existence of an equivalent of the Jewish narrative in Latin by the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Another variant of our theme is the story told of Richard Lionheart in the Spanish romance *El Conde Lucanor*⁵ written

¹ Ed. Haupt, 1840. Analyzed by Simrock, pp. 2 ff., and by Gaster, *Germania* xxv, pp. 275-280.

² The only other variant, as far as I know, which makes the second person a merchant, is the third adventure of *Paphnutius*. It tallies with *Gerhard* in no other way, however.

³ *Germania* xii, p. 59. Later by Gaster, *Germania* xxv, p. 280.

⁴ He produced versions of *Barlaam and Josaphat* and *Eustace*, the latter now lost.

⁵ Chap. iv, *Biblioteca de autores españoles* LI, pp. 37 ff.; ed. Knust, 1900, pp. 306 ff. Menéndez Pidal, p. 31.

by Don Juan Manuel in the fourteenth century. Here a hermit prays to heaven and learns through an angel that his equal in Paradise is King Richard. Upon investigation he finds that the king's claim to divine consideration is a deed of valor which he performed against the Moors in Palestine. The opening of this tale recalls *The Provost of Aquileia*, but the similarity is so slight that it does not justify any conclusion as to relationship.

Spanish literature furnishes a second version of the motive, however, which can be traced to better advantage. This is *El Condenado por Desconfiado*,¹ the play by Tirso de Molina which Menéndez Pidal has made the objective point in his monograph on *The Hermit and the Saint*. After his exhaustive study, nothing further remains to be said with reference to Tirso's immediate sources. For the sake of completeness, however, I shall summarize the plot and give Menéndez Pidal's conclusions as to its origin. As the result of a dream, the hermit Paulo begins to doubt his hope of salvation and cries out for a sign. The devil appears in the form of an angel and tells him that his fate will be the same as that of Henrico of Naples. When Paulo finds that Henrico is considered one of the worst men of the city, he casts off his habit and becomes a robber. In the second act, Henrico is shown caring for his aged father, but he is obliged to flee from Naples on account of a murder and falls into the hands of Paulo, becoming a member of his robber band. In the third act, Henrico returns to Naples to care for his father, is caught and condemned, comes to repentance through the tears of the old man, and is carried to heaven. Paulo, on the contrary, is wounded in a fight, doubts the

¹ *Biblioteca de autores españoles* v, pp. 184-203. Summaries by Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, 1890, I, pp. 345, 346, and Menéndez Pidal, pp. 35-44. For a bibliography of editions, adaptations, and translations, see the latter work, pp. 57, 58.

grace of God though told of Henrico's end, and is devoured by hell. This bald outline can give no notion of the merit of a play which Menéndez Pidal calls¹ the "más espléndido retoño" of the Oriental tale. Tirso de Molina united the story of the robber flute-player of the *Paphnutius* legend with the Moorish version of the story about the butcher who revered his parents, adding thereto a tale called *The Apostate Hermit*.² From this material he fashioned a drama of genuine poetic merit, though sufficiently bizarre in plot.

Simrock treated two other stories in connection with the theme. One of these, a folk-tale from Baden,³ tells how a youth, one of the somewhat numerous class who seek release from a compact made in their behalf with the devil, visits a hermit and is sent on to a murderer, who is expiating his sins by terrible penance. This scarcely belongs with the group under consideration, even though the reformed robber is represented as holier than the hermit. In point of fact, it is a variant of *The Child Vowed to the Devil*, a story known to mediævalists in several forms, one of which has recently been published by M. Paul Meyer.⁴ The second story, which Simrock prints entire,⁵ is not of much interest for the present purpose because it is a modern adaptation from printed sources. It has the triplicate form peculiar to the *Paphnutius* legend and possibly came from that version more or less directly, as indeed Simrock recognized.

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¹ P. 10.

² See Menéndez Pidal, pp. 44-48, 61-64.

³ From Baader, *Badische Volkssagen*, No. 301. I have not had access to the book and rely upon Simrock, pp. 38-40.

⁴ *Romania* xxxiii, pp. 163-178. Simrock refers to a couple of variants in German folk-literature. I have at my command several other folk versions, but will reserve discussion of the tale for another occasion.

⁵ Pp. 30-32.

XVI.—VONDEL'S VALUE AS A TRAGIC POET.

Joost van den Vondel is one of the few Dutch poets who have attained to anything approaching international fame. To him is attributed a rather noteworthy influence on Milton. As long ago as 1854 A. Fischel demonstrated in his *Life and writings of Joost van den Vondel* that Milton knew and made use of Vondel's works. Gosse, in his *Studies in the Literatures of Northern Europe*, pointed out that this influence came only from Vondel's *Lucifer* and was restricted to the sixth book of *Paradise Lost*. Edmunson, however, in his *Milton and Vondel: A Curiosity of Literature* (London, 1885), showed that not only in Books 1, 2, 4, and 9 of *Paradise Lost*, but also in *Paradise Regained* and in *Samson Agonistes* fragments are imitated from *Joannes den Boetgezant* (John the Messenger of Repentance), *Adam in Ballingschap* (Adam in Exile), *Samson of the Heilige Wraak* (Samson or the Sacred Vengeance), and from *Bespiegelingen van God en Godsdiens*t (Reflections about God and Religion). Among the other discussions the most important are that of Masson in his *Life of Milton*, that of Professor Moltzer in *Noord en Zuid* (vol. 9), and that of Van Noppen in the introduction to his translation of Vondel's *Lucifer*.

It seems that the finality of the results of these discussions is still open to question. It is certainly possible for a partisan of Vondel's influence to give to the translation of *Lucifer* a Miltonic flavor. It is equally possible for the opposition to point out that the ideas alleged to have been adopted by Milton were common property. And when it comes to evidence of the actual identity of figures used, there is always the unanswerable objection of a common source, which in this case is the Bible.

There is one detail in the study of Vondel's influence which seems to have been overlooked, and the discussion of it may have a general interest. It is this : Since Vondel's influence not only on Milton, but also on such Dutch poets as Anslo, Brandt, Oudaan, Vollenhove, and Antonides van der Goes, emanates almost exclusively from his tragedies, why is it that this influence is not dramatic, as one would expect, but both epical and lyrical ?

Vondel considered himself specially born and adapted for tragedy. From his first biographer, Brandt, down to contemporary critics such as Professors Moltzer and Beets, Alberdink Thym, Van Lennep who has given the best edition of the poet's works, and by students of Germanic literatures generally, he has been considered a great tragic poet, nay, he has been held comparable to Sophocles, Euripides, Seneca, and even Shakespeare. Dr. Jonckbloet, the Romance philologist, raised a storm of indignant protest when he dared doubt the excellence of Vondel's tragedies. But for this one dissenting voice his reputation as a tragic poet seems still to be firmly established.

Out of Vondel's thirty-two dramas twenty-three are original, eight are translated from the Greek or the Latin, and one is a pastoral drama, moulded more or less upon the form of Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*.

In 1612, in his twenty-fourth year, he wrote his first play : *Easter, or the delivery of Israel out of Egypt ; Tragic-Comedy presented on the stage for the edification of every one*. It was given under the auspices of the Brabant Rhetoricians' Guild at Amsterdam. The plot is as follows : Moses is herding sheep on Mount Horeb. In a soliloquy he depicts his taste for the shepherd's life, spent as it is among scenes of nature. He avoids the entanglements of the world, partly, it is true, on account of his having slain an Egyptian, but mainly because of his heart's desire. O, could he but deliver

Jacob's house from bondage! The care of his flock has trained him to be the leader of his people. Jehovah himself appears and consecrates him an "earthly god." After this, Moses girds his loins and goes out to encourage the heads of Israel. Then, having in vain demanded in the name of Jehovah Israel's freedom, he forces Pharaoh by means of his miracles to consent to the departure of the Jews. Only the miracle of the staff changing into a snake takes place on the stage. The other miracles and the plagues are described by the chorus, which points them out, besides, on painted stage pictures. Pharaoh repents and hurries with his army after the departing Israelites. Then "Fame" in a lengthy oration, which takes up the greater part of the fifth act, tells about the interesting occurrence in the Red Sea, after which the chorus sings a hymn of praise. Moses offers a sacrifice of thanks, and the play would be over, if it were not for another and, this time, a moralizing chant by the chorus, which finally does end it. This chant or chorus gives the mystical explanation of the play, which symbolizes the delivery of mankind through Christ from the sway of darkness and sin. And Vondel hints later that he also wished to suggest the delivery of Holland from the dominion of Spain.

That it was Vondel's object to edify his audience with this play appears from the following passage taken from the preface. He wishes "that the play be read (sic!) with such fruits that it may lead to the praise of the holy and blessed name of God, and that the reflecting upon it may cause the sad tragedy of our miserable lives to take a happy and wished for end. Amen."

It is evident that we are here within ear-shot of the mediæval miracle play, and I hasten to say that Vondel soon abandoned this primitive dramatic form. But weak though it be in dramatic conception and little as it represents

the poet, *Easter* is nevertheless important as a resultant of forces which characterize his time, which help to explain his work, and from which he has scarcely ever shown himself wholly independent.

As has been pointed out, the play was given under the auspices of a guild of Rhetoricians. In these guilds, of which there were a great many, the literary activity of the nation had for a long time been centered. Early ecclesiastical influence, then a strong tide of theological protestantism, and certain national traits, account for the fact that the literary output of these guilds was in the main solemn and edifying. Now, Vondel being a member of the two most influential guilds, wrote under the impulse of a deep-seated and prevalent tradition. This tradition of edification through the drama is almost wholly responsible for the following interesting fact. When with the advent of the renaissance the writing of tragedies became the vogue, the development of farce and comedy, which had already given rich promise and to which the people, with their tendency toward the concrete and their quick perception of contrast, were peculiarly responsive, was for the time being arrested. Tragedy assumed the role of comedy, viz. that of commenting upon and criticizing society, church, and state. It is true that Vondel is superior to all other Dutch poets of his time in power of expression, but in thought and activity he remains essentially its representative. As a result, he never rids himself wholly of the fatal propensity to edify. He goes even further. In the measure as he develops, he exchanges edification for argumentation and finally persists in using tragedy as a vehicle for propaganda and polemics.

This naively avowed purpose of edification in *Easter* is not its only characteristic. The renaissance is suggested by the choruses between the acts, by the substitution of learned

for natural expression, by the frequency of oratory, by the nature of the verse form.

The movement may be said to have begun in 1584, with the publication by the so-called Old Guild of a book to which *Spiegel*, the "Father of the language," was the main contributor, printed in Leyden by Christoffel Plantyn. It was without a doubt suggested by Du Bellay's *Déffense et Illustration de la langue françoise*, and had the same object. Before Vondel began to write, the triumph and prevalence of the renaissance was already an accomplished fact, and the romantic drama had during the poet's time no chance of success with play writers. There is more. Vondel was a *bourgeois*: his father sold stockings for a living, and the son succeeded him in the business. This in itself would argue nothing, were it not for the fact that caste in his time and nation was sharply outlined and that Vondel remained ever aware of the boundaries, spiritual and physical, of his social position. Now, the principal representatives of the renaissance were men of rank and station. Their leader, the poet and historian Hooft, was an aristocrat of great power and influence, a Mæcenas, and his castle a *rendezvous* of all the literary talent of the country. It was through his influence that Vondel began to learn Latin and Greek after he was twenty-five, and that he was initiated into the spirit of the renaissance. As a result, the poet did not, as Corneille and Racine, look upon the movement with complete self-identification and spontaneity. He was led to accentuate the faults of the renaissance. After learning by heart the Aristotelian rules, he applied them artificially and from without, not naturally and from within. And though his works represent on the whole the most beautiful expression of the renaissance in Holland, its tone is too far above the popular tone. It cannot be denied—and the accompanying table will prove it—that there was an abyss between his tragedies and the people.

LIST OF VONDEL'S PLAYS.	Published in :	First Presented in Amsterdam Theater in : ¹	Number of Times Presented in Amsterdam Theater from its Opening to the Year of Vondel's Death. ¹ (1638-1679)
1. Easter	1612		0
2. Jerusalem Destroyed.....	1620		0
3. Palamedes.....	1625	1665	3
4. Amsterdam Hecuba (Tr.: Seneca's Troades)	"		0
5. Hippolytus (Tr.: Seneca).....	1628		0
6. Sofompaneas or Joseph at Court (Tr.: Hugo Grotius).....	1635	1638	64
7. Gysbreght van Amstel.....	1637	"	119
8. Electra (Tr.: Sophocles).....	1639	1639	32
9. The Virgins.....	"	1660	5
10. The Brothers.....	1640	1641	46
11. Joseph in Dothan.....	"	1640	44
12. Joseph in Egypt.....	"	"	40
13. Peter and Paul.....	1641		0
14. Mary Stuart or Martyred Majesty.....	1646		0
15. Descendants of the Lion (Pastoral Drama)	1647	—	—
16. Solomon	1648	1650	29
17. Lucifer.....	1654	1655	2
18. Salmoneus.....	1656	1657	7
19. Jephthah.....	1659	1659	11
20. David in Exile.....	1660	1660	5
21. David Restored.....	"	1661	5
22. Oedipus (Tr.: Sophocles).....	"	1665	3
23. Samson or the Sacred Vengeance.....	"	1660	3
24. Adonijah or Disastrous Crown Desire....	1661		0
25. Batavian Brothers.....	1662	1663	3
26. Phaethon or Reckless Temerity.....	1663		0
27. Adam in Exile or the Tragedy of Tragedies).....	1664		0
28. Zungchin or the Wreck of Chinese Rule..	1666		0
29. Iphigenia in Tauris (Tr.: Euripides)....	"		0
30. Noah or The Destruction of the First World	1667		0
31. The Phenician (Tr.: Euripides).....	1668		0
32. Hercules at Trachis (Tr.: Sophocles)....	"		0

If we except his most popular tragedy, *Gysbreght van Amstel*, which was during his lifetime presented on the stage

¹ Data taken from C. N. Wybrands' *Dietsche Warande*, vol. 10, page 423.

of the Amsterdam Theater one hundred and nineteen times, but owes its popularity rather to historical than to dramatic interest, the average number of performances for each of his original tragedies, from the opening of the theater in 1638 to Vondel's death in 1679, is only nine. Five out of these twenty-two original tragedies can be said to have achieved some degree of popularity, the number of their presentations under the circumstances just given ranging from eleven to forty-six. Eight of them were given from two to seven times, and nine were not given at all. Besides, Vondel's plays did not usually command full houses. That the renaissance itself was not to blame for this unsatisfactory result is evident from the fact that Vondel's translation of *Electra* was given thirty-two times and his translation, from the Latin of Hugo Grotius, of *Sofompaneas*, sixty-four times.

Vondel's contemporary and biographer, Brandt, lays this lack of success to the door of the storming dominies who, especially after the poet became a member of the Catholic Church in 1639, raved against the stage, against Vondel and his habit of dramatizing biblical subjects. Vondel himself charges Jan Vos, the director of the Theater and himself a successful dramatist, with having given the rôles of his plays to incompetent actors who, moreover, "came upon the stage in absurd and threadbare costumes." Again, some well-meaning admirers of the poet have discovered that the cause lay in the apparent lack of taste and culture in the public.

As for the first charge, it may be suggested that play-goers have never been recruited from the orthodox renters of pews in protestant churches. And one would think, since human nature does not seem to be subject to evolution, that the sermons of these storming dominies must have been fairly good advertisements. Vondel's own charge has been thoroughly

refuted by Jonckbloet.¹ As for taste and culture, the public has always been known to lack them in the case of certain unsuccessful plays.

If from an analysis of the characteristics which came to Vondel's tragedies from without, through the influence of the time and place in which he lived, we turn to those which came from within, through the nature and quality of his genius and character, our inquiry will naturally concern itself at once with Vondel's own conception of the dramatic principle as applied to tragedy. The results of this inquiry can be stated only in terms of comparison with a universally recognized and adopted formula for the constitution of tragedy, as exemplified in those tragedies which all the world agrees in calling excellent. To that end we must leave out of consideration those conventional and temporary formulæ,—such as the unities of time and place, the five act theory, etc., which had weight and currency in Vondel's day,—and remember that both the so-called romantic and the renaissance tragedy were dead by the end of the seventeenth century, making room for a developed comedy and the modern drama.

In an age when authoritative precept had such weight that even the greatest dramatic geniuses were forced to submit to it, it is to be expected that Vondel, in the development and application of his own dramatic conception, was guided by some dramatic gospel. Aristotle first came to him in the form of a sort of handbook for the tragic poet, a paraphrasing of that philosopher's *Poetics*, which was entitled *Dan. Heinsii de Tragœdiæ Constitutione Liber* and published by the Elzeviers in 1616. There is an abundance of evidence to the effect that Vondel looked upon Heinsius as his main authority, and if we can cull from his

¹ See Jonckbloet's *History of Dutch Literature*, vol. 4, page 322.

book a statement of the tragic principle which is accepted to-day, it will be perfectly fair to base an estimate of Vondel's value as a dramatic poet upon a comparison of his tragedies with this statement. Dr. Jonckbloet made such a one, and it is in part his statement which I herewith present.

Very properly the greatest emphasis is laid upon action : "that is the soul of tragedy." This action must be homogeneous and converge toward one point, the final catastrophe. It becomes tragical through the unexpected, but causally consequential, reversal of the fate of the principal character or characters, who are in general of higher station, possessed of greater power or deeper passion than the average spectator. This reversal of fate should, in order to create unexpectedness and, therefore, interest, be brought about by one who is related to the principal character by ties of blood or friendship. Since man is inclined to fear lest what he sees happen to others may happen to him, the action in general and the reversal of fate in particular must cause in the spectator those emotions which it is the object of tragedy to call forth, such as pity and fear. These emotions must, moreover, be called forth "purified," *i. e.*, free from the grief and deep confusion which real events would cause in him, and based on æsthetic feeling. Besides, not every personality is most fit to arouse them ; fittest is that personality who, like the spectator, is neither extremely virtuous and perfect, nor extremely wicked.

This brings Heinsius to the discussion of the characters and their characterization, upon which he lays the second emphasis. He starts from the principle that the weal or woe of man depends on his acts. The tragic poet must, therefore, set forth his characters not necessarily according to historical reality, but in accordance with the requirements of the action. They must have the proper "mores" and

the necessary passions. With "mores" Heinsius means all that distinguishes one man from another, all that constitutes his individuality. This individuality must be marked, and either kept intact or developed consistently throughout the play.

In the third place Heinsius speaks of the bond that must exist between the action and the characters. There is no doubt that there are situations which are strikingly tragic. If a poet is attracted by such a situation with a view of preparing it for the stage, he can do so fruitfully only if he makes the reversal of fate dependent upon the character of the personage or personages who are the center of the action, for thus alone can the spectator become reconciled to the final catastrophe. If the poet does not do this, even the most tragical situation will be lost on the spectator, and experience shows that many an excellent subject has been in this way robbed of all its force and flavor by an unfit dramatist.

If we accept this statement as being suggestive of the essential spirit and, therefore, form of tragedy, it is rather interesting to note parenthetically that we have here to do with three principles, to wit: harmony in the action, harmony in the characterization, and harmony in the several relations between the characters and the action; and that these three harmonies correspond to the conventional three unities. Aristotle's famous dictum that "tragedy tries *in general* to limit itself to one turn of the sun or not to exceed it too much," but that "the epic is not limited in regard to time" is based upon what he had observed in the twenty or so successful tragedies which he may have analysed, and is intended at most by way of suggestion and advice.¹ These Greek tragedies are themselves so limited only "in general,"

¹ See Jules Lemaitre : *Corneille et la Poétique d'Aristote*.

and the idea is simply that a historical character once selected for a tragical situation being in the course of time often subject to change, the time chosen for the action must not be extended so that it would include an inconsistent change in that character's individuality. The twenty-four hours limit,—which, indeed, is not always adhered to in the seventeenth century tragedy,—became but a conventional formula. But the condition on which it is based is real and essential. As for the unity of place, of which Aristotle does not speak, it may be partly due to the paucity of scenic possibilities of the seventeenth century stage, but since one's point of view towards a situation is always changed by a change of locality, it stands to reason that any dramatist, if he wishes, as he ought, to retain harmony in the relations between the characters and the action, will change the locality of it only when such change does not affect the bearing of the characters upon the action. In general he must, and does, avoid the change.

Vondel's attitude towards the essentials as well as the merely conventional formulæ of tragedy is one of faith and docility. He neither quarrels with his tools nor doubts the trustworthiness of authority and example. Like Corneille, he stands at the beginning of a movement: he is not paralyzed by the critical theories of a transition period. The road is clear. How far will his own dramatic genius lead him?

In *Jerusalem Destroyed* there is practically a total absence of action. There is only narrative, and tedious narrative at that. The scenes are scarcely connected. At the end the angel Raphael preaches a sermon, 288 lines long, in which he explains to the Christian pilgrims assembled what may be thought of Israel's fall. The play has still less dramatic quality than *Easter*.

Everyone knows what religious and political troubles were caused by Jansenism. The question of predestination or no predestination split Holland into two hostile camps. Children left their parents, preachers stormed and denounced: there was a reign of terror. The Stadtholder, Prince Maurice, took a hand in the fight, and the matter ended in 1619 with the murder on the scaffold of Holland's great chancellor, the count of Oldenbarnevelt. Vondel was on the side of the latter, and wrote his *Palamedes* against Prince Maurice. The basis of this tragedy is, therefore, political polemics. The author was summoned to appear before a court in The Hague, and if the government of Amsterdam had not refused extradition, the play would have cost him his head.

The plot contains the story of Palamedes' (Oldenbarnevelt's) death through the machinations of Ulysses. Agamemnon, who convenes a court to judge Palamedes' alleged treason and allows it to be packed with enemies of the accused, is Prince Maurice. A key to the *dramatis personæ* was published by Brandt.

Here is some improvement, for there is a connected story. But Palamedes takes no active part in what little action there is, and the deeds of his opponents are not brought about even by his attitude towards them. We cannot discover what Palamedes has done to cause all this hatred of Ulysses. There is no characterization through action. The fearful nature of Ulysses' vengeance is not justified by anything whatsoever. Palamedes tells a great deal of good about himself, and his friends tell a great deal more. Here we have a venerable old man, whom description makes us suppose to be spotless, who is unnecessarily murdered by ecclesiastical spite and worldly wickedness: lying and deceit triumph in the end. There is no question of punishment for the miscreants. The play is over with the fourth act;

the fifth is taken up with oratory and narration by persons who have no connection with the plot.

Van Lennep, the novelist, calls this play a masterpiece, and points out the wealth of picturesque descriptions, the life in the dialogue, the richness and variety of imagery, the power and the elegance of expression. This is like praising a useless egg-beater, because its material happens to be silver, curiously and beautifully chased and set with pearls.

One would expect Vondel's next original tragedy to be a good one (see Table). The Amsterdam Theater, the establishment of which in 1637 marks the unification and the end of all the local guilds of rhetoricians, was solemnly opened with *Gysbreght van Amstel*, January 3, 1638. It has kept its place there, being still given every New Year's eve. Its relative popularity can, however, be amply explained on grounds of local patriotism. Its plot is taken from the early history of the city.

Floris the Fifth, count of Holland, was a sort of Louis the Eleventh. He destroyed the power of the country's feudatories in an effort to centralize the government. A conspiracy followed, and he was murdered for his pains in 1496. The play represents the resistance of Gysbreght, lord of Amstel or Amsterdam, his part in the conspiracy, the taking of his city by Floris, and the consequent loss of his all.

Vondel has with this tragedy given an imitation of the second book of Vergil's *Aeneid*. It has been asserted in all seriousness that the play must be good, because it is an imitation of an excellent epic. The result, however, is that it is a mere series of epical fragments. Narration again takes the place of action. What characterization there is, is again accomplished by description. There is, indeed, reversal of fate, but it has not been made dependent on the

character of the hero, who is again presented as spotlessly white, innocent, pure, brave, and a good provider for his town and family. Floris does not seem at all like the hand of an all-ruling Providence, but rather like a bold, bad spellbreaker.

There is one sporadic, but well developed dramatic scene in the play. When Gysbreght decides to fall fighting among the ruins of his city, and wishes his family to leave it for a place of safety, his lovable wife, Badeloch, refuses. We have here what constitutes the basis of all dramatic action: a clash of the will and the emotions. Through this clash and the subsequent action Badeloch develops into a heroine. It is a pity that this situation is but secondary to the main plot. As it stands, it does not redeem the shortcomings of the whole.

The Virgins represents the massacre by the king of the Huns, Attila, of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, near Cologne, Vondel's birthplace. As he had glorified the city of his home in *Gysbreght van Amstel*, so did he intend to compliment the city of his birth with *The Virgins*. The play shows still greater faults of construction than *Gysbreght van Amstel*, which it resembles in general tone.

The Brothers is a *Tendenz*-play in which are suggested the terrible results of the intolerance of contemporary preachers. The plot is based upon 2 Samuel 21, verses 1-14, in which we may read how David sacrifices seven of Saul's sons at the behest of the Gibeonites whom Saul had persecuted. *The Brothers* is the first of Vondel's tragedies in which there is consecutive action. It also excites fear and pity. But neither the action nor the pity and fear are tragical. The action would have been tragical, if Saul had been made the soul and pivot of the action and represented as the victim of a one-sided passion which leads him inevitably into the crime of persecuting the Gibeonites, a crime for

which the sacrifice of his sons atones,—king David to be simply the arm of an inexorable Providence in the execution of vengeance. As the action stands, however, Saul does not appear, and the sacrifice of his sons is mere murder, brought about by the machinations of a high-priest, Abjathar, who happens to hate them. David is represented as a priest-ridden, characterless king, who covers an underhanded ambition under the cloak of religion, and aids Abjathar for fear of losing his crown. All the glory falls upon the seven sons of Saul and their two mothers. Our pity and fear are for them, and these emotions are akin to what we should feel if we saw a man thrown from a high roof in a brawl. The fear and pity are resolved into a feeling of disgust, revolt, and injustice, not (as they should be in tragedy) eased by a feeling of resignation.

Vondel says of his *Joseph in Dothan* that it might make a pleasing impression in the acting or the *reading*. It is in fact but a narration in dialogue, a dramatic poem. It has been given abundant praise as such. It should be pointed out, however, that a dramatic poem is always weak as a work of art. Such a poem is like an automobile drawn by a horse: neither the drama nor the poem comes into its own, and there is incongruity besides. The drama is confessedly weak and the poem is confessedly not a well rounded whole in and for itself. The combination of the two is incongruous, because both have requirements and qualities of their own, which refuse to mix.

In *Joseph in Egypt* we have an imitation of Seneca's *Hippolytus*, which Vondel had translated in 1628. He thinks he has improved upon Seneca, because he emphasizes, more than Seneca, the dire results of unholy love.¹ The fact is that he has repeated the mistake, made in *The*

¹ See Van Lennep's edition of Vondel's works, vol. 3, page 803.

Brothers, of misplacing the tragical situation, which he almost always finds in the misfortunes of the more or less passive victim of the action, not in the causes which must lead to them. Racine calls his own imitation of *Hippolytus* by the name of *Phèdre*, and rightly so, because the tragical situation lies in her being led through her character to burn with unholy love for her stepson, whose death she causes, by means of a false accusation, when he withstands her. This death awakens her conscience and is atoned for by her suicide. Vondel calls his imitation *Joseph in Egypt* because he does not see that the passion of Potiphar's wife contains the tragical situation, but thinks that it lies in Joseph's suffering and imprisonment. When Joseph is punished through her false accusation, she calmly continues in her ways and starts new love affairs. Vice triumphs again: there is no atonement.

Peter and Paul and *Mary Stuart*, which were never presented on the stage, both sing the praises of the Roman Catholic Church. As tragedies they are weaker than most of Vondel's work and may, therefore, be left without further discussion.

The middle of the century is, however, the poet's best period. The *Descendents of the Lion*,—written in honor of the peace of Münster, which made an end, so glorious for Holland, of the Eighty Years' War with Spain,—is a good pastoral drama. Not only in this, but also in *Solomon* and in *Lucifer*, he rises to the greatness of a true poet and, with some reservations, to that of a dramatic poet. *Solomon* is undoubtedly his best tragedy. For once the tragical situation is placed where it belongs.

Solomon, made proud by prosperity, conceives a fateful passion for king Hiram's daughter, here called Sidonia, and is by her persuaded to offer sacrifice to the goddess Ashtoreth. God in his anger allows a storm of misfortune to burst over

his head : the prophet Nathan predicts war, destruction, and misery as an atonement for his crime. "In this tragedy," says Vondel, "no blood is shed, but a great soul dies."

It is through the influence of his time that this truly tragical situation has to a great extent been lost in the treatment. I have premised in my general statement of the tragic principle, that a historical character must be presented according to the requirements of the action, not primarily according to historical truth. Now Vondel's audience was, in the first place, well versed in biblical history and, in the second place, too inartistic to allow any tampering with it. Vondel represents Solomon, therefore, as a gray-haired old man, and this venerable personage falls desperately in love with an unscrupulous, designing woman, who simply winds him around her little finger. The situation, through this treatment, begins to belong to comedy, instead of tragedy. The tragic principle would have been preserved if Vondel had felt at liberty to present Solomon as a victorious king in the flower and vigor of manhood. Then his passion for Sidonia would have been free from the suggestion of ridicule that now attaches to it, and would, on account of the contrast in character between Solomon and Sidonia, have been burdened with fateful forebodings from the point of view of the spectator. These forebodings would have developed into true tragical fear when Solomon, whipped on by his pride and Sidonia's allurements, forsakes the path of Truth and turns against God. The spectator would have pitied him in his consequent loss of peace and the wretched suffering which his conscience inflicts upon him. And when he is finally crushed by Nathan's prophecy of destruction, the spectator's emotions would have resolved themselves into the resigned conviction that after all Truth conquered.

Vondel's *Lucifer* has been the subject of widespread discussion, and is better known outside of Holland than any

of his other tragedies. There exist two English translations of the play.¹ Alberdink Thym declares in his *Portraits of Joost van den Vondel* that the poet here crowns himself as the Prince of Dutch Tragedy. By way of contrast with this statement, it is significant to note that the play was barred from the stage after two performances. Do Alberdink Thym and so many other admirers think that the first object of a tragedy is to be read? Certainly, as in all Vondelian plays, there are in *Lucifer* many details beautiful in thought and in expression. But how about the play as a whole? That is the question.

It is now beyond cavil that *Lucifer* is a political allegory. It represents the revolt of the Netherlands (the fallen angels) under the leadership of William the Silent (Lucifer) from the dominion of the king of Spain (God). The Spaniards represent mankind and are typified by Cardinal Granvella (Adam). Vondel intends here to present his, *i. e.*, the Roman Catholic, point of view concerning the Revolt.

The plot deals with Satan's hatred of mankind, his revolt from God's rule, and his consequent expulsion from heaven with all his diabolical accomplices. Who would deny that we have here excellent material for a tragical situation? Lucifer or Satan, too, with his one-sided passion against mankind and his hopeless attitude of defiance toward God, is truly a tragical character.

It is at once evident, however, that the placing of the action in heaven has its serious drawbacks. The human interest becomes indirect. God, an omnipotent, omniscient, eternal, never changing being, is no dramatic character, because a clash of his will with any other will is for the spectator out of the question. Since Vondel is compelled to insist on such a clash, we cannot have a consistent develop-

¹ One by George Santayana, the other by Van Noppen.

ment of God's character. Moreover, the historical facts before Vondel's mind, the success, namely, of the Dutch revolt and the consequent decline of Spain, lead him, after the expulsion of Lucifer from heaven (which should end the tragedy) to show how Lucifer nevertheless encompasses the fall of man. Lucifer, therefore, conquers God. Leaving out of consideration that this course is out of keeping with all idea of God, it completely ruins the tragical situation, for it makes the atonement, the expulsion of Lucifer from heaven, ineffective. It also entails inconsistency in the development of Lucifer's character: though he cannot conquer God, still he does. The dual nature of allegory wrecks the tragedy.

We have followed Vondel's career as a dramatist in its rise: it is not necessary to give a detailed analysis of its decline. *Salmeon* was written in order to use again the costly stage-heaven built for *Lucifer*, so that the expense of its construction might be covered. *Jephthah* is an example of how a tragedy may be faultless in conventional form and still be written without the genius which rediscovers for itself the essential principles of the structure of tragedy. In *David in Exile* and *David Restored* Vondel returns to his earlier manner of dialogued narration. In *Samson* there is no tragical situation. Vondel's faithfulness to the local color of biblical history spoils *Adonijah*. *The Batavian Brothers* is a dramatic poem. *Phaethon* was another attempt to use the heaven of *Lucifer*. Though the personality of Eve in *Adam in Exile* is developed with great power, the play itself shows to what lengths the faultiness of Vondel's dramatic conception could go. *Zungchin* could not well be weaker as a tragedy, and *Noah* is a return to the poet's earlier manner of edification.

The great art of drama-building was for Vondel subordinate to what he, Vondel, wished to convey by means of it:

the contents were to him more important than the form. The construction of tragedy, which, besides the skill imparted only by a thorough experience of the stage, demands all the intuition and foresight of genius, he considered as something that could be learned from Aristotle, Scaliger, and Heinsius. The contents, and they include a deal of material foreign to the tragedy in hand, as well as to tragedy in general, alone got the benefit of his genius. In them he expressed himself, through them he gave vent to his moods of poetic indignation, sorrow, despair, hope, cheer, and joy. The spirit of these moods caused his expression to assume automatically the lyrical form. The dramatic form was grafted upon the lyrical and the result is a compromise: Vondel's tragedies are mostly *epical* successions of image groups and scenes, which together represent a story.¹ It is for this reason that these so-called tragedies contain countless beauties of detail which for the *reader* will continue to have interest and charm. For the *spectator*, who sits at a distance in order to observe better, they lack the wholeness of effect which he has come to see. His ears are only accessory to his eyes. Words as an accompaniment to the action, as a spontaneous expression of it, or as acts in themselves, the spectator needs. But when their object is edification, propaganda, philosophical or oratorical effect, his dramatic pleasure is hopelessly marred. A tragedy is a structure of infinite compositeness which nevertheless presents a united front of grandeur and simplicity. Such construction requires objective, not lyrical, imagination. It demands a sacrifice of personal predilections, prejudices, and the like, a complete sinking of one's personality into the demands of the art. Of this Vondel was absolutely incapable. Indifferent to nothing that passed or met him, he took too active a share

¹ This is why Milton could make use of Vondel's tragedies.

in the stirring occurrences of his time to devote his great poetic powers to the development of an artistic combination for its own sake. He must say something, do something, oppose this, advance that. His choosing the form of tragedy for the expression of this polemical attitude of mind shows that he mistook the nature of tragedy. An analysis of his plays from the dramatic point of view proves, moreover, that his conception of its principles and its structure was in the main erroneous and inadequate, and that, the weighty opinion of many critics to the contrary notwithstanding, he was not a dramatic genius.

F. C. L. VAN STEENDEREN.

XVII.—ANTOINE HEROËT'S *PARFAITE AMYE*.

Perhaps the most significant phenomenon of modern history is the emancipation of woman—the rise of the submerged half. No more interesting and no more complex problem can be dealt with, and it is well worthy of the attention which scholars have of late years been devoting to it.

There can be no doubt of the complete subjection of woman during the lawless Dark Ages and on during mediæval times, when the church pointed to her as the daughter of Eve, and the cause of the fall of man. Yet her position was not hopeless: Maryolatry¹ and the ideals of chivalry must each have been having their effects.

With the organization of fashionable society in the eleventh century we find *Madonna* already the adored heroine of the courtly lyric of Provence, and later Marie de Champagne is the literary patroness of Chrétien de Troyes. The pinnacle of the chivalrous conception of woman was to be Dante's transcendently spiritualized picture of Beatrice.

There was another side to the shield, however, and that other side is rendered by Jean de Meung. The second half of the *Roman de la Rose* presents no very ideal, no Dantesque view of the attitude of the mediæval man toward the woman of his day and generation. And one is apt to suspect, if one reads between the lines in many a polished courtly epic, that Jean de Meung is perhaps more nearly right than Dante—not as regards the character or potentialities of woman, but with respect to man's attitude towards her.

¹ V. W. A. R. Kerr, *Le Cercle d'Amour*, Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass., March, 1904, pp. 37 ff.

The cause of woman was only to be won—if it yet is—by a long fight. Even before the Renaissance, when the first great movement towards the freedom of the gentler sex was to take place, individual voices are heard protesting against the accepted cynical Ovidian slander of woman which had so long obtained. Christine de Pisan and the Chancellor Gerson of the University of Paris, who combatted so bravely against the Jean de Meung tradition, were both of them early woman's righters.¹

With the advent of the Renaissance comes the remarkable phenomenon of platonism.² The gospel of the salvation of man by his love for the beauty of woman—that man by intellectual intercourse with a refined, cultured, and beautiful woman was to be regenerated and raised to harmony with the absolute beauty of God—that man was to see in woman a beauty which was but the pale reflection of celestial beauty and from a love of its earthly expression in woman was to mount to the contemplation of its heavenly original—this is one of the great thoughts of the Renaissance and one of the loftiest conceptions of all time.

The doctrine of platonism was first elaborated in Italy, and though the whole literature of the time is saturated with

¹ V. Christine de Pisan, *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours*, ed. Roy, 3 vols., Paris, 1896, vol. I, pp. 1 ff. V. also Gerson, *Opera*, 1706, III, p. 297. Cf. also G. Gröber, *Frauen im Mittelalter und die erste Frauenrechtlerin*, *Deutsche Rundschau*, Dec., 1902.

² Some recent studies in platonism are :

Abel Lefranc, "*Le Platonisme et la Littérature en France à l'Époque de la Renaissance*," *Rev. de l'Hist. Litt. de la France*, 1886, pp. 1 ff.

Maulde La Clavière, *Femmes de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1898.

Jefferson B. Fletcher, "*Précieuses at the Court of Charles I*," *Journal of Comparative Literature*, April-June, 1903.

J. S. Harrison, *Platonism in English Poetry*, New York, 1903.

W. A. R. Kerr, "*Le Cercle d'Amour*," *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, March, 1904, pp. 33 ff.

it, it is most powerfully preached by Cardinal Bembo and Castiglione.¹

In Italy the battle was early won. Other countries were to follow more slowly. In France the centre of liberalism was Margaret of Navarre, the sister of Francis I. The daughter of an Italian mother, Louise of Savoy, she had had a humanist education and was open to all the new ideas of that agitated time. She was a pronounced platonist, as her writings bear witness,² and those about her became infected with her ideas. Even the light Clément Marot, who writes of his *Alliance de Pensée*, appears to have dallied with platonism—not really understanding it—as he coquetted with religious reform.³

There was, however, another man in Margaret's entourage who was possessed of a mind at once far subtler and far profounder than that of Marot, and whose literary work

¹ Statements and applications of platonism might be adduced from an endless number of Italian authors; the following are a few:

Benivieni, *Canzone, Amore, Opere*, Venice, 1522.

P. Bembo, *Asolani, Opere*, vol. I, Milan, 1808. The *Asolani* dialogues were published in 1505 with numerous later editions. They were translated into French in 1545 by J. Martin. Book III is devoted to a statement of platonism.

Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, ed. Cian, Florence, 1894. The first edition appeared in 1528; many others followed. The book was translated into French in 1537 by Jacques Colin d'Auxerre; it was frequently reprinted. The final chapters (LXV seq.) of Book IV are a magnificent eulogy of platonism.

Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, Tullia of Aragon, Giuseppe Betussi, Cosimo Rucellai and numberless others all give expression again and again to platonist ideas.

² Cf. Heptameron, *Nouvelle* 24; *Marguerites*, ed. Frank, vol. IV, *Mort et Résurrection D'Amour*; *Dernières Poésies*, ed. A. Lefranc, Paris, 1896, *Comédie Jouée au Mont Marson*. These examples might be added to indefinitely. Cf. also A. Lefranc, *Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1897.

³ Clément Marot, *Œuvres*, ed. Saint-Marc, vol. I, Rondeau XXXVIII, p. 331, and Rondeau LI, p. 338, and vol. II, p. 32, Epigram LXXXVI.

was to raise one of the most famous controversies of the century.

It was in fact the publication in 1542 of Heroët's *Parfaite Amye*, in thought and manner one of the most remarkable performances of the early French Renaissance, which precipitated the *Querelle des Femmes*. Heroët was answered next year by La Borderie with his *Amye de Cour*, in which love is reduced to coquetry. The reply to the *Amye de Cour* was Charles Fontaine's¹ *Contr' Amye de Cour*, in which the author sides with Heroët. The importance of the discussion may be judged when we remember that Rabelais was induced to break his eleven years' silence and in 1546 in the Third Book of *Pantagruel* at great length to deal with the woman question. That this is the real *raison d'être* of the great satirist's curious discussion as to whether or not Panurge shall marry has been pretty clearly shown by Professor Lefranc.²

Some examination then of the *Parfaite Amye*—but few copies of which now exist—the book which in France was the herald of modern ideas regarding the claims and rights of woman, may not be without value.

Antoine Heroët³ was born in Paris in 1492, of a rather important family. The seigneurie *La Maison Neuve* be-

¹ Fontaine had a habit of taking up the cudgels on behalf of Cupid in distress: *Le Triomphe et la Victoire d'Argent contre Cupido*—Lyons, 1537—charged the ladies of Paris with yielding themselves rather for money than love, and Fontaine came to rescue of his fellow-townswomen with a gallant *Response*.

² Abel Lefranc, "*Le Tiers Livre du Pantagruel et la Querelle des Femmes*," *Revue des Études Rab.*, vol. II, nos. 1 and 2.

³ For some details regarding Heroët and his family v. Lucien Grou, "*La Famille d'Antoine Heroët*," *Rev. de l'Hist. Litt.*, 1899, pp. 277 ff. Cf. also Lucien Grou, "*Nouveaux Documents sur Antoine et Louise Heroët*," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France*, 1899, pp. 88-94. The last-named bit of research contains a promise of another article on Heroët, but I have not been able to find it.

longed to his father. Heroët early entered the church, and with his court influence, for he was a protégé of Margaret of Navarre, he was rapidly promoted. He became prior of Saint-Eloi-lez-Longjumeau and in 1552 was raised to the episcopacy. He died in 1568, bishop of Digne.

Heroët was well known in his own day and apparently equally esteemed by both the literary factions, by the school of Marot as well as by the Pléiade.¹

Heroët contributed some verses to the *Tombeau* of Louise de Savoie in 1531. Then in 1542 he published *La Parfaite Amye*; there are two editions bearing that date,—one printed in Lyons and one at Troyes, of which the former is probably the older; 1543 saw two more editions, one at Rouen and a second by Dolet at Lyons. Almost every year for a little time after this saw a new edition.

The Dolet volume contains three additional poems :

L'Androgyne de Platon—the nature of which is sufficiently indicated by the marginal note : "Cecy est prins du Livre de Platon intitulé Convivium, vel de Amore, en ung

¹ It is evident from Marot, ed. Saint-Marc, vol. II, p. 19, Epigram LIV, that Marot, Scève and Heroët were all teasing the same girl at court. Marot and Heroët were also the joint authors of a little Chanson—the latter writing the first couplet and Marot the second; v. Marot, vol. I, p. 424, Chanson XLI. In Marot's *Eclogue au Roy* of 1539, vol. I, p. 39, the playfully mentioned "Thony" is probably Antoine Heroët.

Rabelais mentions Heroët in the Prologue to Book V (ed. Des Marets et Rathery, vol. II, p. 322). The name, it is true, is spelt "Drouet," but it is altogether likely that it is, as is usually conjectured, a disfigurement of Heroët.

Ronsard mentions Heroët along with Scève and Saint-Gelais as being the honorable exceptions in his sweeping condemnation of pre-Pléiade poetry; v. Preface of 1550 to Book I of the "*Odes*," ed. Blanchemain, 8 vols., Paris, 1857, vol. II, p. 11.

Du Bellay refers to Heroët as an author whom his contemporaries were imitating; v. *Défense et Illustration*, Book I, chap. VIII.

Other contemporary allusions to Heroët could be adduced, but the mentions of him already made indicate that though he is almost a stranger to the twentieth century, he was recognized by the men of his own time.

passage dict Aristophanes laudatio." The *Androgyne* is followed by a short poem, entitled: *De n'aymer point sans estre aymé*. The last of the three, *La Complainte d'une Dame surprinse nouvellement d'amour*, probably refers to Francis I. himself.

Besides the work already enumerated there are some bits by Heroët in a *Recueil* of 1547: *Opuscules d'Amour*; and doubtless if the libraries were carefully searched more productions from his pen could be found.

We may turn now to the *Parfaite Amye* itself. The poem, references to which will be to the Dolet edition of 1543, is put in the mouth of a married woman, "la Parfaite Amye"; her general effort is to justify the spiritual—"platonic"—love of a woman for a man other than her husband.

The *Parfaite Amye* looks upon her love as of heavenly origin; its strong root issues from the divine will:

". . . l'amytié, qui est du ciel venue
Et que depuis i'ay fatallie tenue,
M'appercevant, que sa forte racine
Issue estoit de volonté divine." (p. 8.)

He who likes may call love sinful, but the *Parfaite Amye* boasts, not only is she happy with hers, but if her love had a divine beginning she has maintained it divine:

"Or semble amour, a qui voudra, peché,
Puisque le ciel du mien s'est empesche:
Non seulement de lui ie me contente:
Mais davantage aux dames ie me vente
Que si divin fut son commencement,
Entretenu ie l'ay divinement." (p. 9.)

She prefers her affair to be secret—does not care to publish her relationship. But should it become known, she

would not try to hide it, nor attempt to cause the contrary to be believed.

She would remember that the vulgar had no judgment in such matters, that the blame of the crowd is really praise.

She does not fear the opinion of the "gens d'honneur," who have passed through her experience ; for, whether men or women, they will remember and forgive her :

"Quant est a moy : ie ne veux publier
 Le noeud qui scent ma volonté lyer :
 Et me plaist bien couvert et incongneu.
 Mais s'il estoit par fortune advenu
 Que mon amour, tel qu'il est, fust notoire,
 Sans aultre aymer, sans le faire descroire,
 Ie me vouldrois avec une prudence
 Reconforter de telle congnoissance.
 Et reiettant tous deshonneurs et honte,
 Premièrement ferois estat, et compte,
 Que la vulgaire et sotte multitude
 N'a jugement, scavoir, ny certitude :
 Et le sachant, s'elle trouvoit estrange,
 L'estimerois ses blasmes a louenge.
 Les gens d'honneur redoubter je ne puis,
 Qui ont passé les destroits, ou ie suis :
 Car si d'aymer vient tout honnesteté,
 Et leur souvient de ce qu'ilz ont esté
 Soit homme ou femme, ilz me pardonneront." (p. 15.)

The *Parfaite Amye* feels however that for a married woman to permit the attentions of another man is to put herself in an equivocal position. Her defence is the pure nature of this relationship. Suppose it is apparently a contravention of accepted matrimonial standards, yet if people only knew of her life and conduct they would admit in their hearts that she is right ; that is all she asks—the acquiescence of the conscience—in public, people may, for convention's sake, say what they like :

"Et mesme ceulx qui me condamneront
 De n'avoir saintement observé

Le droict d'aymer au mary reservé,
 Quant ilz scauront ma vie et ma conduite,
 Par une loy dedans leurs cueurs escripte
 M'excuseront, quoi qu'ilz en vueillent dire
 Tout a part soy : qui me debvra suffire :
 Bien qu'ilz me soient en public ennemys." (p. 15.)

Admit, however, for the sake of argument, proceeds the *Parfaite Amye*, that virtue is vice and let all gallantry be banned, then if she be found still to permit it, the worth of her lover is her defence.

However, she concludes, let us set aside the laws and their harshness and reduce her case to equity :

"Mais confessons que la vertu soit vice,
 Et bannissons tout amoureux service :

 Laissons les lois et leur severité
 Et reduisons ma cause a equité." (p. 16.)

Here follows the *Parfaite Amye's* statement of her own case and her plea for extra-matrimonial love :

If she serves one man by "cursed" chance, and by natural law is the mistress of the other ; if one is life to her, the other death ; if she love rightly, to which does she do wrong : to him who abuses her happiness or to him who refuses to take advantage of her ?

"Si ie sers l'ung de mauldicte aventure,
 Et ie commande a l'autre de nature :
 Si l'ung m'est vie, et l'autre dure mort :
 En bien ayant, auquel feray ie tort,
 Ou a celluy qui de mon heur abuse,
 Ou a celluy qui malgré moy refuse ?" (p. 16.)

Her lover she pities and always will :—

"Puisque l'amy, qui l'esprit possede,
 Corps et beaulté de moy s'ameyede," etc. (p. 17).

Some people tell her she must leave her lover, and so

outrage her nature ; another pictures to her the "honneste dame ;" a third hints she may be sinning against God ; still another urges her to think no more about it—as though love were a thing to be lightly taken up and set down :—

"Mais le mien est de lieu trop hault venu,
Pour estre ainsi variable tenu." (p. 18.)

This love already alluded to as "heavenly," according to the *Parfaite Amye*, began in heaven before birth,¹ and now when the two souls in question meet and recognize each other here below, and conditions are favorable, their renewed love yields them a delight unspeakable, a comfort and joy which only the understanding can comprehend :²

"Quand deux esprits au ciel devant liés,
Puis recongneus en terre et r'alliés,
Trouvent les corps propices, et les sens
Tous attentifz, serfz et obeissants,
De mutuelle et telle affection,
L'ung a de l'autre une fruicion,
Ung aise grand, certain contentement,
Qui n'est congneu que de l'entendement." (p. 25.)

Although the happiness of this soul-communion is "indicible," the *Parfaite Amye* attempts a description of it :

"Bien vous diray ce que i'en imagine :
Ceste union est fureur tresdivine,
Dont les esprits quelque foyz agités
Sentent l'odeur de tant de dëités
Que revenuz de ce ravissement
Laissent au corps ung esbahissement,
Comme si l'heur a iamais fust perdu,
Qu'on leur avoit pour peu d'heure rendu." (p. 25.)

¹ This idea is elaborated farther on, p. 37.

² Understanding (entendement) : the use of the word "entendement" indicates that the love under discussion is not of the senses, but intellectual. This is quite in accord with the accepted Renaissance platonic theories.

We are not to ask what this happiness is :

“Ne demandez quel heur : car qui l’a heu,
 Oncques depuis redire ne l’a sceu.
 Or s’il advient quelque foy¹ en la vie,
 Que l’ame estant en tel estat ravie,
 Les corps voisins comme morts delaissés,
 D’amour et non d’aulture chose pressés,
 Sans y penser se mettent a leur ayse,
 Que la main touche, ou que la bouche baise.”² (p. 26.)

While the spiritual kiss here spoken of is not new, yet Heroët must have felt that it needed special defence, for regarding the kiss he proceeds :

“Cela n’est pas pour deshonneur compté
 C’est un instinct de naïve bonté,
 Si ce pendant que les maistres iouyssent,
 Les corps qui sont serviteurs s’eiouyssent :

 Ny les esprits scauroient estre records
 De ce qu’ont fait en absence les corps :
 Ny le corps scait, ny langue signifie
 L’heur qui l’esprit en terre deifie.” (p. 26.)

The argument is odd : that in the tranced absence of the

¹ foy?

² “La bouche baise :” We meet here the “platonic kiss,” that ecstatic “congiungimento d’anima” of which Castiglione writes in the *Cortegiano* (ed. Cian, Book IV, chap. LXIV).

Heroët’s own patroness, Margaret of Navarre, speaks also in the *Adieux*, one of her most interesting and apparently most sincere poems, of the platonic kiss :

“Adieu vous dy le baiser juste et saint
 Fondé du tout en Dieu et charité.”

In the same poem Margaret refers also to the hand :

“Adieu la main laquelle j’ay touchée
 Comme la plus parfaite en vraye foy,
 Dans laquelle ay la mienne couchée
 Sans offenser d’honnestete la loy.”

(*Dernières Poésies*, ed. Lefranc, Paris, 1896, p. 351.)

soul, the body which is merely the servant, enjoys itself, and on the former's return no record of the touch or kiss is found.

So ends Book I.

The second book of the *Parfaite Amye* has for its theme the situation which would be caused by the possible death of the lover. The various thoughts and feelings to which this gives rise lead to the expression by Heroët of many curious and interesting ideas.

Should her lover die the *Parfaite Amye* hopes she may be able to detach her spirit and so enter into some sort of mystical communion with his soul :

“ Car mon esprit en sera séparé :
Et au plus haut de sa tour retiré
Vouldra trouver alluy que tant aimoyz,
L'esprit que tant en l'aymant l'estimois.
Et pour aultant que de vertu muny
Seroit reioinct en Dieu et rëuny,
Et que d'atteindre a chose pure et nette
On ne pourroit avecques l'imparfaict,
Lairray l'esprit d'amour purifié
Disioinct du corps et tout mortifié.” (p. 35.)

Then the *Parfaite Amye* with clarified spiritual vision beholds her lover beyond the veil :

“ Je le verray pour s'estre en Dieu fié
Pur, simple et beau, saint et deifié :
Et pour avoir heu foy et loyauté,
Je le voirray iouyssant de beaulté.” (p. 36.)

The mention of the word “beaulté” brings us to a very interesting passage, in which the *Parfaite Amye* recalls a speech about beauty that her lover had once made to her, but which she at the time did not understand :—

“ Mes sens pour lors de terre trop chargés.” (p. 37.)

However, as she recalls her lover's words, she gives them :

"Il me souvient luy avoir ouy dire
 Que la beaulté que nous voyons reluyre
 Es corps humains, n'estoit qu'une estincelle
 De ceste là qu'il nommoit immortelle :
 Que ceste cy, bien qu'elle fust sortie
 De la celeste, et d'elle une partie,
 Si toutesfoys entre nous perissoit,
 Si s'augmentoit, ou s'elle decroissoit,
 Que l'autre estoit entiere et immobile." (p. 36.)

This is the Renaissance doctrine of beauty as interpreted by the cultured platonist exegetes of the Sixteenth Century, by Bembo, Castiglione, by Margaret of Navarre, to whose statements of platonism I have already referred.

A curious idea follows : that the death of her lover would so clarify the senses of the *Parfaite Amye* that the cloud which obscures knowledge would be dissipated :

"Sa seule mort leur osteroit la nue
 Par laquelle est sapience incongneue." (p. 37.)

Heroët now proceeds to elaborate a very remarkable theory, that alluded to on p. 25. His idea is that our souls before being summoned to put on earthly bodies were engaged in heaven in the contemplation of divine beauty ; that after birth the memory of the previous state is practically lost, but that a remembrance of it is vouchsafed to those who here below love truly. Then the experience of love brings back to the lover a recollection of his former bliss, and with this standard of eternal beauty in mind, the lover is now able rightly to measure earthly beauty as a part and pattern of the beauty which pervades and transfuses the universe :

"Ce qu'il disoit apres ung grand plaisir,
 Nous deux estants quelque foys de loisir,
 Qu'avons esté devant que nous fussions,
 Lors que beaulté divine congneussions
 Depuis tombés en ces terrestres corps
 Que nulz n'estoient de ce temps la records

Sinon bien peu, ausquelz estoit permis
 De se nommer et estre vrays amys :
 Et qui de belle amy plus devenoit
 C'estoit celluy qui mieux se souvenoit
 D'avoir au ciel auparavant esté
 Contemplateur de divine beaulté.
 Qu'amour icy nous donnoit soubvenance,
 Le souvenir causoit l'intelligence
 De la beaulté ca bas mal entendue,
 Iusques au temps que l'aesle soit rendue,
 Que nous avons tombants desempennee, etc." (p. 37.)

In the theory here put forward Heroët appears to go a step beyond his contemporaries who, basing themselves pretty squarely on the *Symposium*,¹ held only that the lover was insensibly raised by the contemplation of human beauty—and, especially to the Renaissance, as typified in a woman—to a comprehension of celestial beauty. Heroët, however, makes it clear that a spiritual love of woman may awaken recollection of a pre-natal experience of heavenly beauty, which then becoming our standard enables us to judge correctly the nature and meaning of that physical beauty with which we have fallen in love.

Heroët now attempts to account for the platonic lover's feelings—a mixture

"d'horreur et d'admiration" (p. 38.)—

on beholding his lady :

"Cela ne vient d'humaine affection,
 Ny de la terre ainsi que nous pensons :
 Il vient du ciel, dont nous reconnoissons
 Ceste beaulté de femme estre sortie,
 Et nous souvient de tout, partie :
 Il nous souvient de la saison passée,
 De la beaulté, qu'au ciel avons laissée." (p. 38.)

¹ Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, 5 vols., London, 1892, climax of speech of Socrates, vol. I, p. 580 ff.

This is the purest platonism : contact with a part of beauty is to remind the lover that the cause of his feelings is not of human origin ; but descends from heaven, which also is the source of woman's beauty.

Heroët hints at a conception of platonism as something akin to a social gospel, an idea we find in Margaret of Navarre,¹ who seems for a time at least to have looked upon platonism as a lever by which woman might exert a refining influence over man :

“ Nostre ame crainct, qu'estant au corps liée,
Par son oubly du beau soit oubliée.
Puis tout soubdain par sa reconnoissance
Elle s'asseure et entre en esperance,
Puisque d'ung tel souvenir est saysie,
Que beaulté l'a préseleue et choisie,
A s'eslever, si commence d'entendre
Combien de perte elle feist de descendre :
Veult refrener toutes passions vaines
Use d'amour et de beaultés humaines
Pour ung degré propre a plus haulte attente.
Ainsi (disoit) l'ame au corps est contente.” (p. 39.)

According to Heroët, then, the soul, recognizing in its earthly love an echo of the divine, feels—and this is a nice neoplatonic touch—that beauty has predestinated and chosen it ; so the lover, feeling his “ calling and election sure,” tries to curb his passions, purify his life, and by the proper use of earthly beauty to attain to higher things.

Heroët, who apparently borrows the legend from Bembo,²

¹ Cf. *Les Adieux, Dernières Poésies*, ed. Lefranc, p. 352, where Margaret speaks of allowing a man's attentions with the object of doing him good :

“ Vous faisiez tant semblant de bien m'entendre
Que je me mis de propos en propos
A vous hanter, esperant bon vous rendre.”

² Pietro Bembo, *Opere*, 12 vols., Milan, 1808, vol. i, *Asolani*, p. 252–p. 254.

tells the story of the Queen of the Fortunate Isles. When travellers visited her dominions, they were put to sleep; if they dreamt of the beauty of the Queen they remained as welcome guests. If they dreamed of anything else they were dismissed :

“Brief des dormeurs nul en l’Isle retient,
Sinon celluy, quand esveillé revient,
Qui a songé de la grande beaulté d’elle :
Tant de plaisir à d’estre, et sembler belle,
Que tel songeur en l’Isle est bien venu.” (p. 44.)

The final note of Book II is that of the future bliss of the lovers when reunited in heaven, in enjoyment of that beauty towards which their present love is but a desire :

“Si suis ie bien des ceste heure certaine,
Que reschappez de la prison mondaine
Irons au lien, qu’avons tant estimé
Trouver le bien, qu’avons le plus aymé :
C’est de beaulté iouyssance et plaisir,
Dont nostre amour est ung ardent desir.” (p. 44.)

The word “reschappez” emphasizes again the idea of the pre-natal life, which we have already noticed.

Book III of the *Parfaite Amye*, which is devoted to a somewhat general advocacy of love, is less interesting than the first two parts. The following is a brief résumé of the contents of the Third Book :

It is the duty of all men to sacrifice to love (p. 47.); love is to be looked upon as the best earthly gift we possess (p. 49.); if a suitable lover present himself and “volunté mue de jugement” approve, he should be accepted (p. 49.); love is the best balm for the ills of life (p. 49 *bis.*); the greatest knowledge in this world is self-knowledge, and this is best gained by the close observation of another, the opportunity for which is given by love (p. 52.); love is the great

beautifier, and while it will not change a brunette to a blonde, it will transform a woman's appearance (p. 54.); as love keeps the mind calm it actually improves physical well-being (p. 55.). In a very interesting passage Heroët repudiates not only Petrarchism but Petrarch. This points to the fact that Heroët was quite aware how essentially different was the love he was preaching from that sung by Petrarch and his Renaissance imitators (p. 58.). If love yields such happiness, why is it that so many tragedies have marred its course? Heroët's answer is that very few people are born to love; the others do it by imitation and the results are disastrous (p. 59.).

The poem closes with the *Parfaite Amye's* advice to trust love :—

“Laissez luy en tout le gouvernement,
Et s'il ne faict bien et heureusement
Vivre chascune en ses amours contente,
Ne m'appellez iamais parfaite amante.” (p. 63.)

What then are the chief points in the argument of the *Parfaite Amye*?

Heroët asks for the married woman liberty to love purely a man other than her husband. Admitting the equivocal appearance of the relationship he would prefer it to be kept secret; but should the matter become public all that is actually necessary is that people who really understand a woman's position should in their consciences approve of her conduct. People may tell a woman to dismiss her lover for appearance' sake: but, says Heroët, love is not a thing to be thus easily taken up and laid down. True love on earth is but the renewal of a spiritual communion enjoyed previously before birth in heaven. The culminating peak of this renewed love is the ecstasy of the platonic kiss, an intellectual exaltation which cannot be described. This love clarifies knowledge, elevates the character, acts upon a man like

a moral tonic. True love is a desire towards true beauty, and as Beauty is but another name for God, love is a desire for God. This intellectual love, says Heroët, is to be totally differentiated from the so-called chaste wailings of Petrarch and his imitators. That in practice so many extra-matrimonial love-affairs go wrong is owing, not to the fault of platonic love, but to the fact that but the elect few are capable of entertaining it.

How far is Heroët to be taken seriously?

It is to be remembered that marriage was in his day—as it still largely is in France—a matter of convenience. Heroët and many others saw in platonism an opportunity for the affectionate side of a woman's nature to express itself. He also apparently looked upon this spiritual bond between the sexes as a chance for woman to improve and uplift the man who rendered her this intellectualized homage. The example of a number of his distinguished contemporaries encouraged his belief. And while he sees and confesses the practical and conventional difficulties inherent in the situation, Heroët claims that the frequent shipwrecks that occur are due to the fact that this intellectual love, emancipated from the dominion of sense, is only for the few.

Doubtless by the few in some form or other it has been practised in all ages.

W. A. R. KERR.

XVIII.—THE RELATION OF THE HEROIC PLAY
TO THE ROMANCES OF BEAUMONT
AND FLETCHER.

In the study of the heroic play it has been rather generally assumed that Dryden and his fellow-playwrights went direct to France for their models and established in England a form of drama distinct from anything that had preceded them. The French romance and the French drama, because they had an influence on the Restoration drama, have been regarded as its sole progenitors. The position of D'Avenant as the connecting link between the earlier and the later drama has been recognized; Dryden himself acknowledges his indebtedness to the author of *The Siege of Rhodes*. But very little has been done to show that a stream of influence percolates from the Jacobean drama through D'Avenant to the heroic play.¹ Of course, it is easy to exaggerate resemblances, to imagine similarities of capital importance, and to proclaim a paramount influence; but, nevertheless, *a priori* reasons are in favor of an influence, and a comparison of the two types of drama will, it seems to me, undoubtedly show a connection between them which is more than casual.

Even as early as Marlowe the heroic type of character was not unknown, though it was not, of course, the same as the mouthpiece of the rant of the heroic play. Tamburlaine, Faustus, and Barabas are not so unrelated in many of their characteristics to Almanzor and Maximin that they must be regarded as belonging to an entirely different stream of

¹ The relation of D'Avenant to the romantic and the heroic drama will be the subject of a later treatment. For a brief discussion, see Child, *M. L. Notes*, XIX, pp. 166 f.

dramatic tendency. Marlowe's heroes are like Dryden's in their contempt of the impossible and their overwhelming desire to attain their ends. They scorn opposition, are utterly without fear, and in their most frenzied moods fly in the face of the powers above. They differ, however, in their relation to love. The Marlovian hero treats love as secondary to the attainment of power. Faustus wishes to see Helen, because he is intoxicated with the Renaissance of beauty, of which she is but a manifestation, not from any personal love for her as a woman. Tamburlaine's love is a mere incident; and Barabas has only hate. Of somewhat the same type is Hotspur, though he is presented with infinitely greater art. He is ready to dare anything, he will stand no opposition, and he has a loftier conception of honor than those who only prate about it. His love, also, is a mere incident in his vigorous, warlike existence; it is not the object of his heroism. But the hero of the heroic play is first and always a lover, and his heroism is directed invariably towards the attainment of his love.

Dryden in his *Essay of Heroic Plays*¹ recognizes the kinship of his Almanzor with a character beyond the gap of the Protectorate. He says: "If I would take the pains to quote an hundred passages of Ben Johnson's Cethegus, I could easily show you, that the rodomontades of Almanzor are neither so irrational as his, nor so impossible to be put in execution; for Cethegus threatens to destroy Nature, and to raise a new one out of it; to kill all the Senate for his part of the action; to look Cato dead; and a thousand other things as extravagant he says, but performs not one action in the play." Yet it is only in this respect that Ben Jonson's character resembles Dryden's heroes. He is not even the chief personage in the play, he has nothing to do with love, and his words are neutralized by his lack of performance.

¹ *Essays of John Dryden*, edited by W. P. Ker, I, 157.

The impression he leaves of his "heroism," notwithstanding Dryden, is nothing so great as Almanzor's. He belongs merely to the type of hero in the earlier drama, which developed into the full-fledged type of the later.

It is, however, with the romantic plays¹ of Beaumont and Fletcher that the most striking resemblances will be found to exist. These dramatists were not only exceedingly popular in their day, but the numerous editions of their plays up to and during the period of the Restoration as well as the revivals of their principal plays on the stage show that they had by no means ceased to be a literary force. That they should have been without influence on the dramatists of the Restoration would be strange indeed. Dryden's frequent reference to them attests his familiarity with their work and affords grounds for seeking their influence in his plays. And what applies to Dryden will apply with almost equal force to the other writers of heroic plays.

On the other hand, one must not suppose that the heroic play is but an imitation of the romantic. The *genres* have distinct individualities. The romantic play is concerned with love and its concomitant passions of jealousy, hate, revenge, all exhibited in full fruition; the heroic play deals with love and a kind of exaggerated valor, with only sporadic exhibitions of jealousy, generosity, and revenge. The conflict of emotions is much greater in the romantic than in the heroic play. Misunderstandings which give rise to jealousy, estrangement, despair, and death are a stock in trade of the romantic play, but they are a mere circumstance in the heroic. A frightful dilemma like Thierry's in *Thierry and Theodoret* calls out a display of emotion beyond anything in the later drama. It is the obvious that occasions

¹ These plays are especially *Philaster*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Thierry and Theodoret*, *A King and no King*, *Four Plays in One*, and *Cupid's Revenge*.

the situations of the heroic play—parental opposition, the married state of one of the lovers; it is the removal of an external obstacle, not internal conflict, that here constitutes action. Nothing comes between the lover and his lady to cause either to be thrown into an agony of doubt. The problem in the romantic play involves the heart to heart relations of the lovers; in the heroic play it is merely the removal of an obstructive force in the way of marriage. Consequently, there is in the heroic play a constant background of war, either in progress or arising from the action of the drama or threatening to break forth. The wars are usually connected with the love affairs of the hero and they furnish him with opportunities for showing his valor and winning his love. In the romantic play, on the other hand, there is an absence of all this. The actual clash of arms is not presented on the stage nor is it heard behind the scenes. Moreover, there is another difference in that the romantic play is a poetic drama; such characters as the forlorn maiden are presented in a beauty of poetic treatment peculiar to this period. In the heroic play, however, actual poetic beauties are comparatively rare, and there is almost entirely lacking a poetic presentation of character or incident.

But it is with the resemblances and not with the differences between the heroic and the romantic plays that this paper is concerned. The influence of the romantic plays of Beaumont and Fletcher on those of Shakspeare has already been made the subject of study by Professor Thorndike,¹ so that it seems clear that Shakspeare actually imitated the type in his romances. The heroic dramatists did not imitate Beaumont and Fletcher in the same way, but they borrowed

¹ *The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspeare*, by Ashley H. Thorndike, Worcester, 1900. I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to this admirable piece of work, which I have used freely throughout the following pages.

devices, characters, and situations which had proved effective in the romantic play.

With the exception of the work of D'Avenant, the heroic play may be regarded as stretching from 1664, the date of Dryden and Howard's *Indian Queen* and Orrery's *Henry V*, to 1720, the date of Hughes's *Siege of Damascus*. The period of greatest productivity was from 1664 to 1678, when the work of Dryden, Orrery, and Otway, and most of that of Settle and Crowne was complete. Dryden's contributions ceased with *Aurengzebe* in 1676, the year of Otway's *Don Carlos*, Settle's *Ibrahim* and *Conquest of China*, Lee's *Gloriana* and *Sophonisba*, and Durfey's *Siege of Memphis*. The *Conquest of Granada*, which may be regarded as the heroic play, *par excellence*, was acted in 1669 and 1670, and was published in 1672 with the prefatory essay 'On Heroic Plays.'

Of the plays produced during this time those of Dryden are taken as furnishing the type, from which those of Orrery, Otway, Crowne, and the others vary to a greater or less extent. Dryden and Orrery are exact contemporaries and their plays rather closely resemble each other. After the preliminary work of D'Avenant, they wrote the first fully developed heroic plays, and in any study of origins their plays may be considered as furnishing the standard.

I. PLOT.

The heroic play, especially Dryden's, conforms on the whole to the following composite type. A hero of soldierly qualities and matchless valor falls suddenly in love with the beautiful and nobly bred heroine, who often belongs to a party opposed to the hero's, and he finds his love embarrassed on the one hand by a rival and on the other by forces for the time being superior to his own. The rival may be

generous or not ; in the end he fails. The forces may be the opposing will of king or parent, the requirement of morality upon which the heroine is insistent, the obstructive love of the villains, usually the king and the queen, for the heroine and the hero respectively. These obstacles the hero or other agencies remove, usually through the voluntary or imposed deaths of rivals and villains, so that the play ends in the happy union of the lovers. In some plays, notably Otway's, the forces prove too strong for the lovers, and the catastrophe involves the tragic deaths of the hero and the heroine as well as the deserved deaths of the villains.

THE SCENE.

1. The scene of the heroic play is, with few exceptions, in some country remote enough from England to be unfamiliar to the average Englishman. Dryden's are in America, Granada, Agra, Aquileia ; Orrery's in Hungary and the court of the Sultan, Syria, Sicily, with two in England ; Otway's in ancient Greece and in Spain. There was a preference for places with a sort of splendor in keeping with heroic conditions. This corresponds exactly to the practise of Beaumont and Fletcher in their romances. They located their plays in Angiers, Armenia, Austracia, Lycia, Rhodes, Messina, Milan, Lisbon, and Athens. Neither they nor the heroic dramatists made any attempt to give an historical setting to their scenes. The Indians of Mexico were as chivalrous as the grandees of Spain, and the civilization of the new world was as advanced in all matters of thought and morals as that of the old. The world of the heroic was as unreal as that of romance.

THE SUBJECT OF DRAMATIC INTEREST.

2. The method of the heroic dramatist was essentially that of the romantic dramatist and not that of the chronicler.

Dryden and his fellows used historical material, but they disregarded the facts of history and made no effort to present a given period as a sequence of connected events. Their plays are concerned with royalty, usually with actual historical personages, but they do not present a reign after the manner of the Shakspearean chronicle play. The sole interest is the heroic love, with the reign as the background. It is the love affair of Almanzor and Almahide, and not the fate of Boabdelin's kingdom that furnishes the interest of the *Conquest of Granada*. Orrery's *Henry V*, in contrast with Shakspeare's, relegates to an entirely secondary interest the exploits of Henry as king, and makes his rivalry with Tudor for the love of Katharine and his ultimate success the main interest. So in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy*, the interest is the revenge of the injured husband and brother on the wicked king and not in any sense the failure of the king as a sovereign. In the same way the problem of *A King and No King* is the love of Arbaces for his supposed sister, not his career on the throne. Yet in both cases, as also in the heroic plays, thrones are tottering to the accompaniment of the romantic or the heroic interest. Neither type, moreover, has any sympathy with the bourgeois concerns of the domestic play.

THE CONTRAST OF PURE AND SENSUAL LOVE.

3. In the plot itself there are certain resemblances to the plots of the romantic plays. It has been observed in the romantic plays¹ that there is a contrast of pure, sentimental love with gross sensual passion. In *Philaster* the pure love of Philaster, Arethusa, and Euphrasia is contrasted with the sensuality of Pharamond and Megra; the idyllic love of Thierry and Ordella in *Thierry and Theodoret* stands out

¹Thorndike, pp. 110 f.

against the bestial love of the queen for her paramour. And so of other romantic plays. In the typical heroic play, the passion of the wicked king and queen for the heroine and hero respectively conflicts with the love of the hero and the heroine. In the *Indian Queen* the intrigue of the Queen and Traxalla, and later the passion of each, diverted, according to strict heroic custom, towards the hero and the heroine respectively, is opposed to the love of Montezuma and Orazia. In Otway's *Don Carlos*, the passion of Don John and Eboli is contrasted with the love of the queen and the hero; in *Alcibiades* the sinful passion of Theramnes for Timandra and of the queen for Alcibiades sets off the pure love of Alcibiades and Timandra.

It is out of this conflict that the action of the heroic play springs, just as it does in the romances. In *Philaster* the jealousy of the hero, the heroine's patient submission to insult, and the lovelorn maiden's self-abnegation are all due to the discovery of the intrigue of Pharamond and Megra, and the woman's desire to take it out on the heroine and her lover. In the *Maid's Tragedy* the overthrow of the kingdom and the deaths of the king, the injured husband, the repentant wife, and the lovelorn maiden are due to the clashing of the love of the husband for his shameless wife with the adulterous passion between her and the king. The same holds for *Thierry and Theodoret*, and the *Triumph of Honour*. In Otway's *Don Carlos* all the tragic events that fill the stage with carnage as the curtain falls are due to the villainous Eboli, whose intrigue with Don John stands out in ugly contrast to the love of Don Carlos for the queen. In Dryden's plays the passion of the wicked men and women for the true lovers constitutes the entire action; it is that which keeps the lovers apart. Orrery's *Tryphon* consists in the conflict of pure with impure love, with the result that the villain kills himself and the lovers are united. The passions

aroused in this conflict between the two kinds of love are much fiercer in the romantic than in the heroic plays. Jealousy, revenge, incestuous and adulterous passion, love face to face with death or dishonor are some of the passions that torture the characters of the romantic plays. But in Dryden love is the chief emotion and it undergoes no violent wrenchings; in Orrery jealousy is weakly portrayed and no feelings are very deeply stirred. Otway succeeds best in giving an impression of personal suffering; one realizes that his characters feel pain when they are stretched upon the rack of circumstances.

One of the contributing causes of the greater intensity of the emotions aroused in the romantic plays is the fact that the contrast between the pure and the impure love is more intense. The passions of the villains in the romantic plays are grosser, more sensual, more unblushing than in the heroic plays, with the possible exception of Otway's. The king and queen do not show so brazen an effrontery in their passion for the heroine and the hero as do the king and Evadne in the *Maid's Tragedy*, or as the queen and her paramour in *Thierry and Theodoret*. Often, indeed, this heroic passion, when scorned, turns to hate, or, as in the *Indian Queen* and *Aurengzebe*, ends in sudden conversion.

VARIETY OF ACTION.

4. There is no character drawing in the strict sense of the word in the heroic plays; the individuals are types, nothing more. There is therefore a complete absence of psychological interest. Furthermore, there is no development of plot to create an interest independent of character, as there is in Shakspeare's early comedies. The plots, on the whole, lack unity; there is no commanding interest to hold them together. This being so, it is necessary to find some

interest which relieved them from utter banality in the minds of the theatre-goers of the seventeenth century. This is in the variety of the action, in the varied incidents that happen throughout the play and possess an independent interest. To illustrate: the *Conquest of Granada* has no character interest, no plot interest; but it has this interest that something is happening in nearly every scene of the play. No sooner does Almanzor appear than he quells a riot between the warring factions, incidentally killing a leader of the opposite party. Then he is seized and ordered for execution, but he is discovered to be the valiant Almanzor and is freed by the king with apologies. At once he goes out against the Spaniards and takes the Duke of Arcos prisoner. By his magnanimous treatment of Arcos he incurs the king's wrath, and is persuaded to join a faction which has in the meantime been created against the king. The result is that the king is taken prisoner along with his betrothed Almahide. With her Almanzor at once falls desperately in love and sues for her release. Refused he at once oscillates to the king again, and is in turn successful against the rebels. As a reward for his services he asks the king and Almahide's father for the hand of Almahide, is rejected, and when he resorts to violence, is bound. Later he leaves the city, knowing Almahide will marry the king. The second part of the play is marked by the same jumble of incidents, as disconnected and as free from development as those of the first part. It will be found on examination that the other plays of Dryden are constructed on this principle. Those of Orrery are much the same, except that the single scenes are less effective theatrically; they are levelled down to a more depressing dulness than Dryden's. There is more unity in Otway's plays, but they consist also of effective scenes which keep the attention of the audience as much as does the unity of design working through the

plot. Thus in *Don Carlos* the hero reveals his feelings to the traitor Ruy-Gomez. Ruy-Gomez like Iago instils jealousy in the mind of the king concerning his wife and Don Carlos. The king rages, orders Posa to kill both the queen and Don Carlos, a command Posa will not obey. The king banishes Don Carlos. The wicked Eboli, who is at the bottom of all the villainy, makes love to Don Carlos and is repulsed. She obligingly plans a plot by which the king can see Don Carlos with the queen. Her husband kills Posa and finds in his pocket dispatches incriminating Don Carlos; later he discovers the infidelity of his own wife. Don Carlos is seized, the queen is poisoned, Eboli mortally wounded confesses her crimes, and Don Carlos commits suicide. The king stabs Gomez and, for variety's sake, goes mad. These are stirring scenes indeed.

In their plays the aim of Beaumont and Fletcher as of the heroic dramatists, was "to present a series of situations, each of which should be interesting of itself and should contrast with its neighbors, and all of which should combine sufficiently to lead up to a startling theatrical climax. There is nothing epical about their construction; it is not truly dramatic like that of Shakespeare's tragedies, where the action is in part developed from character; but it is skillfully suited to theatrical effectiveness." This is illustrated from the plays: "A girl disguised as a boy is stabbed by the man she loves; a woman, convicted of adultery, boldly defies her accusers and slanders the princess; a king is in love with his supposed sister; a king is persuaded to kill the first woman coming from a temple and encounters the queen, who is unknown to him."¹ There is no doubt that Beaumont and Fletcher were eminently successful in their separate scenes, so much so that to-day we feel their power. This cannot be said of the scenes of the heroic play. They are too artificial,

¹ Thorndike, p. 113.

too much an exploitation of the hero's greatness or the villain's wickedness. The trial scene of St. Catharine in *Tyrannic Love*, where the wheel is broken by an angel, and the scene of the vindication of Almahide's honor in the *Conquest of Granada*, do not convince as do the great scenes in the romances.

A contributing factor to the variety and effectiveness of the action is that the love affairs are inseparably bound up with state affairs. In all of Dryden's so-called tragic plays except *Aurengzebe*, the sovereign is slain as the direct or indirect result of the love affairs; at any rate, his death makes possible the marriage of the lovers. His life and the stability of the throne are bound up with his love, and the heroic interest is heightened because a king becomes involved in a life and death struggle. None but royalty or high nobility is worthy of serious treatment in an heroic play; consequently affairs of state lend interest to the love affairs.

The same situation exists in the romantic plays. They also deal with exalted personages only, whose fate involves that of the state. In the *Maid's Tragedy*, the king is entangled in a miserable intrigue and pays the penalty with his life, while his crown is being reft from him by the brother of the woman he had ruined. In *A King and No King*, Arbaces loses his crown by a happy revelation which makes his marriage possible, and thereby, too, he regains his crown. The love of Thierry for Ordella comes in conflict with the villainy of his mother so that he dies her victim. Thus "thrones are tottering and revolutions brewing" while the passions of individuals are being stirred.

THE DÉNOUEMENT.

5. It is to be expected that, if the heroic plays consist of more or less effectively theatric scenes, they will endeavor after special effectiveness in the dénouement. An exam-

ination of Dryden's work shows his manifest intention of ending each play with its most effective scene. The methods adopted were usually artificial to a degree, of a nature sometimes entirely surprising, and always more or less sensational in their effect. Thus, in the *Indian Queen*, the disappointed rival stabs himself, so comforted is he by the heroine's pity for him, while the lovers stand helpless in the power of their enemies. Suddenly news is brought of the arrival of the banished queen Amexia, who, it develops, is the mother of the hero. Thereupon the wicked queen repents, frees the hero, who at once slays the villain and receives his mother. The now repentant queen, after a nobly heroic speech, kills herself. All these events are sensational enough and improbable enough to satisfy the requirements of any heroic dramatist. The dénouement of the *Indian Emperor* is equally melodramatic. In *Tyrannic Love* sensationalism is still more rampant. Supernaturalism appears in the angel's destroying the torture wheel. In the resolution of the lovers' difficulties there is such a succession of stabbings that few escape; the soldiers enter and give the crown to the hero. The *Conquest of Granada* amazes us with the defeat of Almanzor, but reassures us with the discovery that the leader of the victorious Spaniards is his father. We are still further comforted by the death of the long-suffering Boabdelin and the assurance that the heroically virtuous Almahide will marry Almanzor after a year of weeping widowhood. The elements that make the dénouement of *Aurengzebe* are the conversion of the two wicked rivals, the spasm of jealousy which the hero feels when he sees his beloved with his dying rival in her arms, the self-immolation of the neglected wife, and the actual burning up of the queen in raving passion.

An examination of the plays of Otway and Orrery reveals very much the same methods, the heaping together of sensa-

tional matter with a plentiful admixture of murders and suicides. Otway uses a method in favor among heroic dramatists, when in *Don Carlos* he lets the king know all too late that he has been tricked into believing his wife false. Then, very properly, he stabs the only guilty person not already mortally wounded, and goes mad himself. No extravagance was too great, no passion too harrowing, no device too patently artificial and improbable to be used in giving an effective end to the heroic situation. And there is nothing in the least inevitable about these dénouements. One ending is as likely as another. Otway makes tragedies and Dryden does not. Dryden's plays could end tragically as well as not; only in his case his heroes are above the chances of fate; circumstances work for them. With Otway's it is different; his plays end with the heroes overwhelmed by their fate. Dryden would have spared the queen in *Don Carlos* and would not have allowed the hero to die by his own hands; all the others he would likely have consigned to death. And this is because the characterization of these plays amounts to nothing. They do not carry their fate in their own breasts; it is placed upon them by the will of the dramatist.

Now, in this respect the heroic play is but the successor of the romantic. Thorndike points out how effectively Beaumont and Fletcher worked out the dénouement of their plays. "The dénouement is never simple; it never turns out in just the way one would expect; it never has the inevitableness of great tragedy. On the other hand, it is never, as in *Measure for Measure*, a long explanation of entanglements which the audience already understands. It usually does exhibit the lively variation of incidents, the succession of sharp surprises that we expect in effective melodrama." In the *Maid's Tragedy* "we have a number of situations, some not uncommon on the stage, welded

together in a dénouement which is perhaps unequalled by any other in the Elizabethan drama in its power to hold the interest of an audience at fever heat. It holds this interest, moreover, after a scene of the greatest acting power ; it solves the difficult dramatic problem of maintaining the interest from the climax to the catastrophe. And yet this is no more than a fair example of the care with which Beaumont and Fletcher invariably heightened their dénouements. While joining and contrasting a large number of situations, involving all sorts of vicissitudes and misfortunes, while infusing each situation with dramatic power and advancing to an intensely powerful climax, they also seem to have been more careful than their contemporaries in the development of a striking stage dénouement.”¹

It is, of course, in the effectiveness with which the dénouement is worked out that the great difference lies between the best work of Dryden and that of Beaumont and Fletcher. It is the difference between artifice and art. Not one of the heroic dramatists had the fine technical skill of Beaumont and Fletcher ; none of them could produce the splendid theatric effects of their predecessors. The sudden appearances, conversions, revelations of identity, suicides, murders, and the like, which occur so frequently in the heroic play, are never worked into a scene of such tremendous intensity as the great scene in the *Maid's Tragedy*. Yet, though the heroic dramatists did not attain the success of their romantic predecessors, we cannot admit that there is no relation between the two. The heroic dramatists were trying to do with their wooden plays what Beaumont and Fletcher brought to such a state of theatric perfection in their living representations of dramatic situations. The same elements appear in both. There is hardly a device in the heroic play that is not already in the romantic ; the few which occur are but

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 114 f.

natural extensions of devices already used. The difference is in the skill with which these devices are employed.

THE TRAGIC ELEMENT.

6. Dryden calls these plays tragedies. The term is rather loosely used and is evidently intended to cover any play in which deaths occur. In none of his heroic plays, however, is either of the lovers killed. In the *Conquest of Granada* the scheming Lyndaraxa and her two lovers are killed, they being the principals in the subplot, the king Boabdelin happily is slain in battle with the Spaniards, but the hero Almanzor, and the heroine Almahide, have only to wait during the year of Almahide's conventional widowhood till they shall be married. The *Indian Queen*, the *Indian Emperor*, and *Aurengzebe* do not present any noteworthy differences to the type. *Tyrannic Love*, however, is not quite the same, since it has a double interest. The part concerned with the Christian martyr ends with her death and thus deserves to be classed as tragedy; that dealing with the love of the Empress and the hero ends much like the *Conquest of Granada*, and is not tragedy. There are two plays, however, which differ radically from these, and yet may be grouped as heroic; they are the tragi-comedy, *The Maiden Queen*, and the "comedy," *Marriage à la Mode*. Both contain matter which has tragic possibilities as well as matter which is frankly comic. *Marriage à la Mode*, Scott conjectures,¹ was changed from an heroic play proper into a tragi-comedy, "or rather a tragedy and comedy," in consequence of the ridicule heaped upon the heroic play by the *Rehearsal*. In neither of these plays do events reach a tragic issue, and each contains comic matter such as does not appear in the heroic plays proper. Orrery's plays are much like Dryden's,

¹ Scott-Saintsbury, I, pp. 120-2.

except that in *Mustapha* the ending is tragic owing to the death of the hero and his sworn brother. *Tryphon* and *Altemira* end with the deaths of leading characters but with the union of the lovers. *Henry V* and the *Black Prince* are tragi-comedies, though the tragic element in each is rather insignificant. Otway's two plays are eminently tragic. Of all the heroic plays, it may be said that about as many are pure tragedies as are tragedies after the fashion of the *Conquest of Granada*. Among these plays are a few tragi-comedies, not much more than half a dozen.

The complete tragedy is a well-known type on the English stage and requires no comment. But the incomplete tragedy and the tragi-comedy are not so well known. Fletcher defines a tragi-comedy in these words: "A tragi-comedy is not so called in respect of mirth and killing, but in respect it wants deaths, which is enough to make it no tragedy, yet brings some near it, which is enough to make it no comedy, which must be a representation of familiar people, with such kind of trouble as no life be questioned: so that a god is as lawful in this as in a tragedy, and mean people as in a comedy."¹ In view of this definition and the work of Beaumont and Fletcher we can agree with Thorndike in regarding them as the first to study the type and formulate its rules. The type became very popular and continued so till the closing of the theatres. Dryden wrote five plays of this kind, *Rival Ladies*, *Maiden Queen*, *Marriage à la Mode* (called by Dryden 'a comedy'), *Spanish Friar*, and *Love Triumphant*, and in his later years repented, saying,—“for though the comical parts are diverting, and the serious moving, yet they are of an unnatural mingle: for mirth and gravity destroy each other, and are no more to be allowed for decent than a gay widow laughing in a mourning

¹ Preface to the *Faithful Shepherdess*.

habit.”¹ The tragi-comedy was not without a certain vogue among the writers of heroic plays, but it was of much less importance than what I have called the incomplete tragedy. This differs from the types before the closing of the theatres and seems to be a natural accommodation of the tragi-comedy to the demands of the heroic play. In the ideal heroic play, the hero must not be killed; it would be a paradox for a man like Almanzor to go down to his grave at the close of the play. Maximin, being a villain, should meet a villain’s reward; but a hero must rise above untoward fate and win his love. That is essential to his heroic character. But in doing so it is inevitable that he clash with enemies, who being villains must be punished, and that with death; whether their death is due directly to him or not seems to be immaterial. Now, the tragi-comedy was hardly strong enough for the passions of this heroically developed character; what was needed was that the tragic part should become real tragedy and the comedy remain with its happy ending for the lovers, but without the vulgar fun of decadent or Restoration comedy. Accordingly, the forces that work against the lovers are brought to naught in the persons of the wicked king and queen. Each has usually gone too far to be saved by repentance alone, though Aurengzebe’s father is a case of such salvation. Boabdelin falls in battle that his wife may be free to marry Almanzor. The Indian Queen repents in time to give the hero a chance to kill the villain Traxalla, and then, when she sees her love is hopeless, she stabs herself. So the enemies of the lovers in the *Indian Emperor* die. The intensity of their passions which lead to death is on a par with the overpowering love of the hero and the heroine. This intensity of passion is further shown in the fate of the unfortunate rival; in the *Indian Queen* he slays

¹ ‘Parallel of Poetry and Painting,’ in *Essays*, II, 147.

himself; in *Tyrannic Love* he invites and receives death by his attack on the tyrant. So the unfortunate Melisinda in *Aurengzebe* will sacrifice herself on her husband's pyre as an end to the sufferings she endured through his neglect. Moreover, death is always imminent for both hero and heroine up to the very close of the play. Then they are free because death has descended on their enemies. They are always in greater danger of death than they are in the tragi-comedy. Consequently death for the others is more imperative.

To scenes calling for such exalted emotions it was natural that Dryden should not care to add the buffoonery or even the salacious dialogues and compromising situations of his comedies. There is a falling off in intensity in the heroic part of the *Maiden Queen* and a still greater in that of *Marriage à la Mode*, which is in direct proportion to the increase in the comedy. When the two mighty topics of love and valor were the theme, there was such a concentration of interest about them that all indecent frivolity was done away with. Just enough comedy was retained to relieve to some extent the superlative seriousness of the heroic.

II. CHARACTERIZATION.

It has already been intimated that the characterization in the heroic play is very slight. It was shown that no attempt is made to build plot about character, that plot consists of a series of happenings, more or less theatric in nature, and without any vital connection with each other or with the characters figuring in them. The relation of plot to character is casual, not inevitable; the hero of one play differs very little from that of another; the heroines are practically of one type, and the minor characters have still less individuality. No psychological interest attaches itself to any one personage in the strictly heroic play, since the *dramatis*

personae are not individuals but types. The characters, moreover, are not made to express themselves, but are revealed by the words of others.¹ Almanzor is described as the great unknown in the opening scene of the *Conquest of Granada*, thus preparing for his entry later. This procedure follows that in Beaumont and Fletcher. Melantius gives such a description of Amintor in the *Maid's Tragedy*, and later Lysippus similarly describes the conduct and character of Aspatia. In the opening of *Aurengzebe* we have descriptions of the emperor and his sons, just as in *Philaster* we have a detailed account of Bellario. This method of characterization is equally common in the heroic and the romantic drama. It is easier to present some idea of a character by describing him in the mouths of others than to make him reveal himself by his own words and deeds. Both the heroic and the romantic plays sacrifice psychological interest in character to theatric bustle.

THE HERO.

1. The most important personage in the heroic play is naturally the hero, and he is the same in one play of Dryden's as in any of the others, with differences only in the intensity of the heroic qualities. The heroes of Orrery's plays are very like one another and do not differ much from those of Dryden's. Otway's Don Carlos and Alcibiades are much alike, but they are not fashioned on quite the same conventional pattern as Dryden's heroes. The hero, who may be represented by Almanzor, that crowning glory of the type, is a man of royal or noble birth, as indeed are all the characters, of splendid presence, of surpassing valor and self-confidence. He falls in love after the play

¹ This Dryden approves of in his criticism of Jonson. See 'Essay of Dramatic Poesy,' in *Essays*, I, 87.

begins and continues to love most constantly and devotedly. He sets no limit to what he can do. In his own estimation Heaven above and the earth beneath can furnish forth no being capable of resisting him effectually. With him on their side no men need fear ; with him against them, no men need hope. To Abdalla Almanzor says :—

But at my ease thy destiny I send
By ceasing from this hour to be thy friend.
Like heaven, I need but only to stand still,
And not concurring in thy life, I kill.¹

So he conducts himself throughout the play, bringing victory to whichever side he favors, till in the battle with the Spaniards he is deserted by his troops and is about to engage the Duke of Arcos, when their relationship of father and son is supernaturally revealed to each. Then he becomes one with the victorious Spaniards. Notwithstanding these feats of valor, however, he is several times overpowered and forced to submit like any ordinary man to the will of the king. Moreover, it is not through anything the hero does that Boabdelin, the great obstacle to his love, is killed ; that fortunate event happens in the battle with the Spaniards, when Almanzor was fighting *for* Boabdelin. This contrast between what the hero says and what he actually does is brought out more strikingly in some of the other plays. Montezuma in the *Indian Queen* is not saved by his valor from danger of death but by the sudden repentance of the Queen. Maximin, a very wicked hero, had declared :—

Look to it, gods ! for you the aggressors are,
Keep you your rain and sunshine in your skies,
And I'll keep back my flame and sacrifice.
Your trade of heaven shall soon be at a stand,
And all your goods lie dead upon your hand.²

¹ *I C. of G.*, III : i.

² *Tyr. Love*, v : i.

No sooner has he uttered this blasphemous speech than Placidius stabs him to death. In the same play the good hero and the heroine are saved by the dagger of Placidius and the entry of the soldiers. It is only an accident, not anything her lover could do, that saves Cydaria from death in the *Indian Emperor*. It is not Aurengzebe that saves his beloved from the jealous Nourmahal, but his hitherto bitter rival, now repentant and dying. In those plays which end tragically, the contrast between the hero's boastful words and his inability to bring about a happy termination is still greater. Such is the case of Dryden's Maximin, and of Settle's Cambyzes, who says :—

I taught the Egyptian god mortality.¹

and later on learns mortality himself. Durfey's Moaran declares :—

Why, what has Fate to do with me ?
I am controuler of my Destiny ;
Let such as fear to die call chance unkind ;
My fate is as immortal as my mind :²

but he is powerless to save his beloved.

It seems to be largely a matter of chance in any case whether the hero shall end in peace or in death. The hero, in fine, is a person who says much, and appears to do much, but who, when the work of bringing about a happy issue is analyzed, does not accomplish much.

The love of the hero is as extravagant as his vaunted valor. Its beginning is sudden and violent. It knows no restraint ; it also knows no progression. The hero is as mighty a lover at the beginning as at the end of the action. He will admit no obstacles as insurmountable to the attainment of his love, yet he by no means always overcomes them.

¹ *Cambyzes*, I : i.

² *Siege of Memphis*, I.

Sometimes his love prevents his removing obstacles, as when his mistress will not let him violate honor to attain her love. Thus Almahide will not let Almanzor do anything against Boabdelin which might remove the husband and open a way for the lover. The lover must obey his mistress's commands to the letter. Love is preëminent in the mind and heart of the hero. Only very rarely is it esteemed less than honor. The hero will endure all things for love; he will go to prison, suffer death, before he will yield to the love of another, even though it be that of his queen. He is true to his beloved always. In one case, that in *Marriage à la Mode*, the hero refuses to obey his beloved when her commands mean his sacrificing his love. She forbids him to take up arms against her father, when in this way only he can win her and secure for himself the throne her father is unjustly depriving him of. When she declares she will reveal his designs, he quietly puts her under arrest. Usually, however, the heroine's word is law to the hero. When she dies, he follows. Moaran in Durfey's *Siege of Memphis* is a remarkable exception, in that he will follow honor and no longer love, when he sees his beloved Amasis stabbed by her sister, the queen.

That the hero of these plays is not entirely a copy of the hero of the French romances nor a complete creation of the heroic dramatist will be clear after an examination of the hero of the romantic plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. This hero is much the same in all these plays. In fact, as Thorndike remarks, "Philaster, Amintor, and Leucippus¹ are so absolutely alike that they could, so far as they have any personality, readily be exchanged. . . . Thierry and Arbaces² present a somewhat different type, in which ungovernable passion is largely emphasized."³ Now there are

¹ In *Philaster*, *Maid's Tragedy*, and *Cupid's Revenge* respectively.

² In *Thierry and Theodoret* and *A King and No King* respectively.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

many respects in which Philaster is the forebear of the heroic hero. He is as boastful as the best of Dryden's boastful heroes. He declares with the voice of Almanzor :—

I never yet saw enemy that look'd
So dreadfully but that I thought myself
As great a basilisk as he ; or spake
So horribly, but that I thought my tongue
Bore thunder underneath, as much as his.¹

He has a supreme scorn for others. Never for a moment does he doubt his own ability to crush anyone he encounters. He fears not even thunder, the voice of Jove ; how much less does he fear the villain Pharamond. Obstacles that stand between him and the attainment of his purpose are but as steps by which he may mount ; they never bar his progress :—

Set hills on hills betwixt me and the man
That utters this [falsehood], and I will scale them all.²

The violence of his passions finds vent in words of denunciation which suggest the heroic ; it is the same rage that possesses Almanzor. So, too, his love is strong and passionate. It starts out suddenly, and at once reaches the height of passion, where it is turned into raging jealousy. While suffering from the pangs of jealousy, Philaster cries out :—

Love me like lightning, let me be embraced
And kissed by scorpions, or adore the eyes
Of basilisks, rather than trust the tongues
Of hell-bred women !³

This is the tone and temper of the heroic hero. The latter, however, does not suffer jealousy to such a degree that it becomes the leading *motif* of the play. With him it is usually trivial and of short duration. In the same way

¹ *Phil.*, I : ii.

² *Phil.*, III : i.

³ *Phil.*, IV : iii.

Arbaces proclaims the wonders he has done ; his greatness surpasses all about him ; his self-assurance is boundless :—

If thou didst mean to flatter, and should'st utter
Words in my praise that thou thought'st impudence
My deeds should make 'em modest.¹

Like Maximin he arrogates to himself divine power :—

She [his supposed sister] is no kin to me, nor shall she be ;
If she were ever, I create her none.²

His love for his supposed sister is sudden and overwhelming ; it is as intense as any love in the heroic play, and with it is the terrible consciousness of sin. He kisses Panthea and feels at once the thrill of love which he is powerless to resist. He is as much a victim to his love as any heroic hero to his nobler passion. He seeks expression for his feelings in the impossible ; he would do what he knows is not in human power and so free himself from the tyranny of the moral law. Thierry's attitude towards his beloved is the same as that of the heroic hero. In the anguish after his discovery that the woman he should sacrifice is his wife, he exclaims :—

Stay ! dares any
Presume to shed a tear before me ; or
Ascribe that worth unto themselves, to merit,
To do so for her ? I have done ; now on.³

And this is characteristic of his love for his wife, and equally characteristic of heroic love.

The hero is very pure and noble, but his good qualities are conventional ; he is as much a type as the heroic hero. There is no fine shading in characterization. He possesses no individuality which marks him from the heroes of the other plays. His resemblance to the heroic hero is further seen

¹ *K and N. K.*, I : i.

² *Ibid.*, III : i.

³ *Thier. and Theod.*, IV : ii.

in his utter inability to bring about the happy solution. Philaster and Arbaces who boast so fluently accomplish nothing. In fact, they have been called "lily-livered heroes," a title which they deserve better perhaps than the heroic heroes. Arbaces is ready to say what he will do, but others solve his difficulty; Philaster poses very heroically but is singularly unheroic in his conduct; Thierry is a mere tool in the hands of his mother and her agents. The heroic play attempts to improve on this lily-livered type, and still further inflates the hero's boastfulness and piles extravagance upon extravagance. The result is that the hero of the later plays fights well, turns the scale of battle with his arm alone, makes a tremendous commotion, and yet can be captured, ignominiously treated, and granted the desire of his heart only through the agency of others. In this respect the heroic play is a development of the romantic.

THE HEROINE.

2. Corresponding to the hero is the heroine. Typically she is eminently pure and noble just as the hero is. There is no shading in the picture the dramatist draws of her. She loves ardently but never so as to imperil her virtue or even to violate the strict laws of morality enjoined by the heroic play. She stands for purity of conduct when her lover would sacrifice all for love. She upholds honor; he thinks only of love. She maintains complete ascendancy over her lover so that he is forced to do as she says. She would never consent to violate convention, as Juliet does, in order to gain her love; nor will she allow her lover to. Indeed, the heroine is as strictly a conventional type as the hero.

The heroine of the romantic play is likewise very good. She has the same supreme love for the hero, the same con-

stancy in face of danger, as the heroine of the heroic play. But she differs in her attitude towards her lover. She is not lord over him as the later heroine is; she does not command his conduct like Almahide or Indamora. Arethusa, Panthea, and Ordella are wholly at the mercy of their lovers. Their attitude is one of virtuous submission to whatever may be the passion of their lords. They are as strictly conventional in their way as the heroines of the heroic plays are. Their conventionality is that of highly sentimental maidens or wives, not of imperious mistresses. Except in the most general characteristics the heroine of the heroic play bears but slight resemblance to the heroine of the romantic.

THE LOVE-LORN MAIDEN.

3. The character of the love-lorn maiden was fairly popular in the heroic play. She is the heroine proper of the *Maiden Queen*; in *Tyrannic Love* she appears as Valeria, who is in love with the hero Porphyrius; in *Marriage à la Mode* she is Amalthea, favored by the king for his supposed son Leonidas, but soon resigned to the realization that Leonidas does not love her; and in *Aurengzebe* Melisinda supplies the type, since she is deserted by her husband and mourns for his love throughout the play. Degenerate offshoots from this type may possibly be the wicked women who make unsuccessful suit to the lovers. They are present in nearly every properly constructed heroic play, and they are as unfortunate in their love-making and as sentimental often in their conception of love as the love-lorn maidens proper. The unfortunate maid herself is of a nobler type, self-sacrificing, long-suffering, and sentimental to a degree. Her end in Dryden is usually tragic, as is also the wicked woman's. The maiden queen gives up her own love for the sake of the true lovers, when, too, she had them both in her

power. Valeria renounces Porphyrius to save him from the wrath of her father, the emperor. Amalthea arranges a meeting between the hero, whom she loves, and the heroine, his beloved. Melisinda endures all things at the hands of her unfaithful husband and then sacrifices herself on his funeral pyre. All these are sentimental enough. Valeria, the forlorn maiden in Orrery's *Black Prince*, is disguised as a boy and waits in attendance on or near her former lover till the action of the play is near its close, when she is compelled to reveal herself; then the unexpected happens and she regains her lover.

This type is more fully represented in the romantic play. Aspatia,¹ Urania,² and Euphrasia³ love hopelessly; Spaconia,⁴ Panthea,⁴ and Arethusa³ suffer much at the hands of the men they love, but ultimately marry them and are happy. The former type is found in Dryden's women; the latter in Orrery's Valeria. The work of Beaumont and Fletcher in the development of this type has thus been indicated:—"They intensely sentimentalized the character. They emphasized over and over again the purity, the meekness, the utter self-abnegation of these maidens. They were made eager to serve when they could not marry and supremely devoted under the most discouraging circumstances. . . . For pure sentimentality Viola in *Twelfth Night* is a saucy school girl in comparison with the watery-eyed Aspatia. The type had never before been presented so elaborately and with such exaggeration. . . . Just what charm this style of girl exercised on the stage is, however, difficult to explain, nor is it necessary. All we need to remember is that they have little individuality, that they are utterly romantic, utterly removed from life, dependent for their charm almost entirely on the poetry with which they are described; and

¹ *Maid's Tragedy*.

³ *Philaster*.

² *Cupid's Revenge*.

⁴ *King and No King*.

further, that they form one of the most distinguishing features of the Beaumont-Fletcher romances.”¹

It would be strange if this type should not persist alongside of others into the heroic plays. The characters in Dryden and Orrery, to go no further, are in a somewhat less degree the same with those in Beaumont and Fletcher. They possess no qualities not in the earlier characters. The main difference is that they are not invested in the same poetic beauty as in the earlier plays. They survive from the romantic play; they do not in any way develop the type.

THE UNSUCCESSFUL RIVAL.

4. The unsuccessful rival is the male counterpart of the lovelorn maiden. He appears as Acacis in the *Indian Queen*, as Orbellan in the *Indian Emperor*, as Placidius in *Tyrannic Love*, as Abdelmelech in the *Conquest of Granada*, as Argaleon in *Marriage à la Mode*, and as Arimant in *Aurengzebe*; as Tudor in *Henry V*, as King John in the *Black Prince*, and in dual form as Mustapha and Zanger in *Mustapha*. Now, nearly all these characters are extremely sentimental, and except Orbellan, Argaleon, and King John are very noble and self-sacrificing. Acacis slays himself on the mere assurance of his beloved's pity; Placidius takes a sure way to his own death by slaying the king; both know their love is hopeless and that life contains nothing to justify their continued existence. Usually these characters do all they can to help the hero, either in chivalrous obedience to their beloved or from generous friendship for the accepted lover.

This character as developed hardly exists in the romantic plays. Pharamond in *Philaster* is not much of a rival and is not in the least sentimental. He is like Argaleon in *Marriage*

¹ Thorndike, p. 122 f.

à la Mode, who is favored by the king and is most effectually put in his place by both hero and heroine. Pharamond and Argaleon are generously treated by the hero, when the wheel is come full circle and he has it in his power to treat them as he will. The sentimental rival is a counterpart to the sentimental lovelorn maiden. Just as Dryden in his version of the *Tempest* creates a counterpart to Miranda in Hippolito, "one that never saw woman," and gave Miranda a sister Dorinda, and Caliban a sister Sycorax, so in these plays he and his fellows follow the same principle, and furnish a masculine counterpart to the forlorn maiden who was left over from the romantic play. The extreme sentimentality of the character betrays its relation to the highly sentimental Aspatia, Urania, Euphrasia, and the rest.

THE EVIL WOMEN.

5. In strong contrast to the good women are the evil women of the heroic play. They are always persons of high authority, who are capable of carrying out their evil intentions. They fall in love with the hero, make proposals of love to him, and are rejected. Henceforth their aim is to destroy the heroine, whom the hero loves. Their own marriage relations do not stand in the way of their intention to gratify their passion; their husbands or paramours are usually at the same time making equally unsuccessful love to the heroine. The queens in the *Indian Queen*, *Indian Emperor*, and *Aurengzebe* are all very much alike; they fall suddenly in love with the hero and constitute a dangerous obstacle to his love. The first two repent in their dying moment; the last burns up in a raving passion. Lyndaraxa in the *Conquest of Granada* differs somewhat from the queens in that she belongs to the subplot and is engaged in playing off her two lovers against each other for the gratification of

her ambition. She also manages to propose love to Almanzor, with the usual result. Ultimately she meets a just death at the hand of her noble lover. The wicked women in Otway's plays are of the same kind. Eboli plots against the life of Don Carlos, when her love is rejected. She is wounded to death and dies but not before she has dragged the queen and Don Carlos down to death. In the same way the queen makes love to Alcibiades and is repulsed; but she has already poisoned the heroine, who dies in the presence of the hero. He stabs himself and the queen cheats the gallows by suicide. The type does not appear in Orrery's plays.

The wicked women are recognized as a distinct type in the Beaumont-Fletcher romances.¹ They do not play the same rôle as their counterpart in the heroic play, but in point of character they are closely related. Megra in *Philaster* is much the same as Eboli in *Don Carlos*, in that she is quite shameless in her passion and utterly ruthless in accomplishing her revenge. The villainy of the queen-mothers in *Thierry and Theodoret* and *A King and No King* is directed against their son and supposed son respectively, not against any hero who had rejected their love. In this, however, they show the same ruthlessness and murderous intentions that the queens in the heroic plays do. They confess adultery with brazen faces and would commit murder without turning a hair. Evadne differs from the women of the heroic play except in her repentance and her atonement and suicide; herein she resembles the *Indian Queen*. Otherwise she is without a counterpart in the heroic plays. The situation, so popular in the heroic play, in which the wicked queen makes unsuccessful suit to the hero is not paralleled in the Beaumont-Fletcher plays. The nearest approach to it is, perhaps, in the *Double Marriage*, where Martia proposes

¹ Thorndike, p. 123.

marriage to the hero, is accepted, and is actually married. Then he repents of his deed and deserts her. From that follows the tragedy of the play, the deaths of the hero and his first wife, and the murder of his second. In all these cases the women are painted consistently black; their characters in both heroic and romantic plays are redeemed by nothing, unless an occasional deathbed repentance be counted as redemption.

THE WICKED MEN.

6. Corresponding to the wicked queen is the wicked king. He appears as the paramour Traxalla in the *Indian Queen*, as Montezuma in the *Indian Emperor*, as Maximin in *Tyrannic Love*, as Polydamas in *Marriage à la Mode*, in a weak form as Boabdelin in the *Conquest of Granada*, and as the Emperor and Morat in *Aurengzebe*. These persons make unsuccessful love to the heroine—Boabdelin wins the hand but not the heart of Almahide—and seek to destroy whatever obstacle is in the way of their love. Similar characters are in Otway's and some of Orrery's plays.

In the romantic plays there are certain resemblances to these characters. The king in the *Maid's Tragedy*, Martius in the *Triumph of Honour*, suggest the more conventionalized villain of the later plays. The type was, however, not formed in the romantic play. It may be regarded as another counterpart of a well-established type in the romantic play, in this case that of the wicked women. The balance of characters is a mark of the heroic play and stands, of course, for extreme artificiality as against the freer treatment of the romantic.

III. LOVE AND HONOR.

The situation developed in the *Conquest of Granada* is the occasion of a conflict between the hero, who stands primarily

for love, and the heroine, who is true to honor. This conflict shows itself in their conduct as well as in their frequent "disputes." The same situation confronts the queen and her lover in *Tyrannic Love* as well as the lovers in the *Indian Emperor*, *Marriage à la Mode*, and *Aurengzebe*. In all these cases the heroine regards herself as bound by moral ties to the persons opposing the hero. Almahide is betrothed and later married to Boabdelin; Berenice is the wife of Maximin; Cydaria and Palmyra are the daughters respectively of Montezuma and Polydamas, and therefore differ in point of view from their lovers, and Indamora cannot overlook Aurengzebe's duty as a son. In *Henry V* Tudor has to decide between his friendship for his king and his love for Katherine, whom the king also loves. King John has the same problem in the *Black Prince*. In *Tryphon* there are three pairs of lovers and the man in each pair has to decide between his love and some pressing emotion or duty. The situation in *Don Carlos* is the same as that in the *Conquest of Granada*, except that the end is tragic. The "dispute" concerning the respective demands of love and honor is very artificial and stilted and is made even more so by the stychomythic form in which it is frequently put. It retards the action, often when action is most demanded. This "amatory battledore and shuttlecock," as Saintsbury calls it, will break in upon the progress of the plot, which cannot move till the lovers have settled their dispute to their satisfaction. In few of these plays does the conflict ever resolve itself into an absolute choice between love and honor. A convenient death in Dryden's plays resolves the question of honor, or the force of circumstances removes responsibility; a compromise puts the troubled rival of Orrery's plays at his ease; and death swallows up love and honor in Otway's. One feels that all such disputing is the vainest of dead literary fashions.

This problem plays no such part in the romances, though it appears in several of them. In *A King and No King* it is the problem of the play in that the king must choose between loving his sister and preserving his honor and hers. A fortunate discovery saves him from making a decision. In the *Triumph of Honour* the wife remains constant in honor, while the husband wavers between honor as represented by his wife's chastity, and honor as represented by her obligation to fulfil a thoughtless vow. A somewhat similar case is that of Ordella in *Thierry and Theodoret*; she is ready to sacrifice her life for her husband's honor as involved in the fulfilment of his vow, while he refuses to do violence to his love by fulfilling his vow. This is not the conventional conflict between love and honor, but it is plainly allied to it. This matter of love and honor had not become crystallized into a convention in the romantic plays. The conflict was only slight, incidental, not by any means a recognized dramatic situation. Hotspur felt the fascination of honor, but never saw in it a foe to love. The discreet Falstaff made fun of it. Indeed there was a tendency to make fun of this extravagant honor. Nicodemus in the *Triumph of Honour* says :—

Honour pricks ;—

And, sutler, now I come with thwacks and thwicks.¹

This disrespectful treatment of honor persisted into the heroic play and voices the hero's opposition to the enemy of love. Aurengzebe says :—

Honour which only does the name advance
Is the mere raving madness of romance.²

It is not till we reach the heroic play that we find a recognized opposition of love to honor, and then love is given the preference. The dispute, too, is a later develop-

¹ Sc. i.

² *Aurengzebe*, II : i. See also Chase : *The English Heroic Play*, pp. 124 f.

ment; it can hardly be regarded as existing in the romantic play.

IV. STAGE EFFECTS.

As a further means of winning popular approval the heroic dramatists, especially Dryden, furnished forth their plays with stage effects of a largely spectacular and in some cases sensational nature. This is quite in keeping with the effective situations and dénouements already noted as characteristic of both the heroic and the romantic plays, though of a less artistic order. Theatric effectiveness must be gained by somewhat adventitious scenic effects and startling situations as well as by events arising more directly out of the plot. These theatric effects may be roughly grouped as (*a*) singing and dancing followed by a sudden change sometimes in violent contrast to what preceded; (*b*) an incantation in which the future is darkly revealed somewhat in the semblance of a masque; (*c*) torture scenes and scenes of combat. Evidently much care was spent on these scenes so that the representation might meet the design of the author. In the *Indian Queen* (III, i) "Zempoalla appears seated upon her slaves in triumph, and the Indians, as to celebrate the victory, advance in a warlike dance; in the midst of which triumph, Acacis and Montezuma fall in upon them." The two men enter to demand Orazia and her father from the queen. Still more effective is the situation in the *Indian Emperor* (IV, ii), which is thus described: "A pleasant grotto discovered; in it a fountain spouting; round about it Vasquez, Pizarro, and other Spaniards, lying carelessly unarmed, and by them many Indian women, one of which sings the following song [Song]. After the song two Spaniards arise, and dance a saraband with castanietas: At the end of which Guyomar and his Indians enter, and, ere the Spaniards can recover their swords, seize them." This bit of stage-craft ends in the release in the same scene of the Spaniards on

their promising Odmar, one of the Indians, to secure him a woman he loves. The scene is given an importance in the plot it does not deserve, though it is not wholly extraneous. The Zambra dance in I *Conquest of Granada* (III, i) is followed immediately by "a tumultuous noise of drums and trumpets" and by the entrance of Ozmyn, who announces the enemy at the gate. In the second part (IV, iii) Esperanza's song is followed immediately by the appearance of the ghost of Almanzor's mother, who warns her son against "known crimes of lawless love." There was therefore a double gain, first, in the rather picturesque setting for the song and in the beauty of the song and the dance, and, second, in the violent contrast produced by the irruption of persons who completely changed the character of the scene.¹

In the incantation scenes there is a mixture of the masque and the ghost scenes. In the *Indian Queen* (III, ii) Zem-poalla consults a conjuror, who summons the spirits to reveal the future. Thereupon the God of Dreams rises to warn her against seeking to know the future. This so dejects the queen that the conjuror calls the aerial spirits to "bring her soul back to its harmony." Their song fails, however, to compose her, and she leaves the cell with threats of destruction. Somewhat more elaborate is the scene enacted in the *Indian Emperor* (II, i), where Montezuma seeks the aid of the High Priest in an endeavor to know Almeria's mind. One spirit foretells disaster, whereupon the Priest summons a more favorable spirit, who predicts happiness which is conditional on conduct. Then unsummoned the ghosts of Traxalla and Acacis arise and point out Montezuma, though why Acacis, who had always been a faithful friend to Montezuma, should in spirit shape seek to terrify him is not clear. At any rate they both fail, but when the "ghost of the Indian Queen rises betwixt the ghosts, with a dagger in her

¹ Compare too the simple form of the Masque in *Marriage à la Mode*, IV : iii.

breast," his hair grows stiff, his eyeballs roll. Her prophecy is equally terrifying. The speeches of some of the supernatural beings are in lyric measure in keeping with the characters of the speakers, and thus suggestive of the masque.

In *Tyrannic Love* (iv, i) the masque effect is more developed. The scene is an Indian cave. Nigrinus, the conjuror, enters "with two drawn swords, held upward in his hands," and summons the spirits Nakar and Damilear, who carry on a lyric dialogue when descending in clouds; when the clouds part, Nakar flies up and Damilear down. The latter gives riddling responses to the questions put to him, and then stamps, whereupon St. Catharine is revealed to them and "a scene of a Paradise is discovered," while the spirit sings. "At the end of the song a Dance of Spirits. After which Amariel, the guardian angel of S. Catharine, descends to soft music, with a flaming sword. The spirits crawl off the stage amazedly, and Damilear runs to a corner of it." Damilear cringes while Amariel denounces him. The verse in which the spirits speak is in lyric measure in keeping with their supernatural character.

Somewhat allied to these scenes are the torture scenes in the *Indian Queen* (v, i), the *Indian Emperor* (v, ii), and *Alcibiades* (v), the spectacle of the torture wheel destroyed by the angel in *Tyrannic Love* (v, i), the grand display of the fight for the honor of Almahide between her champions and her traducers in *Conquest of Granada* (v, ii). Ghost scenes are no more the property of the heroic play than of other classes of serious plays. All these stage effects are for the most part not essential to the action, though they are not detached from the action. Their purpose is primarily to interest by an appeal to easily awakened emotions, such as a fondness for lyric dialogue and song, for the spectacle of supernatural beings appearing and disappearing, for the sight of men writhing in torture, for the splendor of a tourney at

arms, and the like. Primarily these things interest the spectator, secondarily they bear some relation, more or less intimate, to the development of the action. They are artificial expedients to enhance interest in the heroic play.

Now the idea of these devices was not new to the heroic dramatists. The masque was a favorite form of dramatic entertainment in the years 1608-1611, and, says Thorndike, "there can be no doubt that Beaumont and Fletcher turned to them for stage pageantry In the *Four Plays*, the various deities that descend and ascend, the numerous processions, and the curious machinery where 'the mist ariseth and the rocks remove,' are all like similar performances in the court masques."¹ Likewise it is pointed out that in other plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, eighteen in all, the masque appears to a greater or less extent. The masque in the *Humorous Lieutenant* (IV, iii) is exactly of the kind we find in Dryden's plays; other plays have masque-like scenes of similar nature. The *Maid's Tragedy* has a complete masque of more pretensions than anything in Dryden. It is evident that these scenes as they appear in Beaumont and Fletcher's and Shakspeare's romantic plays may readily be considered as the model of corresponding scenes in the heroic plays. There are gods and supernatural beings ascending and descending, incantations and prophecies of the future, dances by goddesses, nymphs, shepherds, and the like, songs, and fine spectacular effects. The lyric measure of the verse and the musical effects link these scenes with the masque on the one hand and with corresponding scenes in the heroic plays on the other. The torture scenes, the tourney, and the dance are an outcome in the more artificial drama of the desire for effects that appeal for instant approval, and are not the direct development of situations in the romantic plays.

JAMES W. TUPPER.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

XIX.—DOUBTS CONCERNING THE BRITISH HISTORY ATTRIBUTED TO NENNIUS.¹

This treatise, which contains the earliest notice of Arthur, deserves a place in the history of literature as foundation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

The work begins with brief chronological and geographical chapters, proceeds with accounts of British origins, mentions of Roman imperial time, recital of Saxon advent in the form of a biography of Worgtign (the core of the document), and allusions to British struggles against Kentish and Northumbrian kings; it exhibits, therefore, a measure of sequence which partly justifies its title of *Historia Britonum*.²

Respecting the date of composition opinions have been various. Until lately, scholars set the time either in the ninth century,³ according to statements contained in the document, or in the eleventh century,⁴ if these statements were regarded as irrelevant or forged. Recent writers have been more liberal in concession of antiquity. Zimmer thought the treatise to have been compiled by Nennius in 796. Duchesne, Mommsen, and Thurneysen accept the part assigned to Nennius, whom however they regard only as editor of pre-

¹ T. Mommsen, *Historia Britonum cum additamentis Nennii*, Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, auct. antiquis., XIII, Berlin, 1894.—L. Duchesne, *Nennius retractatus*, in *Revue Celtique*, xv, 1894, 174–197 (contains text of MS. of Chartres).—Recent literature: G. Heeger, *Über die Trojanersage der Britten*, Munich, 1886; H. Zimmer, *Nennius vindicatus. Über entstehung, geschichte und quellen der Historia Britonum*, Berlin, 1893; R. Thurneysen, *Nennius vindicatus*, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, xxviii, 1895, 80–113.

² In the Middle Ages this name, or *Historia Britannica*, was often bestowed on the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

³ So Schöll, La Borderie, G. Paris (see Heeger, *op. cit.*, p. 19 f.).

⁴ Wright, Heeger.

existing material. Mommsen supposes the work to have been composed by the end of the seventh century. To my own mind, the evidence for so early a period is inadequate; concerning the period and character of the compilation I desire to submit observations, which of necessity must take the form of a commentary; it will be understood that these are offered under the reserves proper to an obscure and complicated subject, in which an investigator can hardly hope entirely to escape error.

The MSS. may be divided into five groups: (1) the fragmentary and recently discovered codex of Chartres (ninth or tenth century, according to Mommsen), ascribed to a certain son of Urbacen; (2) what may be called the accepted text, represented by that codex of the Harleian library (eleventh or twelfth century), anonymous, which forms the basis of the critical edition; (3) MSS. offering a text in general accordant with the preceding, but referring the authorship to Gildas; (4) a text formed by a combination of that of Chartres with the Gildas type, professing to have been prepared by Marcus a hermit, and represented by a codex of the Vatican library (eleventh century); (5) MSS. in the main answering to the third class, but adding a preface of Nennius, as well as certain other increments; with these is affiliated an Irish translation of the late eleventh century (a fragment in *Lebor na h-Uidri* of 1106).

The codex of Chartres stands by itself, in sharp contrast with all other texts. The fragment breaks off in the account of the Saxon invasion, and in this section does not materially differ; but the prefixed chapters, which in the accepted text form a connected story, are few and isolated. There can be no question that this type is independent of Harleian; the only doubt must be, whether (after making allowance for a bad copy) Chartres gives us that same older text, which in Harleian is expanded and rearranged, or whether the two

have a common source in an earlier original, which the former has mutilated and abstracted, the latter enlarged and recombined.¹ In the title of Chartres, the treatise is described as consisting of extracts from a life of Saint Germanus, accompanied with an account of British origins.² From the absence of mention, it may be inferred that the Arthuriana and other documents appended to the story of Wotigern were not included.

In the twelfth century we find William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon treating the document as authoritative. A little earlier, but only at the end of the eleventh century, may be dated Hugo of Flavigny and Chronicon Vedastinum, cited by Mommsen.

Earlier alleged notices seem to me unproved. (1) A ms. of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, ascribed to the end of the tenth century, contains a concordant date of the Saxon advent; the passage answers to the text of Chartres and not to that of Harleian; the agreement may depend on the use of common literary material.³ (2) Cormac MacCuilenain (ninth century); that this Irish writer used the *Historia* is merely an unfounded guess.⁴ (3) Heiric of Auxerre (about 880) has a parallel chapter, but according to the view taken

¹ The latter view is that of Mommsen (who prints Chartres only as *variae lectiones*).

² According to Mommsen the title runs: "Incipiunt Exberta fu Urbacen de libro sancti Germani inventa et origine et genealogia Britonum." *Fu* for *filii*, i. e., *filii*. *Exberta* is supposed by Thurneysen an error for *excerpta*, since the Nennius preface uses this word; but the writer of the preface did not know a text answering to Chartres, hence is not an authority.

³ Mommsen, p. 132; see below, p. 640, note 4.

⁴ In his History of Ireland, Keating cites from the lost Psalter of Cashel statements concerning Partholon, etc., evidently founded on the *Historia*; the Psalter he cites as a work of the holy Cormac, son of Cuileannan (1, 6). The Psalter is referred to the early eleventh century; Keating could have had no reason for his ascription, save his fancy that Cormac, as an ecclesiastic of Cashel, must needs have been engaged in the composition.

below, did not know the *Historia*.¹ (4) Beda: because of agreement in a single date (of Harleian and not Chartres) Mommsen supposes that he was acquainted with the compilation; the concordance can equally well be interpreted in the reverse direction²; I shall give reasons for believing that Beda, used at first or second hand, supplied suggestions to the various writers of the *Historia*.

Indications of time contained in the treatise itself are numerous, but so divergent that no two agree. This variety has usually been explained as a result of successive editions, in which each editor introduced his own date. However, it is by no means clear that any of the notices were intended to give dates of composition. A large allowance must be made for scribal error, misconception, and absolute forgery. Among chronological mentions which may be taken as determinations of authorship none are included in the older text of Chartres.

Remarks may be arranged according to the successive sections, beginning with the preface.

Apologia of Nennius.—The author, who names himself as Nennius, a disciple of Elvodugus, explains that in his opinion it is worth while to present extracts containing information which the stupid and ignorant doctors of Britain have overlooked. Accordingly, he has made a compilation from Roman annals and ecclesiastical chronicles, that is to say from Hieronymus, Eusebius, Isidorus, and Prosper, from annals of Scots and Saxons, and from the books and traditions of his own country; he apologizes for the defects of his literary style.

Elbodugus or Elbodg is mentioned in the so-called *Annales Cambriae* as having changed the date of Easter in 768, and as dying in 809.

¹ P. 653, below.

² P. 638, below.

In documents of this type, it is not unusual to find an unprefaced work provided with a fictitious prologue; while it is entirely in the usual course that an anonymous book should be attributed to some scholar of local celebrity (as in this case also to Gildas). The preface has evidently been prepared by some one who had before him the completed text of the treatise. It appears in the first instance as a marginal gloss contained in a MS. of the twelfth century;¹ under ordinary conditions, the chapter would unhesitatingly be set aside as a forgery.

Zimmer, however, offered an ingenious defence, based on the character of the Irish version. To all appearance, this was made from a codex of the fifth class; Zimmer held that the rendering shows certain superiorities, which prove that the translator could not have been limited to such a text, but must have had in his possession a Latin copy of a form better than any existing MS., so that the translation has claims to consideration parallel with any Latin copy. This doctrine involves the genuineness of the preface, its subsequent omission from the MSS., and eventual restoration through the margin.² In order to establish so improbable a relation, the advantages of the Irish rendering ought to be very apparent. A further difficulty arises from the excessively free procedure of the Irishman, who abbreviated, transposed, added, and glossed according to his pleasure.³

¹According to Mommsen, MSS. D and C, in which the preface is marginal, are so alike as to form but one testimony, while those MSS. in which the preface has crept into the text are no more than copies of these.

²The question is complicated by additions contained in the Nennius texts, also in the first instance marginal glosses, by a writer who calls himself the pupil of one Beulan. This glossator, it would appear, pretends personally to have known Elvodugus; see below, p. 667, note 1; Thurneysen, pp. 63, 97.

³The extent of the translator's freedom is well set forth by Heeger, in a review of Zimmer's work; *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, May, 1894, pp. 399 ff.

However, so far are the merits of the translation from being obvious, that the instances of alleged advantage are both few and insignificant; a rearrangement in the interest of lucidity is entirely in the writer's style; apart from this, there is no single case in which readers of the version will not be likely to prefer the Latin text.¹ Again, the discovery of the text of Chartres, not used by Zimmer, shows that Nennius at most could have been only an editor, and that if he did profess to be responsible for the work, he deceived his readers. Under these circumstances, it appears to me that there is no necessity to disturb the shade of Nennius, which might rather be allowed to repose peacefully in that limbo provided for ghosts of fictitious personages.

From this point I follow the divisions of the accepted text, with comparison of Chartres.

I. *Six Ages of the World*, cc. 1-6.—These are noted, and their duration estimated. The matter will hereafter receive consideration.

II. *Geography*, c. 7.—The island of Britain is said to have received its name from a Roman consul Brutus.² Mention is made of its dimensions, rivers, subordinate isles, and twenty-eight cities. It is said to be inhabited by four nations, Scots, Picts, Saxons, and Britons.

In the year 138, B. C., D. Junius Brutus, surnamed Callaicus, while campaigning in Further Spain, came in view of the ocean, and saw the sun set in its waters. This event was thought of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the

¹The only cases sufficiently salient to allow examination are passages associated with the names of Damhocr (p. 635, note 1, below), and Equitius (p. 640, below). The translator, or the Latin text he used, may have made a correction or two from the Vatican text: see Thurneysen, p. 82.

²“*Britannia insula a quodam Bruto consule Romano dicta.*”

chronology of Hieronymus; the writer in the *Historia*, or a predecessor, thought that since Brutus got so far, it was only reasonable to suppose that he had also crossed the sea, and had given his name to Britain.

The twenty-eight cities are mentioned in the present tense, as if still extant. Beda, in his geographical chapter, gives a similar notice, but describes them as things of the past. The source of both writers is the *De Excidio Britanniae*, attributed to Gildas, where the language is ambiguous, and can be taken as either past or present; but that the cities were not existing at the time is shown by another sentence; in speaking of traffic on the Thames and Severn, *De Excidio* states that it had *once* been great. The word *olim* is taken up into the *Historia*; it is evident, therefore, that the author of the latter used the present tense, not as having any relation to his own date, but because he understood that the language of his source bore that signification. This makes a first example of a practice which will appear to be frequent; the tense may be called an antiquarian present.¹

A similar remark applies to the establishment of four nations, including Piets; the mention may be borrowed from Beda.²

(2) *Roman and Trojan origins*.—These are obtained in four different ways. The obscurity may be in some measure elucidated by preliminary remarks.

¹ *De Excidio*, c. 3: "Britannia insula . . . bis denis bisque quaternis civitatibus ac nonnullis castellis . . . decorata." Beda, 1, 1: "Erat et civitatibus quondam xx et viii nobilissimis insignita, praeter castella innumera . . ." *Historia*, c. 7: "in ea sunt viginti octo civitates et innumerabilia promontoria cum innumeris castellis . . . et in ea habitant quattuor gentes, Scotti, Picti, Saxones, atque Brittones." Observe the word *innumeris*, apparently a reminiscence of Beda.

² *Hist. eccles.*, III, 6.

Before the first of these notices was prepared, the *Historia*, in its process of gradual accretion, seems first to have added the geographical chapter. The initial words of this section derive the name of Britain from a Roman consul; if a Brutus were name-giver of the land, it would be natural to make him also an eponym of the folk; but for such service the consul of B. C. 138 was too recent; a glossator, accordingly, posited a Brutus sufficiently remote to answer for fore-father. In this essay, as usual, he turned to the ever-ready hand-book, the chronology of Jerome-Eusebius.

On the basis of hints furnished by Virgil, Jerome was able to assign dates to early Latin kings. The first was of course Aeneas, the second his son Ascanius, the third his later son, Silvius surnamed Postumus, who is credited with a reign of twenty-eight years, and who became the ancestor of Latin sovereigns, all surnamed Silvii. If Britons came from a Roman house, through Rhea Silvia they must be descended from Silvius Postumus, and through Aeneas from Trojans. The first legend-maker went no further, carried back the eponym only to the foundation of Rome, and did not find his invention adequate to the construction of a migration legend.

Jerome supplied a second entry calculated to produce imitation. In a spirit of delicate flattery, Virgil made the Julii descend from Iulus (Ilus, eponym of Ilium), son of Aeneas, also called Ascanius. The latter, as forefather of Julii, must, thought commentators, have had a son named Julius; and to such a Julius Jerome gave a birth-date of 870 years after Abraham.¹ If the Roman imperial house was honored by a descent from Aeneas, the eponym of Britons deserved a like distinction; it was only necessary to

¹ "Ascanius Julium procreavit a quo familia Juliorum orta, et propter aetatem parvuli, quia needum regendis civibus idoneus erat, Silvium Postumum fratrem suum regni reliquit haeredem."

treat the original Brutus as Jerome had treated Julius; and this later glossators proceeded to effect.

(a) *Brutus, son of Rhea Silvia, c. 11. Chartres.*—Britons descend from Romans and Greeks. They are Romans, as derived from a Roman family to which belonged Brutus the consul who occupied Britain, and which was founded by an elder Brutus, son of Rhea Silvia, and third brother to Romulus and Remus; Britons, accordingly, come from the stock of Silvius, son of Aeneas, and their kings, like the Roman, are entitled to the epithet of Silvii; through Aeneas, they go back to Dardanus the Trojan. The latter, however, was himself a Greek *emigré*; hence Britons are also Greeks.¹

Vatican.—The passage is amended by omitting the name of Brutus, son of Rhea; Britons are said to come from Silvius Postumus, but we are not told in what manner.

Ancient writers, also desirous to annex the Trojan glory, had insisted that Dardanus originally came from their own country; Servius made him an Italian, Isidorus, whom the *Historia* follows, a Greek.²

Here we perceive the antiquarian manner of expression;

¹The passage in Chartres is full of scribal errors: "De Romanis et Grecis trahunt ethimologiam, id est de matre Labina filia Latini regis Italie et patre Siluianiae (read Siluii filii Eneae), filii Enachi, filii Dardani, filii Dardanus, filii Saturni. Rex Gothorum (read Grecorum; so Vatican) perrexerit ad partem Asiae, et Trous filius Dardani edificauit urbem Troie. . . . Et de stripe (*i. e.*, stirpe) Silluii filii Eneae ex Labina orti sunt Remus et Romulus et Brutus, tres filii regine sanctimonialis pro /// mi (?) Reae, qui fecerunt Romam. Brutus consul fuit in Roma epiromanus quando expugnauit Hispaniam et detraxit in seruitutem Rome, et postea tenuit Britanniam insulam quam habitant Britones filius illi olli Siluio Posthumus. . . ."

Vatican alters the word *epiromanus* to *imperii Romani*, but has *epiromanus* in c. 3; a proof, I think, of what is otherwise sufficiently clear, that the editor had before him a text like that of Chartres, which he in some measure recast.

² Etym., ix, 2, 67.

Britons are said to inhabit the whole island, Saxon time being passed over.

(b) *Brito, brother of Postumus, c. 11. Chartres.*—At the period when Eli was priest in Israel, and the ark fell into the hands of the Gentiles, Brito reigned in Britain, and his brother Postumus over Latins.

Harleian.—The words are retained, but receive a preface. Reigns of Latin kings are given; Silvius is assigned twelve years, and his son Postumus thirty-nine years.

The writer in Chartres probably intended to make the eponymic Brutus (instead of a third brother to Romulus and Remus) a third brother to Ascanius and Silvius Posthumus. This the recaster did not understand or approve; he therefore, by dividing the personality of the latter, created a new king Postumus, to whom he gave a term of years in excess of that allowed by Jerome for the third Latin king. His spelling Brito shows that his copy of the *Historia* already contained the Frankish Chronicle.

(c) *Brutus, son of Hisicion and grandson of Rhea Silvia, c. 18. Chartres, Harleian.*—Frankish and Roman explanations are concorded, by making the Alanus of the Frankish Table a son of Rhea Silvia. A pedigree is carried to Japhet.

(d) *Brutus, son of Silvius Postumus, c. 10. Harleian.*—Silvius, son of Aeneas, has a son who, according to prophecy, is destined to destroy father and mother, and incur universal odium. The prediction is fulfilled; this son, named Brutus, is obliged to go into exile, and flies to isles of the Tyrrhene (*i. e.*, Mediterranean) Sea, whence he is expelled by Greeks willing to avenge the death of Turnus at the hands of Aeneas, his grandfather. He resorts to Gaul, where in memory of Turnus he founds the city of Tours, and finally arrives in Britain, which land is still peopled by his descendants.

Vatican.—The chapter is freely edited. Brutus is made a son of Ascanius; the prediction affirms that he will become a general favorite.

It seems strange, in a Welsh document, to find an echo of the adage *bruti Britones*; but such seems to be the case with the prophecy.

The passage is a recast and substitution; the migration legend is now supplied which is wanting in (a), and the latter suppressed.

In making Brutus a son of Ascanius, the editor of *Vatican* evidently had in mind the similar descent of the Julius already mentioned; we perceive with what clear consciousness these fictions were elaborated.

In these British origin legends, the two primary accounts (those connected with the Frankish Table and with Brutus, son of Rhea) seem to have been independently added by different hands; with the desire of antiquity or harmony, two other explanations were interpolated, and all these we have in *Chartres*; the recaster, to whom we owe the text of *Harleian*, substituted for the notice concerning Brutus, brother of Romulus, a more elaborate legend of his own, making Brutus a son of Silvius. This last was accepted by Geoffrey of Monmouth, through whom Brutus the Trojan became a literary personage.

The Trojan stories of the *Historia* have a considerable resemblance to the earlier tales respecting the Trojan ancestry of Franks. In both the suggestion seems to have been that of assonance, both were elaborated by the aid of Virgil; in origin, however, they seem to have been quite independent.¹

The reviser who produced the accepted text (of *Harleian*) chose to punctuate his undigested material, in such manner

¹ Mommsen supposes that the Frankish story depended on a misspelling of a *Colonia Traiana* as *Troiana*, *Mon. Germ. Hist., auct. antiquis., ix, 619.*

as to emphasize his own addition;¹ he did not attempt further to introduce clearness; the Irish translator, however, effected a rearrangement.

Between the various accounts are intercalated (in the later text only) migration legends relating to Picts and Scots (*i. e.*, Irish).

B. *Picts, c. 12. Harleian.*—After an interval of not less than 800 years came Picts, who occupied the islands called Orcades, thence devastated many regions, and settled the north part of Britain, where they remain, occupying the third portion of the island to the present day.²

The source is Beda, who in his first chapter describes the voyage of Picts from Scythia, as they themselves affirm,³ their unsuccessful attempt to settle in Ireland, and occupation of North Britain.

The intermediate station at the Orkneys is added by the writer in the *Historia*.

The statement that Picts still occupy a third of Britain appears sufficiently categorical; nevertheless, the mention is only another example of the antiquarian present, similar to that just noticed in the case of Britons. The model seems to be the language of Beda, who speaks of Pictish matriarchy as in his day still existing.⁴

C. *Scots, (a). From Spain to Ireland, c. 13.*—Last of all Scots migrated from Spain. (1) First came a certain Partholomus, with a thousand men; these were eventually swept

¹ The words "hoc experimentum bifarie inveni" (c. 10), and "aliud experimentum inveni" (c. 17) are additions of the reviser.

² Et manent ibi tertiam partem Britanniae tenentes usque in hodiernum diem.

³ From Scythia because of their association with Scots who were Scythians. See below.

⁴ Quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum.

away by famine and pestilence. Next Nimeth, son of Agnomen, with his company, after being sea-tossed for a year and a half, effected a landing, but finally returned to Spain. Finally three sons of a Spanish knight arrived in thirty ships, and remained a year. From the shore they perceived in the midst of the sea a tower of glass, on the summit of which were standing men; they attacked the castle, but were swallowed up by the waves; one vessel, with a crew of thirty men, having been wrecked, had taken no part; hence descended the population of Ireland.

Glass, by reason of its splendor, is a fairy material; an isle of glass is known to French mediæval romance.¹ In this tale, the waters seem to swallow assailants of sea-fairies. It is likely, therefore, that the interpolator who added this passage really obtained his material from Irish informants.

The connection of Spain with Ireland seems to have depended mainly on the assonance of the names Iberia and Hibernia. Again, according to mediæval geography, Spain was opposite Ireland.²

In this chapter the Irish translator employed a very free hand, interpolating additional races, notably the Firbolg and Tuatha De Danann. These peoples play a great part in Irish mediæval literature, and their fortunes are related in elaborate texts. The relation of these to the *Historia* and to the Irish version involves the solution of complicated problems, not yet adequately discussed, and cannot here be taken up, especially as the inquiry has only a remote connection with the sources and date of the *Historia*.

(b) *Scots from Spain to Britain, c. 14.*—The last emigrant was Damhocht, whose race settled in various regions of

¹ Crestien, *Erec*, 1947.

² "Hibernia . . . usque contra Hispaniae septentrionalia, quamvis magno aequore interjacente pervenit."—Beda, 1, 1.

Britain. Istoreth, son of Istorinus, took possession of Dalmatia, Buile and his followers took the Isle of Man, the children of Liethan occupied South Wales and adjacent districts, until they were expelled by Cuneda.

Since Damhoctor is called the last emigrant, it seems necessary to suppose that Istoreth and the rest were meant to pass for his descendants. The Irish translator makes Damhoctor settle in Ireland. Some texts of the version, in place of the proper name, read *dam ochtor*, a company of eight; the reading has been taken to prove that the renderer must have had more precise information concerning the Irish stories used by the writer of the Latin text; to my mind, however, the Irish words must be set down as only a piece of folk-etymology.¹

(c) *Scots from Egypt to Spain, c. 15.*—According to learned Scots, after Pharaoh had been drowned in the Red Sea, a noble Scythian was resident in Egypt; him the Egyptians, in their weakened condition fearing his power, expelled from their country; he wandered through Asia for forty-two years,² some of the stations being named, and afterwards crossed to Spain, where his descendants multiplied, this happened at the time of that Brutus, with whom began Roman consuls.

This chapter does not supply an alternative origin, but is given as a supplement to the statement already made; in the two previous chapters we have learned in what manner Scots arrived in Ireland and Britain from Spain; we now learn how they had been established in the latter country.

¹ Zimmer thinks the translator's language and arrangement to indicate a better Latin text; to my mind the version is made from the text we possess.

²After the "Peutinger Table," Mommsen, p. 115.

The Pictish *Chronicle*, apparently belonging to the end of the tenth century, gives to the Scots alternative derivations; they came from Scythia (Scoti for Sciti); or else they are named after their queen Scotta, daughter of Pharaoh.¹

Scotta figures in another migration legend. The author of the *Life of St. Cadroe* (eleventh century) relates that the folk of Choriseon, a town on the Pactolus, resolve to migrate to Thrace; they pass through the Hellespont, coast Crete and Sicily, whence a storm drives them to the Illyrian Sea and to Spain near the Ebro. They pass the Pillars of Hercules, traverse the ocean, and attain Ultima Thule, coming in view of the mountains of Ireland.² This happened in the day of Crassus, Pompey and Cæsar. Landing at Cloin on the Shannon, they occupy Armagh and other localities. After some years they cross to Britain, arrive at Ross, and name the country at first Chorischia, afterwards Scotia, from Scotta, the Egyptian wife of their Lacedæmonian leader Nelus or Niulus. The model for the voyage is furnished by the Aeneid; the writer remarks that neither Aeneas nor Ulysses had endured equal sufferings.

It will be seen that the *Life* and the *Historia* exhibit no sign of mutual acquaintance. Both accounts deal with migration of Scots as a chosen people, resembling in their fortunes the children of Israel; both indulge in synchronisms, possess a similar style, and seem to bear the marks of a like period of historical speculation.

¹ *Chronicle*: "Sciendum vero est quod Britones in tertia mundi etate ad Britanniam venerunt; Scite autem, id est Scotti, in quarta etate Scociam sive Hiberniam obtinuerunt."—Skene, *op. cit.*, p. 3. *Historia*: "Brittones venerunt in tertia aetate mundi ad Britanniam: Scotti autem in quarta obtinuerunt Hiberniam."—C. 15.

² W. F. Skene, *Chronicle of the Picts*, etc. Edinburgh, 1867, p. 107. The *Life* names the part of the Irish coast first seen as Cruachan Eile; this is the height on which Saint Patrick fasted, and (according to the later legend followed in the *Historia*) received certain boons from the Almighty (p. 659, below).

The *Life* evidently borrows the name Scotta from the Pictish *Chronicle*. The *Historia* does not name Scotta, but it seems probable that the author of the passage conceived of his Scythian noble as the husband of that lady; he records the Scythian and Egyptian origins, which in the *Chronicle* are only alternative. Finally, the *Historia* uses identical language; it seems, therefore, that the Pictish *Chronicle* must be assumed as a source, and that the Irish migration legends did not find a place in the compilation before the eleventh century, which must be set down as the date of the revised text of Harleian.

IV. *Roman emperors in Britain, Chartres*.—The text contains two separate paragraphs, both dealing with the wars of Julius Cæsar, but obviously from different hands.

(1) *c. o of Duchesne*.—(a) An account is given of Cæsar's expedition. (b) Mentioned are names of emperors who visited the island; allowing for bad spelling, these are Julius, Claudius, Severus, Carausius, Constantinus, Maximus, Gratianus; in a confused manner are noted events connected with Maximus. (c) Added is a piece of chronology hereafter to be considered.

(2) (a) A separate notice of the wars of Julius. (b) A statement that the Roman generals were thrice slain by Britons.

Harleian.—The second paragraph of Chartres (2, a) makes c. 19, while the mention of 2, b does not appear until c. 30; in the intervening chapters, cc. 20–30, are given details concerning Roman emperors connected with Britain. As these are seven in number, and agree with 1, b, except as to the final name, it seems clear that the writer had before him the very text which we now have in Chartres; the alternative notice of Julius he omitted as unnecessary; the item concerning the seven emperors he made the basis

of an elaborate expansion; perceiving the historical error, he chose to omit the name of Gratianus and substitute that of an imaginary Maximianus;¹ after the reference to the three British revolts (c. 30), he himself, or a third hand, added in accordance with *De Excidio Britanniae* two chapters relating to the British embassies sent to implore aid of Rome.

By the crucial test of this section we perceive a relation consistent with all the other facts, namely, that the text of Harleian is not independent, but a free recast of that which we have in Chartres.

Chronology.—At this point may be introduced observations concerning various dates scattered through the compilation, but for the most part only in the later text.

(1) *The conversion of Britain, c. 22, Harleian.*—This is said to have been effected in the year 167, by a legate of Pope Eucharistus, sent to Lucius, king of Britain.

The mission is mentioned in *Liber Pontificalis*, where the pope is Eleuther; the date is not given, but must have been after 170. Beda notes the event, also making the name Eleuther, but giving the year as 176. To my mind, the agreement and difference is adequately explained by the supposition that the *Historia*, as usual, uses Beda, but also as usual, perverts names.

(2) *The Saxon Conquest.*—*De Excidio* declares the revolt of Saxon mercenaries to have taken place after a fruitless embassy sent to Aetius when for the third time consul (446).

¹ *De Excidio* states that the expedition of Maximus, by depleting the island of its militant youth, was responsible for British downfall. The reviser observed that this mention was not noted in his text, and inferred that the Maximus in question was not that same Maximus whose affairs were remarked; he therefore, for the sake of distinction, varied the name to Maximianus, and utilized it to replace that of Gratianus, who was in no way connected with Britain (the writer in Chartres may have confused the emperor with the local British imperator or "tyrant" Gratianus; Thurneysen, p. 92).

On the strength of this statement Beda assumed that the Saxon advent must needs have taken place a little later, or during the reign of Marcian and Valentinian, that is to say, in 449 or subsequently; this opinion was adopted into the Saxon Chronicle, and with Asser became an absolute date of the Conquest.

The only notice of the Conquest having any historical validity, that of a contemporary Gaulish chronicler who under the 19th year of Theodosius (441-2) notes the reduction of the island to Saxon supremacy, was in the Middle Age unremarked.¹

According to Orosius and Zosimus, the evacuation of Britain by the Romans took place about 409; the difference between this period and the 449 of Beda seems to account for the forty years of terror mentioned in the Life of Wotigern (c. 32) as preceding the Saxon arrival.

The *Historia*, however, contains other and irreconcilable statements.

(1) *Saxons in 500, c. o of Duchesne, Chartres*.—The obscure passage seems to affirm that in the year 801 had expired three centuries of Saxon occupation. As authority the writer mentions an abbot of Ripon.²

¹ "Britanniae usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latae in dicionem Saxonum rediguntur."—*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, auct. antiquis., ix, 660.

² The passage is a curiosity: "Et in tempore Guorthigirni regis Britannie Saxones pervenerunt in Britanniam, id est, in anno incarnationis Christi, sicut Libine abasie Inripum civitate invenit vel reperit, ab incarnatione Domini anni D usque ad kl. Jan. in xii luna ut aiunt alii trecentis annis a quo tenuerunt Saxones Britanniam usque ad annum supradictum."

According to Duchesne (p. 182), the year 801 did offer the required coincidence between the first of January and the twelfth day of the moon. *De Excidio* had predicted, that Saxon power in Britain would endure only three hundred years; Saxon writers of the ninth century, perhaps, argued that the prophecy had already been discredited, since the Saxon landing had certainly taken place earlier than 500.

This designation of time appears only in Chartres; it is valuable only as setting a limit for the text, which must needs be later than the beginning of the ninth century, and since the author (perhaps at second hand) cites an undated predecessor, may be indefinitely later.

(b) *Saxons in 347 from the Passion, c. 31, Chartres.*—They are said to have been received by Wortigern in this year, being that of the reign of Gratianus (for the second time) and Equitius.¹

Harleian, etc.—The second name is corrupted to Equantius. The Irish translator here has Equit.²

Under this year Victor of Aquitaine notes as consuls Gratianus (for the third time) and Equitius.³

In a MS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ascribed to the end of the tenth century, occurs a similar passage, which, however, varies from that of the *Historia*, and seems to me not borrowed from the latter.⁴

The origin of the date is not clear, but may have depended merely on scribal error.⁵

(c) *Saxons in 428, c. 66, Harleian.*—They are said to

¹ "Regnante Gratiano secundo cum Equitio Saxones a Guorthigirno suscepti sunt anno cccxlviij post passionem Christi."

² Zimmer (p. 20) assumes that the more correct form of the name indicated that the Irishman used a Latin text older and better than Harleian; however, in the name of Eucharistus, above mentioned, the translator corrected to Eleuther; in the present case I suppose that he simply amended from Prosper.

³ "Gratiano iij et Equitio."

⁴ "Quando Gratianus consul fuit secundo et Equitius quarta, tunc his consulibus Saxones a Wyrtegeorno suscepti sunt anno cccxlviij a passione Christi." Observe the Anglo-Saxon name of the king, also the initial (as given by Mommsen, p. 172).

⁵ The author, perhaps, misread Beda's date of cccclxviij by dropping a c and i; he then looked out the year in Victor, and obtained the consuls (these held over in 348); he forgot that Beda reckoned from the Incarnation. The Welsh scribe took Equitius as well as Gratianus to be an emperor, hence the word *regnante*.

have arrived in the consulship of Felix and Taurus, which year according to Victor of Aquitaine should be 428 (but the *Historia* gives the year as 400).

Of this date no explanation has been offered. I suggest that it is accounted for by the concordance between the Saxon advent and the time of Germanus, according to the *Historia*. Prosper makes Germanus to have visited Britain in 429.

The writers in the *Historia*, as will hereafter appear, seem to have had no original Welsh sources of information, but to have been dependent on the ordinary handbooks.

(3) *Computations by eras*.—In his chronology, having arrived at the beginning of Christ's ministry in the 15th year of Tiberius, Jerome takes a backward glance, and gives a computation of the number of years elapsed from epoch-making persons or events, the Creation, Deluge, Abraham, Moses, Solomon, the Captivity. The year in question is called the present year.¹ This calculation was taken into the *Epitoma* of Prosper. Beda made the sixth age of the world begin with the birth of Christ, and extend to the Judgment, establishing as the beginning of the several eras the Creation, Deluge, Abraham, David, the Captivity, the Incarnation. Differences of authorities in regard to initial and terminal points were sufficient to allow mediæval imitators a margin of originality; again, these were at liberty to carry on the computation to recent time, which they would naturally do by introducing new eras, which need not of necessity be connected with the year of composition.² In this manner were made *computi*, of which three, by as many hands, have found a place in the accepted text of the *Historia*.

¹ "Computantur in praesentem annum."

² Thus Jerome himself, at the end of his work, counts up to the 14th year of Valens, which was not the date of authorship (he reserved contemporary history, as he says, for more extended treatment).

(a) cc. 1-6, *Chartres, Harleian*.—First, years connected with epochs are given, ending with the number from Adam to the Captivity. Secondly, the Six Ages are noted after Beda.

Harleian.—Between the first and second mentions, the accepted text introduces additional matter; the number of years is computed from Adam to Christ, then from both the Incarnation and Passion to a mediæval date (generally assumed to be that of authorship).

In regard to mediæval documents, it is a general rule of interpretation, that the hypothesis of intercalation (if applicable) has precedence over that of abridgment. The additions, therefore, must be set down as interpolated; any doubt is removed by observing that in concluding his count at an era earlier than that of Christ the writer in *Chartres* followed the example of Jerome.

The mediæval date varies in different MSS.; *Harleian* has 831 from the Incarnation, Vatican 976, being, as is said, the fifth year of Eadmund, king of the English, the Nennius glosses 912, being the 30th year of Anaraut, said to be reigning in North Wales.¹

In regard to the Vatican date, it is noteworthy that 976 is not the fifth year of Eadmund (which would be 944). Again, the time of the edition can scarcely be intended, since other passages bring that down to 1021.²

As to Anaraut, this entry was originally a marginal gloss. The writer evidently had access to a text (the Vatican, or a similar one), which gave the year of a Saxon king; his

¹ *Harleian*: "ab incarnatione autum ejus anni sunt dcccxxxi. Other MSS. vary only the year: Vatican: dcccclxxvi et v annus Eadmundi regis Anglorum. Nennius texts: dcccxi usque ad xxx annum Anaarauht regis Moniae, qui regit modo regnum Wenedotiae regionis, id est Guernet (*i. e.*, Guened); sunt igitur anni ab exordio mundi usque in annum praesentem viciiii."

² Mommsen, p. 117, note.

novelty consisted in substituting a Welsh for a Saxon definition. The glossator was a forger; in the use of tenses he conforms to the style of the treatise, and in mentioning his lower limit as the present year simply copies Jerome.

The same computation is made more complicated by a much later imitator, whose work appears in L (MS. of the 13th century). This writer begins with an affirmation that the treatise was composed in the year 858 (see below); he then counts by years of the world to an epoch which seems to be 919 (but probably the variation from 912 is simply the expression of his own arithmetical ineptitude). As an authority he quotes Henry of Huntingdon; this does not prevent him from repeating the notice in which the final era is called "the present year."

Coming to Harleian, we find the years to the Passion given as 796 (in other MSS. 790), to the Incarnation as 831. The unusual difference of 35 years (instead of 32 or 30) argues scribal error. No explanation is given as to the era; the universal custom of the chronologists who are followed would require the mention of the consuls or year of an emperor; we must suppose that such addition has dropped out.

The original form of the entry seems to be irrecoverable; perhaps there was in the first instance no intent to assign a date of authorship; if this was the case, the date could have been nothing better than the conjecture of a scribe as to the period of the treatise which he copied.

(b) *c. 16, Harleian.*—From the Saxon arrival to the fourth year of a certain Mermin are reckoned 428 years. Notices are given connected with Patrick, Bridget and Columba. Counting by cycles of 19 years, 438 years are made from the Incarnation to the advent of Patrick in Ireland, thence 431 to the year "in which we are."¹

¹ "Duo anni in ogdoade usque in hunc annum in quo sumus."

Annales Cambriae records the death of a Mermin in 844.

The era of Mermin cannot be intended as the date of authorship, since a later year is noted in the same chapter.¹ The mention of Irish saints seems to indicate that the writer used an Irish chronicle. His phrase may follow the analogy of Prosper, and mean only the year now in question; or the time may be in the nature of a citation from his source.

(c) *c. 66, Harleian*.—A writer who used the *Cursus Paschalis* of Victor of Aquitaine gives a reckoning from the Christian era down to the Saxon advent, which, as already noted, he makes to have been in a year which should have been numbered as 428. He proceeds 69 years further to the consulship of an alleged Decius, who cannot be identified. The passage abounds in scribal and arithmetical errors.

In this case we clearly perceive that the author's final era had nothing to do with his own date.

On the whole, the conclusion seems to be that none of the many mentions of time warrant the assignment of a period to the treatise, whose antiquity must be determined from other indications.

V. *Life of Wortigern, cc. 31-49, Chartres, Harleian*.—After the series of prefixed chapters, we come to an account of the Saxon invasion, which forms the core and oldest part of the compilation.

After the British revolts, above noted, ensued a period of anxiety, lasting forty years. Guorthigirnus was king of Britain, and was disturbed by fear of the Romans, the Picts, and Ambrosius.²

¹ There seems to be no sign that the reckoning by cycles is later than the rest of the chapter.

² At this time Ambrosius, the prophetic boy of the *Historia*, is not yet born. However, the passage belongs to the awkward sutures of the compilation; we may presume that an editor who attached the life to the prefixed

In three ships arrive exiled Germans, commanded by Hors and Hengist; these the king welcomes, and assigns to them as a residence the isle of Thanet. At this time begins the ministry of Germanus, whose first miracle is recorded.

The Saxons increase in number, and become burdensome to the Britons, who murmur at the charges imposed by their maintenance. Hengist obtains leave to bring over his family; a messenger is sent across the ocean.¹ Additional Saxons arrive in sixteen ships, carrying the daughter of Hengist, who obtains leave to erect a castle; when this is completed he invited the king to a feast; at the banquet, Wortigern is served with the cup by the maid, of whom he becomes enamored, and whom he obtains in marriage; as her price, Kent is conceded, without the knowledge of its king.²

At the suggestion of Hengist, Wortigern invites Oetha and Ebissa, son and nephew of Hengist, promising them territory near the Roman Wall. These arrive in forty ships, and their force continually augments; in the end the new-comers make their way to Kent.

The story now passes over half a generation. Wortigern conceives a passion for his daughter by his Saxon wife, and marries her. Germanus, accompanied by the British clergy, seeks the king. It is arranged between the guilty pair that the paternity shall be laid on the saint; this intent is miraculously defeated; the child acknowledges the king as his carnal father, while Germanus, by cutting the boy's hair,

chapters (at first mere glosses) committed a prolepsis; perhaps he intended to have it understood that predictions of the future adversary alarmed the king.

¹ "Trans Tythicam vallem." With Claudian this was only a poetic name for the ocean. *De Excidio*, from which the phrase is borrowed, and the *Historia*, scarcely comprehend the words; Tythica Vallis (the Vale of Tethys) was probably thought to be the proper name of a northern sea.

² Guoyrancgonus.

becomes his spiritual parent.¹ Wortigern is anathematized, and retires from the assembly.

In order to protect himself against the Saxons, his magi advise the king to erect a stronghold; search is made for a proper locality, and selection made of Montes Hereri (Snowdon); the citadel is begun, but never completed; Wortigern is compelled to surrender the fort, together with the rule of West Britain, to the youth Ambrosius; he himself resorts to North Wales, and in a place called Gunnessi builds Cair Guorthigirn.

Guorthemir, son of Guorthigirnus, encounters the intruders, defeats them in four battles, and expels them from Britain. He falls sick, and directs that his grave be made on a hill above the port whence the enemies have sailed; if this precaution is taken, they will never be able to master that part of Britain. His injunction is neglected, and with the aid of Wortigern the invaders return. Arrangement is made for a feast, at which terms of peace are to be arranged; the Saxons treacherously bring weapons, and massacre British lords. The king is made prisoner, and obliged to ransom himself by surrender of lands belonging to East and South Saxons.

The king flies before Germanus to his own land of Guorthigirniaun, thence to Arx Guorthigirni in South Wales on the Teivy. The saint and his monks follow, and during three days fast and pray against the king; on the fourth night, fire from heaven descends and consumes the castle; all within perish. So much, says the writer, he had read in a life of Germanus.²

¹ A common European custom. So among the Lombards, adoption is said to have been accompanied by cutting the hair. Charles Martel sent Pipin to Luitbrand that the latter, after the custom of Christian believers, might first cut the lad's hair, and so become his spiritual parent. See note of W. Gunn, *Nennius*, p. 162.

² "In libro beati Germani repperi."—C. 47.

It is added that other tales are related, namely, that the king's body burst, or that the earth opened and swallowed him.

A genealogical record is furnished, according to which the sons of the king are named as Categirn, Pascent, and Faustus, the fruit of the incestuous alliance, born of the king's daughter Fausta, and afterwards builder of a monastery.¹ The pedigree is carried down through Pascent to the twelfth generation, ending in a Fernmail.

In commenting on this narrative, notice may first be taken of the part played by the boy Ambrosius; in more detail, the account runs as follows.

Snowdon having been chosen as the site of a fortress, workmen and materials are gathered, but removed by night; this happens three times. The king's magi affirm that the edifice will never stand, unless moistened with the blood of a fatherless boy. Messengers are sent to discover such a victim, and at Campus Elleti in Gleguissing are found children at play, one of whom is reproached by his mates as being a boy without a father. The mother is sought, and owns that she has conceived without human intercourse. The boy is led to the king, but begs to be confronted with the magi, whom he asks to tell what is below the pavement of the court in which they are standing. This they are unable to expound, and an inquiry is made; beneath the surface is found a pool; when this is drained, are seen two vessels united in such manner as to include a folded sheet, which is unwrapped, and proves to contain two dragons, one red and the other white. These at once do battle with each other, and at first the red dragon has the advantage, but at last is mastered and driven from the sheet. The magi are

¹According to Zimmer, p. 15, the reference is to the celebrated Faustus of the 5th century, a bishop of Regium in Provence.

unable to expound the spectacle, which the boy explains as symbolic of British and Saxon warfare ; Saxons, typified by the white dragon, shall for a season prevail, but finally be driven from the island.

The boy then addresses the king : "Depart from this tower, which thou canst not build, and traverse many provinces in quest of a safe citadel, while I will remain here." And the king said to the boy : "By what name art thou called?" And he answered : "I am named Ambrosius (that is to say, he seems to have been Ambrosius Guletic)." And the king said : "Of what race art thou?" And he replied : "My father is one of the consuls of the Roman people."¹ So he gave him the abode, with all the kingdoms of the west part of Britain, and he with his magi went to the north, to the region which is called Gunnessi, and there built a city named after himself Cair Guorthigirn."²

Evidently, the legend belongs to the category of those connected with "foundation sacrifice." New edifices, especially those erected above water, were thought to be in danger from spirits, who object to interference with the primitive freedom of their territory, and who, like all evil-disposed beings, are likely to be nocturnal in their assaults. In such cases protection can be obtained only by a human offering ; a life must be surrendered, and the body of the victim must be scattered through the edifice, or the blood mingled with the mortar. In primitive times, it seems to have been regarded as necessary that the offering should be of noble birth, or at least belonging to the gens ; with the progress of enlightenment, such destruction seemed an unne-

¹ "Ille respondit : 'Ambrosius vocor.' Id est, Embreis Guletic ipse videbatur. Et rex dixit : 'De qua progenie ortus es?' At ille : 'Unus est pater meus de consulibus Romanicæ gentis.'"

² The name of Cair Guorthigirn, it will be noticed, is doubled, the locality being assigned both to North and South Wales. Perhaps the name, like Arthur's Seat, was a legendary one, which might belong to several districts.

cessary waste; a substitute might be satisfactory; instead a *filius alicujus*, a *filius nullius* might answer. Such is evidently the basis of the narrative, the requirement that the child should have no earthly father being merely a misconception. Legends of this sort are rather European than the property of any particular people. The representation that the intended victim saves himself by the exercise of prophetic power is, so far as I know, peculiar to this story, and may probably have been the contribution of the author. The idea, that an unimportant but worthy person may be made to take the place of a wicked sovereign is part of the miracle of Germanus recited in the *Historia*, whence may be borrowed the trait that the evil ruler is dismissed by the mandate of a supernatural authority which he cannot resist. However, the principal increment of the familiar motive is found in the name of Ambrosius.

In *De Excidio Britanniae*, we are informed that after Britain had been laid waste by Saxons, and its inhabitants driven to the mountains, Britons rallied under the leadership of the last surviving Roman, Ambrosius Aurelianus;¹ a series of struggles ended in the final defeat of the invaders at the siege of Mount Badonicus, forty-two years before the date of writing, from which time the country had enjoyed immunity from foreign foes. We ask, what is the relation of this Ambrosius to the personage of the *Historia*? Were the two identical or different? This question presented itself also to mediæval readers; it is a strange proof of the confusion in the treatise, that the *Historia* itself contains opposite opinions on this head. A passage just cited, and incorporated in the account, declares that probably they were the same;² a second and a third, noticed below, appear to dis-

¹ Aurelianus, like Augustus, doubtless as a title of honor.

² The Ambrosius in question, says the writer, was seemingly Embreis Guletic. The Welsh word, in later spelling Gwledig, means ruler, and doubtless is intended as a translation of the Aurelianus of *De Excidio*.

tinguish;¹ a fourth, already noted, and introduced at the outset of the Life, is inconsistent with either personality. No doubt all these four mentions were from as many different hands, being in the nature of glosses or additions; for the intent of the author of the biography, we must look only to his narrative.

The date and the royal authority of Ambrosius agree sufficiently with the statements of *De Excidio*. But the decisive feature is the common Roman descent; *De Excidio* makes Ambrosius born of Roman parents wearing the purple, who had perished in recent disturbances; the *Historia* similarly describes him as the offspring of Roman consuls. It is plain, therefore, that the account is merely an expansion of an idea contained in the older work; the author meant to explain the *enfances* of the deliverer; as he was perfectly familiar with the language of *De Excidio*, his story is not an ancient Welsh tradition, but a deliberate literary invention.

Next is to be noted the relation of Wortigern with Germanus. Historically, there could have been no connection; the saint, as has been mentioned, is said to have been in Britain in 429; Beda places the conquest after 449; the writers in the *Historia* knew nothing more from independent sources; but it was open to a legend-maker, like the writer of the life, who did not know or did not care for dates, to associate the two.

The first miracle of the saint is recounted in a rhetorical style. Germanus, in the course of his journey through Britain, applies for hospitality at the door of a tyrant named Benli, but is turned rudely away; evening comes on, and the wanderers have no shelter. A servant of the king called Catel receives them into his cottage; having no more than one cow with her calf, he kills the calf and serves it to the

¹ Pp. 658 and 669, note.

saint. Germanus commands that no bones be broken ; on the morrow the calf is found alive at the side of its mother. At morn, Germanus and his companions once more resort to the gate of the palace. It is the custom of the tyrant to put to death any servant who fails to present himself by sunrise ; a man comes panting and sweating, running in his haste to arrive in time ; the certainty of death in case of delay does not prevent him from pausing to make obeisance ; Germanus asks if he believes in the Trinity ; he avows his faith, and receives baptism and the kiss of peace ; he then enters and perishes. Germanus remains all day at the gate, and when his entertainer presents himself at eve, advises that he and his family remain in doors, and do not look to see what will pass in the castle ; fire from heaven descends and consumes the fortress, which has never been rebuilt. On the morn Catel with his sons believes, and is rewarded by Germanus : "And he blessed him, and added, and said : 'A king shall never be wanting from thy seed, and from this day thou shalt be king.' So it came to pass, for up to the present time Powis is ruled by kings of the race." ¹

Here also there can be no doubt as to the legendary basis. The tale belongs to a type diffused through Europe and Asia in innumerable variants, going back to a time older than history. Gods or holy personages walk the earth, are rejected by the rich and mighty, and received by the obscure

¹ The text adds : "Ipse est Catel Durnluc." The question arises, whether the reference is to that Catel whom Germanus made king, or to a successor of the author's own time, namely, a Catel who justified the prediction that a sovereign of that line should never be wanting to Powis. On this head Welsh mediæval writers differed : the genealogies given in Harleian (see p. 671, below), and in Jesus Coll., MS. 20, take the former alternative, while Brut y Tywysogion adopts the latter, and considers "Teyrnllwg" to be only a name for Powis. To me it seems safe to assume that none of these writers had any information other than their inferences from the words of the *Historia*. See Zimmer, p. 71 ff.

and needy, who serve their humble fare, which is miraculously multiplied; the host and his descendants are rewarded by honor and prosperity. The particular species of the legend, in which the entertainer sacrifices his only domestic animal, of which the bones are left unbroken, laid on the hide, and subsequently reanimated, is itself ancient.¹

The miracle is also related by Heiric of Auxerre (late ninth century) in his *Life of Germanus*, having been obtained by him from the recitation of an aged man named Marcus, by descent a Briton, but educated in Ireland, who had resigned his see in order to lead the life of a hermit. In winter, the saint, when in Britain, seeks shelter in the house of a certain king, but meets refusal. The king's swineherd makes up for the churlishness of his master by taking Germanus to his cottage, and by slaying his only bullock, which the saint declines to partake, directing that the bones be preserved and laid on the hide in the stable; on the morrow, the bullock is found entire and well. The indignant saint goes to the gate of the palace, and awaits the exit of the ruler, whom he bids to depart, and resign the sceptre to a more worthy hand. Overcome by the authority of Germanus, the king obeys; the saint summons the swineherd, and declares him king; from that time, sovereigns born of the herd have ruled the British nation. Marcus assured Heiric that the story was contained in Catholic letters.

Comparing Heiric's account with that of the *Historia*, the latter is observed to exhibit the marks which usually indicate a later version as compared with an earlier; we find increased decoration, together with vagueness and incoherence. Heiric's tale in style and substance accords with traditional relations of many countries, while the *Historia* deals in theatrical additions proper to literary reworking, such as the incident of the

¹ See the Greek legend of Hyrieus.

servant who prefers death to the neglect of homage which he is in no way called on to perform. The story of Heiric preserves an old trait, in the direction that bones be laid on the hide, an essential precaution neglected in the history. It is plain that Heiric cannot have obtained his narrative from the *Historia*, while it is by no means certain that the latter does not recast Heiric.

It is, however, true that the variations of the *Historia* belong to other traditional histories of the type. Thus in the Irish *Acallamh na Senórach* are told how Patrick seeks hospitality from the churlish Becan, king of Bregia and Meath. When admittance is refused, the saint is entertained by Fulartach, brother of the king. During the night the royal mansion disappears with Becan and all his people. On the morrow, Patrick promises Fulartach that from the hour of noon he shall be sovereign; from that day the race of Fulartach has ruled the country.¹ The writer in the *Historia* may have followed an independent version of the tale given by Heiric, or may have reconstructed the account of the latter by the aid of similar current legends, and supplied proper names from his own imagination; the usual experience of similar decorations tends in favor of the last hypothesis.

One curious circumstance shows equally the popularity of Heiric's work, and the procedure of Welsh literati; that editor of the *Historia* who in the eleventh century produced the Vatican text thought proper to ascribe the authorship of the compilation to that same Marcus whom Heiric mentions as his informant.²

Next is to be inquired, how far the geography and history of the *Historia* are founded on Welsh historical tradition, how far they represent no more than the fancy of the authors.

¹ Stokes and Windisch, *Irische texte*, iv, 1, 15.

² Mommsen, p. 120, seems to take the editorship of Marcus seriously.

As regards geography, the Saxons are conceived as migrating from an archipelago of northern isles, of which the principal, whence proceed Hengist and his counsellors, is named Oghgul. When the son and nephew of Hengist, in obedience to the summons of the latter, set out for Britain; in the first place they seize and devastate the Orkneys; they circumnavigate Caithness, descend the coast of Scotland, and settle in the country about the Roman wall; by degrees they make their way to Kent.¹ The writer, evidently, supposes Saxons to be dwellers in the far north, whence a direct path would take them to the Orkneys, as the Picts have already been described as proceeding, or as Norse vikings would sail. Any surprise at such understanding is removed, when we perceive that the Irish translator, a much more intelligent writer, took it as a matter of course that Saxons came from Scandinavia, and descended on Britain from the north.²

In such representation, the author of the *Historia* did not follow any recondite sources, but obtained his ideas from the familiar and still extant treatises which served as handbooks of mediæval readers. Oghgul is only a corruption of Angulus of Beda, the land of the Angles;³ Beda tells us that this territory was in his day still deserted, emigration *en masse* having left it abandoned; like mention appears in the *Historia*.⁴ Beda knew the difference between Jutes, Angles,

¹ "At ipsi, cum navigarent circa Pictos, vastaverunt Orcades insulas, et venerunt et occupaverunt regiones plurimas ultra mare Frenessicum. . . ."

² From Lochland, *i. e.*, Scandinavia.

³ Beda, I, 15: "De illa patria quae Angulus dicitur hodie manere deserta inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur." *Historia*: "Et Hengistus, inito consilio cum suis senioribus, qui venerunt secum de insula Oghgul."—C. 37.

⁴ Et Hengistus semper ciulas ad se paulatim invitavit, ita ut insulas ad quas venerant absque habitatore relinquerent, et dum gens illius crevisset et in virtute et in multitudine, venerunt ad supra dictam civitatem Cantorum. c. 38. Compare mention of Pictish ravages from the Orkneys as an intermediate station, p. 633, above.

and Saxons, and seems to refer Hengist to the former tribe; to the Welsh writer such distinctions were meaningless; Hengist, as well as all the invaders, were Saxons.

Next, as to the history. The foundation is the statement of *De Excidio Britanniae*, which makes three ships arrive containing Saxon exiles, who are taken into service by the ruler of Britain, whom the work knows only as a nameless tyrant; the new-comers summon reinforcements, and their support grows burdensome to Britons, who refuse rations; the mercenaries revolt, and their outbreak, beginning in east Britain, presently devastates the entire island; the ruin continues, until, as already noted, the Britons rise under Ambrosius Aurelianus.

On the story of *De Excidio* Beda bases his mention, and follows closely the language of his source; he is able, however, to add several particulars. He knows that the Saxon leaders were the brothers Hengist and Horsa, and that the monument of the latter is still visible in the eastern part of Kent; with Hengist was invited his son Oisc, ancestor of Kentish kings; the British sovereign he names as Wurtigernus.¹ In the case of the brothers he indicates his authority as Kentish tradition. It seems to me improbable that Kentish oral tradition could have known any story answering to the rhetorical account of *De Excidio*; rather, Beda has separated scions belonging to quite different stems, which he has grafted on the literary stem of his predecessor; by this process of introcison may have been introduced the name of Wortigern.²

¹ "Cum suo rege Uurtigerno," I, 14. Geoffrey of Monmouth has also Vortigernus. The use, in such names, of initials W or Gu is merely a matter of scribal usage; the Saxon scribes write the W, the Welsh Gu; I have used the form Wortigern as more correctly expressing the name to modern eyes.

² The proper name Guorthigirniaun (-ion, suffix forming a local appellation from a personal name) seems to indicate that the designation was

From Beda the story was taken by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which has proceeded with the work of expansion and incorporation. The Chronicle knows the dates and localities of four battles fought between Hengist and his son Aesc on one side, and Britons on the other; these are set down as taking place in 455, 457, 465, and 473; in the second of the encounters Horsa is slain, and from that time Aesc joined to his father as king; in 488, by the death of Hengist, Aesc is left as sole ruler in Kent, and reigns 24 years.

De Excidio knows nothing of any Saxon settlement, but considers the new-comers only as homeless mercenaries, whose revolt begins in the eastern part of Britain. This scanty mention Beda undertook to interpret by the aid of Kentish tradition, and places the grave of Horsa in Kent; the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, on this basis, gave Kentish occupation the priority, placing East Anglia as the second Saxon kingdom; there is no reason to suppose that such definition rested on any thing more secure than historical speculation gradually taking shape.

It is first in the *Historia* that we find Thanet noted as the place of landing, and the earliest Saxon home; this place, I suspect, was chosen merely because Thanet is named by Constantius as the landing-place of Germanus, who in the *Historia* is associated with the story.

genuinely British. Guorthigirniaun is identified with a commote of Radnor (Zimmer, p. 67); such appellation must have been derived from some petty chief, who can not have been identical with the (imaginary) over-king credited with admitting Saxons; the coincidence can only prove the familiarity of the name.

De Excidio knows the receiver of the foreigners only as an unnamed "tyrannus," qualified with the epithets "crudelis, infaustus, superbus;" Beda gives us a proper name (compounded of *wor-* or *guor-*, emphatic particle, and *tigerno-*, king). I cannot think the correspondence of sound and sense likely to have been accidental, and rather suppose that such resemblance caused the importation of the name of Wortigernus into the tale.

The chapter relating to Worthemir exhibits flaming patriotism. The son of Wortigern takes command of Britons, thrice defeats the intruders, and blockades them in Thanet. To no purpose the Saxons obtain reinforcements from Germany; Worthemir fights against them four battles, of which three are named; these take place, the first, on the river Derguentid (Derwent?); second, on a ford called in Saxon speech Episford and in the British tongue Rithergabail, in which fall both Hors and Categirn, son of Wortigern; the third, on a plain named Lapis Tituli, on the shore of the Gallic sea, in which the enemies are driven to their ships, which they effeminately enter. The mention of the death of Horsa identifies these battles with the four combats of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The name of Guorthemir is formed in imitation of Guorthigirnus, while that of Categirn shows the same influence. Categirn is introduced as a counterpart to Aesc, in order that a British prince may fall in the same encounter which removes a Saxon. The story has the appearance of being a deliberate invention, constructed to balance the statements of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. In later sections will appear other instances of the use and alteration of Saxon documents. It seems, therefore, that the writer of this section of the *Historia* had no independent national sources, but constructed his story from hints of Anglo-Saxon documents.¹

¹ In c. 31, we have a pedigree of Hengist, first up to Woden, thence as follows: Frealaf, Fredulf, Finn, Fodepald, Geta, qui fuit, ut aiunt, filius dei. The same pedigree (borrowed from the *Historia*), appears in Henry of Huntingdon, who writes Floewald. Florence of Worcester and others have corresponding statements, taken from Asser, who in giving the ancestors of Alfred makes the line proceed: Woden, Frithowald, Frealaf, Frithiwulf, Fin, Godwulf (the last two names by textual error united in one), Geata, "quem Getam jamdudum pagani pro deo venerabantur." The list in the *Historia* is only a perversion of Asser's (Fodepald is a mere scribal error for Godulf). It seems likely, therefore, that Asser must be

The section finds its proper conclusion in the assertion of the writer, that he derived his material from a life of Saint Germanus. The foregoing remarks seem to indicate that this origin is highly improbable. The affirmation can be regarded only as one of those light-hearted allegations respecting authorities, which were intended to confer dignity on works of fiction, by mediæval authors of all nationalities and all degrees of ability considered as innocent frauds which might without self-reproach be palmed on a credulous reader. While the Life probably once ended at this point, additions have been made, offering diverging accounts of the death of Wortigern.

That the genealogical passage which now concludes the section also proceeded from the hand of a glossator is made probable by a curious remark concerning Ambrosius. Pascent, says the writer, succeeded his father in Builth and Guorthigirniaun, having received a gift of such territory from that Ambrosius who was over-king of Britain.¹ This language is scarce applicable to the prophetic Ambrosius, mentioned as lord of provinces in West Britain; the author appears to consider the Guledig as a separate personage from the youth who discomfited Wortigern; herein, as already observed, he differs from a previous glossator, whose observation has been incorporated into the text. That the chapter is an interpolation is further shown by its initial words, which have a character proper to such increments.²

The twelfth in succession, and last personage of the list is a Fernmail, king of the two provinces, who, as we are told,

enumerated among the sources of the Life of Wortigern; this is quite in accordance with other indications, which tend to show that the oldest portion of the *Historia* does not antedate the tenth century.

¹ "Largiente Ambrosio illi qui fuit rex inter omnes reges Britannicæ gentis."

² "Hæc est genealogia illius, quæ ad initium retro recurrit."

is now reigning. It is safe to assume, I think, that in this use of the present tense by the interpolator we have only another example of the antiquarian present, and that the day of Fernmail was long anterior to the time of the writer.¹

With this section of the *Historia* the Arthuriana connect, both in matter and in the designation of time. In the revised text, however, the biography of Wortigern is immediately followed by chapters which may be called Patriciana; this matter, as unmentioned in the title of Chartres, was probably absent from the older text.

VI. *Patriciana*. cc. 50-55. — The narration, as commentators have observed, contains extracts borrowed from the Latin Life of the saint contained in the Book of Armagh.² This contains two notices of the saint, respectively from Muirchu Maccu-Machtheni and Tirechan; the book is thought to have been written (but from older documents) in the early ninth century. However, it has not been observed that the *Historia* does not in all respects follow Armagh, but, on the contrary, in some measure agrees with a later form of the Patrician legend contained in the Tripartite Life of Patrick, belonging to the eleventh century.³

¹ "Fernmail ipse est, qui regit (other ms., regnat) modo." Vatican has "qui regnavit," but this change has the appearance of being an alteration of the editor. Zimmer, who calls this the only certain date contained in the *Historia* (p. 67), endeavors to fix the period of Fernmail by the aid of the old Welsh genealogies; but it has above been observed that these, in so far as they correspond, seem only to echo the compilation.

² The comparison of Patrick with Moses, c. 55, is verbally taken from Tirechan as cited in Armagh; W. Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1887, p. 332; so also the three boons granted by God to Patrick, p. 331.

³ In the account of Muirchu, as given in Armagh, the saint, just before his death, while on his way to Armagh, is turned back by an angel, and as compensation, receives four boons (p. 296). Cruachan Eile is the height on which Patrick (in imitation of Christ) fasts for forty days (p. 322); but neither Muirchu nor Tirechan connects this mountain with the promises. On

VII. *Arthuriana*. c. 56.—A translation of the Harleian text runs as follows: "At this time, the Saxons increased in number, and multiplied in Britain. After the death of Hengist, Oetha, his son, migrated from North Britain to the kingdom of the Kentish, and from him are descended Kentish kings. Then in those days Arthur fought against them with the kings of the Britons, but he himself was commander in the wars. The first battle was at the mouth of the river called Glein, the second, third, and fourth, and fifth on another river named Dubglas, in the region of Linnuis. The sixth on a river named Bassas. The seventh battle was in the wood of Celidon, that is to say, Cat Coit Celidon. The eighth at the castle of Guinnion, in which Arthur bore on his shoulders the image of St. Mary perpetual Virgin, and pagans were routed on that day, and a great slaughter made of them, by the virtue of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and Saint Mary Virgin, his mother. The ninth battle he fought at Urbs Legionis. The tenth on the shore of a river named Tribruit. The eleventh on the mount called Agned. The twelfth battle was on the mount of Badon, in which nine hundred and sixty men fell in a single day by the onset of Arthur; and no other overthrew them except himself, and he came off conqueror in all battles. And they, when they were defeated in every battle, sought aid from Germany, and increased incessantly, and brought kings from Germany,

the other hand, the *Tripartite Life*, with which the *Historia* agrees, does represent the boons as conceded on the mount. According to Muirchu (p. 295), while Patrick is on Cruachan Aigle, the landscape is darkened by the wings of saints, who are made to arise in the form of birds, in order that Patrick may have a vision of what on the Judgment Day will be the fruit of his labors. In the *Tripartite Life* (p. 115), the legend receives decoration; the darkness is said to arise from the black wings of demons, followed by the white wings of the redeemed. The *Historia* gives us still a further step in advance; wings belong to birds of many colors, who are not themselves the saints, but only symbolic of the latter. Verbal correspondences point to the mention in Armagh as the ultimate source.

down to the time when ruled Ida, son of Eobba, who was the first king in Bernicia.”¹

As already observed, the absence of titular mention indicates that the Arthuriانا were not included in the older text (that of Chartres).

The account makes Octa migrate from North Britain to Kent; this mention implies a knowledge on the part of readers of the manner in which he came to North Britain, and so presupposes the earlier chapters which recount the establishment of the son of Hengist in the country about the Roman Wall; it follows that the Arthurian chapter was composed, not as a separate document, but as a sequel to the Life of Wortigern (as I call the story of the Conquest).

The Arthuriانا make Octa arrive in Kent only after the death of Hengist, thus contravening the statement of Bede, that the son was invited at the same time as his father, and the mentions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which date battles fought by Aesc as coadjutor of Hengist. The Biography, however, does not seem to support the story of the Arthuriانا; on the contrary, Octa and his people are said ultimately to have arrived in Kent and joined Hengist.² It appears, therefore, that the author of the Arthuriانا, as is often the case with continuators who through independent fancy expand the hints of a predecessor, has fallen into a

¹ “In illo tempore Saxones invalescebant in multitudine et crescebant in Britannia. Mortuo autem Hengisto, Otha filius ejus transivit de sinistrali parte Britanniae ad regnum Cantorum, et de ipso orti sunt reges Cantorum. Tunc Arthur pugnabat contra illos in illis diebus cum regibus Brittonum, sed ipse dux erat bellorum.”

In place of the last sentence, Vatican has: “Tunc belliger Arthur cum militibus Brytannie atque regibus contra illos pugnabat, et licet multi ipso nobiliores essent, ipse tamen duodecies dux belli fuit victorque bellorum.”

The words “in illo tempore” relate to the time of Wortigern, and pass over that of Patrick.

² See above, p. 654, note 4.

contradiction with the document for which he intends to compose a sequel.

Both the *Life* and the *Arthuriana* describe Octa as son of Hengist; on the contrary, in Beda and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Octa is the grandson. Beda says that the son of Hengist was named Oeric surnamed Oisc, from whom Kentish kings derive their title of Oiscingas. The *Arthuriana*, on the other hand, mention Octa as Kentish ancestor (a notice obviously erroneous), while in the *Genealogies* Ossa is noted as son of Octa.

In transposing the son and grandson of Hengist, the *Historia* is not solitary. A Kentish pedigree contained in Anglo-Saxon genealogies, printed by Sweet, proceeds Oese, Oega, Hengest. Continuing the ascent, we find the father and grandfather again inverted, as compared with Beda, with whom, however, the *Historia* agrees.¹ This second deviation goes to show that the transpositions depended on nothing more important than scribal error, and that Beda was the sole ultimate source. The writer in the *Historia* followed an Anglo-Saxon list similar to that of Sweet, and in so doing was led into a mistake; his very foundation was, therefore, aerial.

As to the descent of Arthur, the variation of the Vatican ms., in which it is set forth that the hero was of less than royal rank, is doubtless a gloss. However, there is nothing to prevent us from drawing the same conclusion; the language of the accepted text may be construed as indicating that the author conceived of his hero as a Guledig or imperator, rather than as a hereditary British over-king; for such idea he had the suggestion of *De Excidio* relative to Ambrosius, on whom his British champion was perhaps partly *décalqué*.

¹ In Beda the line proceeds: "Uictglis, Uitta, Uicta." Sweet: "Uitta, Uihtgils, Uegdaeg. *The Oldest English Texts*, London, 1885, p. 171.

The twelve battles have been made the theme of learned controversy. For local identification, Welsh literature offers no aid. Attempts have been made to expound the appellations on the basis of their assonance with modern place-names; difficulty arises from the consideration that designations of like sound occur by twos and threes in different parts of Britain; variations of orthography in mss. complicate the matter. Investigators have generally taken for granted that the combats of necessity belonged to some one region, and had, if one could only discover it, a historical sequence. On the other hand, mediaeval readers (as represented by Geoffrey) supposed that the battles were to be assigned to all parts of Britain; an inference (like ourselves, they were limited to the letter) apparently reasonable, considering that the antagonist is represented as a king of Kent who has migrated from North Britain.¹

With all respect to the ability shown in these inquiries, it

¹ Higden, *Polychronicon*, (fourteenth century), v. 329, took the Douglas to be in Lincolnshire, the forest of Celidon near Lincoln, Mons Badonis Bath. W. Camden, *Britannia* (1600), made Douglas in Lincolnshire, Agned Cadbury in Somerset. T. Carte, *A General History of England*, 1747, placed the Glein in Northumberland, Gwynion Durham, Cerleon Chester. J. Whittaker, *History of Manchester*, 1775, ii, 35, devised a scheme in general following Carte; this was accepted by S. Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1807. E. Guest, *Early English Settlements in South Britain*, 1850, ii, 101, took the wood of Celidon to be near the Thames, Mount Badon Cadbury in Dorset. C. H. Pearson, *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, 1867, p. 83, thought Urbs Legionum to be Exeter, Agned Cadbury, Tribuit some place on the Trent, Mount Badon Bath. W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 1866, i, 58, took the Douglas to be the river emptying into Loch Lomond, Urbs Legionis Dumbarton, Mount Badon Bouden Hill near Linlithgow, Agned Edinburgh. A. Anscombe, *Local names in the 'Arthuriana' in the 'Historia Britonum,' Zeit. f. Celtische Philologie*, v, 1904, 1, considers Glein to be the Lune (river of Lancaster), Bassas Bassenthwaite Water, Silva Celidonis Ciltina, Guinnion Vinovia, Urbs Legionis Chester-on-the-Dee. Anscombe's ingenious and erudite observations involve correction of the proper names, chiefly after the Vatican text.

appears to me that a different hypothesis is more in accordance with the character of the document. In *De Excidio*, we are told of a series of encounters between the invaders and the native inhabitants who rally under Ambrosius Aurelianus; these end in a decisive encounter, called the siege of Mons Badonicus, in which is effected a great slaughter of the foe, and by which peace is restored to the island. In the *Arthuriana*, a similar massacre and pacification are referred to a battle at Mons Badonis, it seems obvious that reference is made to the same combat; perversion of proper names is usual in the *Historia*. The writers of the *Historia* were well acquainted with *De Excidio*, and had its text before them; it follows that the author of the *Arthuriana* must deliberately have borrowed the victory, and transferred it to the hero of his own tale. If he so proceeded in the case of the principal battle, he may well have followed a like course in regard to the other encounters; these may be a list of struggles fought in various parts of Britain, and more or less widely famed in bardic lore of his time, but ascribed to quite other chief actors, until this writer undertook to unite them as the property of Arthur.

Finally, it is to be noted that the passage seems to have been composed after the model of that account of the son of Wortigern, a victorious enemy of Saxons, which itself has the character of a free fiction invented after the indications of Anglo-Saxon documents.¹

The author notes Ida as the first native Saxon king; his idea was probably derived from the circumstance, that in the chronological summary of Beda, the name of Ida happens to be that first mentioned.

VIII. *Genealogies. cc. 57-66.*—We are presented with

¹ The battles of Worthemir also begin with a battle, or perhaps two battles, fought on the bank of a river.

pedigrees of royal Saxon lines, followed by brief notices of early Northumbrian history.

The genealogies are : (1) Bernician, to Egfrid (ob. 685);¹ (2) Kentian, to Egbert (ob. 673); (3) East Anglian, to a son of Aldwulf (A. until after 692); (4) Mercian, to Egferth, son of Offa (ob. 794); (5) Deiran and Northumbrian, to Egbert, Archbishop of York (ob. 766, but mentioned as living in time past).

Historical paragraphs recite that a British king, Dutigirn, fought valiantly against Ida, whose reign is described as the flowering-time of British poesy; the chief bards are enumerated, among these Taliessin. At this time also lived Mailcun of North Wales, whose ancestor Cunedag, 146 years previous, had migrated from Manau Guotodin in the north, and expelled the Scots from the country.

Reigns of sons of Ida are noted, with the number of years of each; as adversaries of Hussa are mentioned four British princes, Urbgen, Riderch Hen (*i. e.*, the Old), Gwallanc (read Guallauc), and Morcant. Urbgen is said to have fought bravely against Deodric (*i. e.*, Theodric) son of Ida, and to have blockaded him in the island of Metcaud (Lindisfarne), but during the campaign to have been poisoned by the jealous Morcant.

Catguallart (the Cadwallader of Geoffrey of Monmouth), is said to have died of pestilence. Particular mention is made of the battle of Campus Gai (*i. e.*, Winwaed), in which Penda destroyed Welsh princes alied with Oswy; only one king escaped, who, from his flight before the battle, received the appellation of Catguommed (Battle-refuser). A few lines are given to Penda.

A final chapter is devoted to a computation already noted.

The prominence given to Ida and Northumbria shows

¹ Variant orthography disregarded.

that these chapters were composed as an addition to the Arthuriana, in which Ida is especially mentioned.¹

Since the Northumbrian history ends with Egbert, it has been argued that the document must have been composed about his time, or near the end of the seventh century. If so, the Genealogies would have to be regarded as a separate document anterior to the *Historia* (contrary to the indication observed in the preceding paragraph). The principle invoked, that a mediæval chronicler is likely to bring a record to a period near his own date, appears to me to have no application in regard to a document which is merely a sequel to a piece of ancient history; again, in order to apply the rule, it is necessary to set aside all that part of the section which exceeds the limit. It will be noticed that the names of the concluding personages in the several lines begin with the same letters; perhaps the writer had no better reason for his choice.

As has already been noted in the case of the son of Hengist, the composer of these chapters used Anglo-Saxon pedigrees similar to one which is still extant, and which, at all events, shows the type of information at the disposal of the Welsh author.² As in the former case, the particular document in question was not his direct source.³

For Saxon names of battles, the *Historia* substitutes Welsh

¹ In 796 according to Zimmer, p. 82.

² (1) After bringing the Mercian genealogy to Penda, the *Historia* continues with three brief pedigrees, those of Aethelred, son of Penda, Aethelbald, son of Alweo, and Egfrid, son of Offa. In the same order, and with the same members, the lists appear in Sweet, *loc. cit.* (2) East Anglian lists proceed similarly from a son of Aldwulf named Aefwold (in the *Historia* Elric, doubtless merely a scribal corruption); according to Florence of Worcester, these princes were brothers. (3) For the agreement and disagreement as to the Kentish line see above, p. 662.

³ The *Historia* gives for Northumbria an unintelligible series up to Oswy; Sweet has nothing correspondent. (2) The *Historia* derives Eadberht and Bishop Egbert through Eata and Leodwald from Aethelric, legitimate son of Ida; Sweet (as does Florence) from an illegitimate Occ.

titles, and bestows on Saxon kings Welsh surnames. It seems to follow that the author knew and used the work of Welsh writers of history. These forerunners, however, appear not to have had at their disposal any original information; judging from the notices, they seem to have obtained suggestions from Anglo-Saxon records, which they recast, expand, and contradict in such manner as to satisfy national aspirations. For example: Beda relates the baptism of Aeanfled, daughter of Edwin of Northumbria, who at Pentecost was baptised with twelve of her people; on the following Easter Edwin himself was baptized, with as many as were to be saved; the ceremony was performed by Paulinus, Archbishop of York. As to the same event, the *Historia* affirms that the princess underwent the rite eleven days after Pentecost; on the next Easter, Edwin with twelve thousand of his people followed her example; Rum, son of Urbgen officiated. The correspondence in the number twelve to my mind shows that the ultimate source was Beda; out of deference for propriety and probability, a Welsh writer has chosen to substitute the name of a celebrated countryman as officiating prelate.¹ Of a similar procedure the *Genealogies* contain other examples.²

¹ At this point a glossator already mentioned, the self-styled pupil of Beulan, introduces a curious comment; a bishop Renchidus, and Elbobdus, "episcoporum sanctissimus," had confided to him ("mihi tradiderunt," c. 63) that Paulinus and Rum were one and the same person! The emphasis laid on the name seems to indicate that by Elbobdus he meant that Elvodus who figures in the Nennius preface, and who is now described as deceased. If this be a correct inference, the forgery is surely plain. The author of the preface, a glossator of the twelfth century, in order to popularize his invention, recommended Nennius as a pupil of the famous Elbodg; the imitator with whose lucubration (*lucus a non lucendo*) we are now concerned is pleased to pose as a writer of the ninth century, not only a pupil of the presumably well-known Beulan, but also an intimate acquaintance and protégé of the same Elbodg.

² The *Historia* (c. 57) credits Oswy with a second queen Riemmelth, daughter of Roeth, son of Rum.—Beda tells us that Ida had six sons by legitimate queens, and six by concubines; the *Historia*, while retaining the

The four kings said to have contended with sons of Ida include two historically known. Riderch is the Rodereus of Adamnan, who states that this prince died peacefully in his bed,¹ Morcant is that Morken, who in the *Life of Kentigern* is noted as an adversary of the saint;² doubtless, the crime laid to his account in the *Historia* is only an echo of the resulting unpopularity. The earlier writers do not mention any Saxon wars or alliances of these princes; probably the narrative of the *Historia* is purely imaginative.

According to *De Excidio*, a Maglocunus was the most important British prince in the time of the writer; the territory of this king is not stated. Inasmuch as a king of South Wales is named, later Welsh readers would naturally conclude that Mailcun must needs have been a North Welshman. In an earlier chapter of the *Historia*, a Cuneda has been noted as expeller of Scots (Irish) from South Wales; this activity is now extended to North Wales, and Cunedag (the variant orthography may retain the older form of the name) is pressed into service as ancestor, the number of years intervening between him and Mailcun being accurately determined.

There is nothing further which serves to indicate the possession, on the part of the writers, of any independent Welsh historical records.³

names given by Beda, chooses to affirm that Ida had only one queen Bearnoch; the name is only a corruption of Bebbu, who, according to Beda, gave her name to Bebbanburgh or Bamborough (for which the *Historia* prefers to substitute a Welsh appellation).

¹ *Life of Saint Columba*, ed. by W. Reeves, Edinburgh, 1874, 1, 8. Rodereus filius Tothail reigned at Petra Cloithe (Clyde Rock, Dumbarton).—The *Life of Kentigern* calls him Rederech, and says that he was buried in Glasgow, c. 45.

² *Lives of SS. Ninian and S. Kentigern*. A. P. Forbes, Edinburgh, 1874, c. 22.

³ Edwin is said to have destroyed a kingdom of Elmet, not otherwise mentioned.

A chronological chapter, already considered, adds an additional tinge of obscurity to the darkness which surrounds the name of Ambrosius.¹

IX. *Civitates*; c. 66.—Given are names of the twenty-eight British cities alluded to in the geographical chapter.

No doubt the writer supplied the names from his own sense of historical probability. Many cannot now be identified.

We observe, as usual, the antiquarian present. "These are the names of all the cities which are in Britain."

Mirabilia. cc. 67–76. Mention is made of Welsh wells, rivers, lakes, caves, mountains, etc., possessing remarkable qualities.

Of the phenomena some have a basis in natural properties, others are purely miraculous, as for example the altar of Saint Iltutus, which, as we are gravely informed, in the writer's day continued to float in air, as was proven by experiment.

Two items relate to Arthur. A stone in Builth is said to show the imprint of a dog's foot, made by Cabal hound of Arthur, while engaged in hunting the boar Troynt; the stone, if removed, regularly returns to the same place.

Near a well called Licat Anir (*i. e.* Anir's Fount) is a grave which is incapable of correct measurement, seeing that

¹ A strife called Catguoloph is said to have been fought between Ambrosius and an otherwise unknown Guitolin, twelve years after the accession of Wortegirn. The latter, according to the data given, should have begun to reign in 425. The writer could not have intended the prophetic Ambrosius of the Life of Vortigern, who was not born at the time. The date agrees no better with the Ambrosius of the *De Excidio*; but all these designations of time are in the air. The history, no doubt, was in a state of continuous bardic development, so that Guitolin and his battle may have been contemporary inventions based on the earlier text of the *Historia* itself.

its dimensions perpetually vary ; this eccentricity the writer had personally tested (but he may be only citing).¹

Other marvels are added, which seem to refer to Anglesey.

The custom of relating extraordinary characteristics of localities continued into the twelfth century, as shown by Giraldus, who introduces like statements into his account of Ireland.

The properties ascribed to the irremovable stone and immeasurable mound belong to mediæval folk-lore, and might be illustrated from Irish sources.

Annales Cambriae.—Appended to the Harleian ms. are certain Welsh annals and pedigrees, evidently composed as commentary to the Genealogies.²

The writer of the annals brought these to 954. He used an Irish chronicle, in which years were counted from an era of 444 ; from this source he borrowed such entries as he thought to concern his countrymen, and interspersed Welsh notices. For the first three centuries from his era, additions are few ; the items, where not matters of common knowledge, seem to be dated according to his own sense of probability, or in virtue of association with Irish entries which he fancied to have a connection ; he was not in possession of any Welsh record belonging to this period.

As to date, the form of certain proper names indicates that he antedated Geoffrey of Monmouth (while the particular copy of Harleian may perhaps have been written after Geoffrey).³ It has been proposed to apply the principle, that a mediæval chronicler may be expected to bring chron-

¹ Zimmer, p. 114, identifies the name with that of a brook Amir.

² Edited together with continuations to 1286 and 1288, by Williams Ab Ithel, *Annales Cambriae* (Rolls Publ.), London, 1860.

³ So much may be inferred from the entries relating to the battles of Badon and Camlan.

ology down to his own year of writing ; this, however, is a doctrine too fallacious to deserve serious consideration ; the later entries present no character of freshness which indicates them as contemporary.

The annals, I think, do not affect opinions as to the date of the *Historia*, which must be otherwise determined.

The same remark applies to the genealogies.¹

The inquiry now ended, and which has been reduced to the briefest possible limits of space, appears to justify the following opinions.

The accepted text of the *Historia* (represented by Harleian) is not independent, but is a recast of that found in Chartres. The core and oldest part of the compilation is that account of the Saxon Conquest which I call a biography of Wortigern ; to this kernel were gradually prefixed and added chapters which once were glosses, but which editors received into the text. The biography did not antedate the tenth century. The edition of Chartres was made in the same century ; that of Harleian was not prepared until the eleventh century. The Arthurian passage, contained only in the later edition, gives no sign of an earlier date. The *Historia*, in all its parts, was founded neither on history nor tradition, but on literary invention ; the writers did not have access to Welsh records, but constructed their narratives by the help of suggestions taken in part from the usual chronological handbooks, in part from Anglo-Saxon writers.

In Ireland, the *Historia* had a remarkable influence ; by analogy, it may be guessed that the like was true in Wales. The Arthurian notice, especially, may for the first time have given a solid structure to floating traditions concerning Arthur, and may have become the foundation of those *fabulae*

¹ These carry upward the pedigree of a son of Howell Da, who died in 987. Zimmer, p. 87. Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 169.

Britonum denounced by William of Malmesbury. The total loss of eleventh century Welsh literature prevents the verification of such conjectures.

It is certain that Geoffrey of Monmouth made the *Historia* the basis of his historical fiction; in this manner, mediately, through *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the treatise, in itself trivial, came to exercise a great influence on European letters.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
Modern Language Association of America
1905.

VOL. XX, 4.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XIII, 4.

XX.—THE KNIGHT OF THE LION.¹

"L'autre comtava de Galvain,
E del leo que fon compain
Del cavallier qu'estors Luneta."
(*Roman de Flamenca*, vv. 665-7.)

I.

The following pages are a discussion of the origin of the second half of Chrétien's *Ivain*; the part of the story, namely, in which the hero wins the title Chevalier au Lion. They are a continuation of a study published in 1903,² which dealt chiefly with the first half of the romance. That study, to which frequent reference must necessarily be made, endeavored to show that the *Ivain* is a partly rationalized fairy mistress story. The kernel of the evidence there presented was a detailed comparison³ of the *Ivain* with stories in the *Lebor na h-Uidre* (LU) and the *Book of Leinster* (LL), two Irish

¹ The writer acknowledges the courtesy with which authorities of Harvard University Library have given access to its great resources.

² *Ivain: A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance*, in *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 1-147. (This study was written in 1900.)

³ See especially pp. 43 ff.

manuscripts that were actually written before the time of Chrétien de Troyes. The first part of the *Ivain* was shown to be founded, almost incident for incident, on the well-known Celtic tale, of which the *Serglige Conculaind* is an ancient example, about a mortal who is invited to fairyland, journeys thither successfully and weds a fairy queen, but disobeys her injunctions, loses her, becomes insane and has to be cured by a magic remedy.

✓ If this explanation, which has met with wide acceptance¹ and which seems difficult to refute, be correct, then the second part of the story, beginning where Ivain is cured of his madness, ought to be in origin a journey of wonders, in which the hero aided by a helpful beast should fight his way through terrible dangers back into the Other World. Fairy mistress stories in Celtic and elsewhere are apt to end with the happy return of the hero to live with his supernatural wife. The second part of the *Ivain* would thus be a

¹ See reviews of *Ivain A Study*: Golther, *Studien zur vgl. Literaturgeschichte*, IV, 481-85 (1904); *Zt. f. franz. Sp.*, XXVIII, Ref. 34-37 (1905); Jeanroy, *Rev. Critique*, LIX, 4-5; Huet, *Moyen Age*, (1904) 65-66; McKerrow, *Mod. Lang. Quarterly*, VII, 100-102; Nitze, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 82-84; and cf. Golther's review of Foerster's *Yvain*, edition of 1902, *Zt. f. franz. Sp.*, XXV, Ref. 138-140; and the important article by Ehrismann, *Märchen im höfischen Epos*, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deut. Sp.*, XXX, 14-54. Even the distinguished editor of Chrétien's works, whose resolute opposition to any theory that should detract from the originality of the author of *Ivain* is well known, has of late admitted the presence of more and more folk-lore features. Compare Foerster's *Yvain*, ed. 1891, p. xii, with his new edition, 1902, p. xli. Professor Foerster's recent admission that the "märchen" of a maid freed from the power of a giant lies at the bottom of the Esclados combat, restricts his conception of the independence of Chrétien considerably. Professor Foerster's view is of course quite different from my contention in *Ivain A Study*, which is that almost the whole of the *Ivain* is based on one *märchen*. That this *märchen*, which is in its main outlines an unmistakable fairy mistress story, had been contaminated by a second theme, that of a giant with a captive maid, was noticed in *Ivain A Study*, p. 50 ff. Professor Foerster absolutely refuses to call the *märchen* of which he speaks Celtic (*Yvain*, ed. 1902, p. xlviii).

sort of a repetition of the first. The hero after he has lost his lady must begin all over again and fight his way anew through the Perilous Passages into the Other World. Such is in brief the theory which the following pages will discuss.

This theory if at all tenable certainly has a very attractive look. According to it Chrétien drew almost every incident in the entire romance from one coherent Celtic tale. *A priori* it is, of course, much more probable that he got all his incidents from one source, rather than that he pieced them together hit or miss from all sorts of materials.

Certain rather obvious objections, which at first glance might appear important, have doubtless prevented this theory from receiving attention by previous investigators.

The first objection is based on the fact that the lion is not an inhabitant of Celtic forests, and on the inference that the beast cannot therefore have figured in an ancient Celtic tale.¹ This inference it will be seen presently is unwarranted.

Another objection is that Chrétien handles the theme of the grateful lion with such evident delight, and attributes to the beast such exquisite chivalry, that the whole episode might seem to be a pet idea which Chrétien was introducing from outside sources into his romance. Rash would he be who should assert that Chrétien could not have known some crusader's tale of a helpful lion like that told of the historical crusader Goufier de Lastours.² Still more rash he who should refuse to see in the way in which the lion episode is handled traces of the delicate fancy of the French poet. Chrétien's preoccupation with questions of motive and sentiment is always at work modifying his material. He never

¹ Cf. Foerster, *Yvain*, ed. 1902, p. xxvi.

² See besides the references given in *Ivain A Study*, pp. 129-132; Thomas, *Romania*, xxxiv, 55-56; McKenzie in these *Publications*, xx, 397-98; Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii; and cf. O. M. Johnston, *Proc. of Am. Phil. Assoc.*, Vol. xxxii (1901), p. li.

seems, however, to go out of his way to introduce new incident any more than greater writers than he—Chaucer or Shakspeare. Chrétien's interest was manifestly not in mere plot any more than was Shakspeare's. Just as Shakspeare was satisfied with the old tales of Macbeth and Lear, so Chrétien followed for his incidents folk-tales, or stories founded on folk-tales, that came to his hand. Chrétien appears to have constructed nearly every incident in his romance out of some suggestion made by his original tale. That the lion was suggested to Chrétien by something in his original is, therefore, highly probable, though the present form of the lion episodes in the *Ivain* may owe much to the influence of chivalric tales coming from the lion-haunted Orient.

A third objection is based on a real difficulty. The explanation of the second part of the *Ivain* is not simple and straightforward like that of the first. The adventures of the second part of the *Ivain* do not as they stand constitute a true series of dangers that have to be surmounted in order to reënter fairyland. This objection is met by pointing out that some of the adventures of the second part have been interchanged and new material has been introduced. This is no gratuitous assumption. As the episodes stand they are not mutually coherent but contain contradictions.

Before taking up this point it is expedient very briefly to summarize the romance. In the summary, statements inferred on the theory that the *Ivain* is a partly rationalized Celtic Otherworld Journey story are placed between brackets.¹ Phrases that may be used to name the episodes are printed in italics. The episodes are numbered for convenience in reference :

¹ Scarcely an incident of the 31 here enumerated resists explanation as the more or less rationalized form of an episode originally belonging to an Otherworld Journey Story.

SUMMARY OF CHRÉTIEN'S *IWAÏN*.

(1) [The fairy lady Laudine sends her *damsel messenger*, Lunete, to Arthur's court to invite the visit of a mortal hero].¹ (2) The *first adventurer*, Calogrenant, returns unsuccessful and relates his story.² (3) The hero Iwain sets out alone through a thorny tangled wilderness,³ (4) and is entertained by a *hospitable host* and his lovely daughter who give Iwain directions.⁴ (5) Iwain meets a *monster herdsman* who supplies more information about the way.⁵ (6) Iwain follows a narrow path⁶ that leads him to the *Marvellous landscape* [of the Other World], a great tree overshadowing a spring of water and a stone.⁷ (7) He pours water from the *Fountain Perilous* on the stone stirring up thereby a terrible storm⁸ (8) which

¹ Inferred from *Iwain*, vv. 1004 ff. In the version in Malory's *Mort Darthur*, Bk. VII, which has some features more archaic than Chrétien's poem, Lynet appears as messenger at Arthur's court. Such messengers are: Liban in the *Serglige Conculaind*, the "demoiselle" messenger in *La Mule sans Frein*, p. 692, below, and in *Chevalier du Papegau*, p. 698, below; Hélié in *Bel Inconnu*, Nereja in *Wigalois*, the "pucele" in *Rigomer*. On the fairy messenger see Paris, *Rom.*, x, 476 f.

² Cf. Loegaire and Conall in *Fled Bricrend*, and Kay in *La Mule sans Frein*.

³ See p. 690, below.

⁴ Cf. the "large house in the glen" in *Tochmarc Emere*, p. 689, below; Evrain in *Erec* (Joy of the Court); the abbot of the "jæmerlichen" monastery in *Lanzelet* (ed. Hahn, vv. 3828 ff.); "Le Chevalier Amoureux" in *Papegau*, p. 699, below; Geriaume in *Huon* (ed. Guessard, Dunostre episode); Meliadus in *Méragis* (ed. Friedwagner, v. 2910 ff.); "Dodines der wilde" who pilots Arthur across the screaming moss and entertains him (*Lanzelet*, vv. 7084 ff.): cf. also Ehrismann, *Beit. z. Gesch. d. deut. Sp.*, xxx, 24, 26 and 46 f. In MacManus, *In Chimney Corners*, p. 43, is an Irish tale with a similar figure.

⁵ See p. 682, below.

⁶ Such a path is in *Tochmarc Emere*, p. 689, below; *La Mule sans Frein*, p. 692; *Papegau*, p. 699, and *Wigalois*, v. 4505.

⁷ See *Iwain A Study*, p. 82 ff., p. 133 ff., and to the lists there given add that traces of this landscape occur in *La Mule sans Frein*; *Lanzelet* (Iweret episode); *Huon* (Dunostre); *Papegau*; *Wigalois*; *Wolfdietrich*; *Fergus* (ed. Martin, vv. 3656 ff.), etc., etc.

⁸ A storm of wind and rain defending the Otherworld Castle is a not uncommon motive. In *Fled Bricrend* the heroes on their way to the castle of Curoi are overtaken by a hideous black cloud, a sort of druidical mist (*Iwain A Study*, p. 53, note). Mailduin and other adventurers in the

amounts to a *challenge*.¹ (9) He is attacked in *mortal combat* by a gigantic warrior called Esclados the Red.² Pursuing this warrior, to whom he has given a death blow, (10) Iwain traverses a *perilous passage*, has his steed cut in

imrama pass through great storms (*Iwain A Study*, pp. 60, 96). The Isle of St. Brandan, a variant of the Celtic Other World, is defended by terrible storms, see d'Avezac, *Les Isles Fantastiques de l'Océan Occidental, Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (1845), I, 303; Higginson, *Tales of the Enchanted Islands*, p. 211. In the Mabinogi *Manawyddan, son of Llŷr*, after a thunderstorm and a fall of mist, Pryderi and Rhiannon vanish into the Other World, Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 107 (cf. I, 101, where an enchantment is accompanied by thunder and rain). In *Wigdlois*, vv. 6804 ff., the castle of Roaz is defended by a magic mist. A mist defends the castle of Malduc, *Lanzelet*, vv. 7589 ff. Both in *Wigdlois*, v. 6866 f., and in *Papegau*, p. 73, a blast of air near the revolving wheel is mentioned: cf. the blast of wind in *La Salade* (quoted by Miss Paton, *Studies in Fairy Mythol.*, p. 53, note). A storm is before the Otherworld Castle in the *Turk and Gawain*, vv. 65 ff., and one beside the turning castle in the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*, vv. 378 ff. (For the suggestion of this note, and for references to the *Turk and Gawain* and to the *Pèlerinage*, I am indebted to Dr. K. G. T. Webster, who is preparing a detailed study of the last named poem).

¹A more natural challenge is in *Lanzelet*, vv. 3899 ff., where L. strikes a gong. Foerster thinks that this gong survives in the *Iwain*, v. 211 ff., in the episode of the Hospitable Host (Foerster, *Iwain*, ed. 1902, p. xxxv ff.). In Malory, Book VII, the Red Knight is challenged by blowing a horn hanging by a sycamore; cf. *Perceval*, vv. 21967 ff., 26508 ff. In *Garel* the challenge is by breaking flowers in the garden of "Eskilabôn der Wilde," ed. Walz, vv. 3234 ff., cf. *Huon*, vv. 4734 ff. In LU, Cuchulinn throws the withe on the pillar stone of the Dun of Nechta's sons into the water as a challenge to the fairy folk (Faraday, *Cattle Raid of Cualnge*, p. 30), or, according to LL, he throws the whole pillar stone (Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 148); cf. Hyde's note on striking a "pole of combat" as a challenge, *Beside the Fire*, p. 180.

²To the epithet "red" compare "the Rede Knyght of the Reed Laundes," Malory, Bk. VII (*Iwain*, p. 143); Mabonagrain clad in red, *Erec* (Joy of the Court); Iweret with a red lion as his coat of arms, and a shield all red, *Lanzelet*, vv. 4420 ff.; the Marshal in red armour in *Papegau*, p. 699, below; "Estamus le roux" in *Ysaye le Triste*, *Zt. f. rom. Phil.*, xxv, 657 ff.; Margarijs "mit roden wapenen" and "enen roden scilt" in the Dutch *Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, vv. 4484 ff.; Avartach clad in a scarlet mantle in the *Gilla Decair* (*Iwain*, p. 105); the Red Gruagach in the Tale of Manus, p. 697, below, and the mysterious character Tomás Fuiteach (Thomas the Bloody), lord of an enchanted castle in Irish folk-tales, Hyde, *An Sgéaluidhe Gaedhealach*, p. 83, *et passim*.

two behind him and finds himself made prisoner by the falling portcullis,¹ of (11) the [*Otherworld*] *Castle*. (12) Iwain's rescue by the damsel *Lunete* follows. (13) She gives him a ring of invisibility, one of the *magic belongings* of the castle. (14) News from the "*Dameisele Sauvage*"² that Arthur is coming to essay the adventure of the fountain (15) persuades the [fairy] lady *Laudine* to marriage with Iwain the slayer of *Esclados* (*Laudine* is thought of as the widow of *Esclados*). (16) *Arthur and his knights* are met at the Fountain Perilous by Iwain who, having assumed the function of *Esclados* as defender of the fountain, ignominiously overthrows *Kay* and then entertains *Arthur* at the Castle. (17) Iwain departs for a year taking a *magic ring* [that doubtless conferred the power of returning at will to the *Otherworld castle*]. (18) He overstays his time. *Laudine's love changes to hate*, and her damsel messenger deprives Iwain of the ring. (19) Iwain in despair [at his loss of power to return to the *Otherworld Castle*] loses his reason and lives like a beast in the forest. (20) A hermit gives him bread. (21) He is cured by a damsel with a *fairy remedy*, and (22) entertained by the *hospitable lady* of a castle who is beset by a hostile baron. She gives Iwain arms and a notable steed and he delivers her from her foe. (23) Iwain leaves this castle and rides through a *dense forest* till (24) he encounters a lion and a serpent fighting. He slays the serpent.³ (25) The

¹ See *Iwain A Study*, p. 75 f. Cf. the copper men with clashing flails in *Huon* (Dunostre), vv. 4552 ff.; the revolving wheels in *Papegau*, p. 699, below, and in *Wigdois*, vv. 6775 ff.; "*La vielle moussue*" with a flail, *Fergus*, vv. 3734 ff.; and Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, p. 133 ff., where the sword-bridge motive is compared.

² This personage is unexplained. Compare, however, the "*femme sauvage*" in *Papegau*, p. 72, l. 6, from whose ferocious embrace the hero had difficulty in escaping. In *Kulhwch and Olwen* *Kay* had a similar escape from the wife of *Custennin*, the shepherd who points out the way (*Loth, Les Mab.*, I, 228). The figure is doubtless a traditional one, as inhabitant of the tangled forest at the margin of the Other World.

³ A corresponding situation occurs three times in *Wolfdietrich B* (ed. Amelung and Jänicke). *W.* helps an elephant against a "wurm," str. 512 ff., and a lion against a "wurm," str. 667 ff. and 722 ff. *Wolfdietrich B* contains the Marvellous Fountain, str. 796 ff. and Landscape, str. 350 ff.; "ein waltman" that shows the way to an adventure, str. 661 ff.; the lion and serpent combat and the helpful lion; the carrying of the wounded lion to a castle to be healed, str. 730 ff. (cf. *Iwain*, vv. 4652 ff.), the releasing of the lion just at the critical moment to help the hero overcome a vassal (*Wildunc*) who has usurped the hero's rightful place beside the lady, str. 782 ff. (cf. Iwain's combat with the wicked seneschal and the aid given by the lion, p. 701, below). Of course the *Wolfdietrich* is a hodge-podge of materials, but it is impossible that all of these incidents should occur both

thankful lion follows him like a dog, and at evening pulls down a deer and brings the carcass for his master to cook and eat. (26) Iwain returns to the *Fountain Perilous*, where he finds that Lunete has been traduced, and that, to clear her, Laudine's wicked seneschal must be slain. (27) Iwain secures entertainment for the night at a castle beset by *giant Harpin*. Aided by the lion he kills the giant and delivers the daughter of the lord of the castle. (28) Again at the *Fountain Perilous* Iwain aided by the lion *slays the wicked seneschal* and frees Lunete. (29) Iwain visits the *Castle of Ill Adventure*, and, aided by the lion, slays two goblins and disenchant the place. (30) Iwain espouses the cause of the younger *daughter of the Black Thorn* and fights Gawain to a stand-still. (31) Again at the *Fountain Perilous* Iwain pours water on the stone until he regains admission to the [Other-world] castle, and to his [fairy] mistress Laudine.

II.

With this summary before us, it is easy to observe the following irrationalities in the second part of the romance. If, as we are told in 31, Iwain has but to pour much water on the stone and raise a very great tempest in order to regain admission to the Otherworld Castle, the question arises, why did he neglect this obvious expedient so long? He was at the *Fountain Perilous* in 26, and again in 28. Another incongruity appears in 30. The helpful lion here drops suddenly out of the story, as if forgotten for a moment, and turns up unexpectedly when the incident is over.¹ The attentive reader will be struck too by something incongruous

in it and in the *Iwain* by accident. *W.* must then have borrowed from *I.* Evidently from some version more primitive than Chrétien's, for *W.* has the entrance through the marvellous fountain to reach the Other World, str. 796 ff., an archaic motive not in *I.* (see *Iwain A Study*, p. 117). The lion helping *W.* fight a serpent (not *vice versa*) is primitive for the incident must have arisen out of a helpful lion's guiding the hero through a vale of serpents (see p. 686, below). The circumstances of the lion's helping *Wolfdietrich* in his fight with the wicked vassal are better explained in *W.* than in *I.* (see p. 682, below).

¹ Paris surmised that in this incident Chrétien was not following his source, *Journal des Savants* (1902), p. 290, note 2.

about 30, the "Daughters of the Black Thorn." It has no folk-lore features like the rest of the romance. It seems dragged in solely to give an excuse for Iwain's return to Arthur's court, the only place, of course, where he could encounter Gawain.

If one turns to the Welsh version, the *Lady of the Fountain*,¹ one will see these adventures of the second part of the romance more nearly in their original order. In the Welsh the combat between Iwain and Gawain occurs directly after the overthrow of Kay, when Arthur and all his knights are at the Fountain Perilous. This is a much more natural place for this encounter. One understands under this arrangement why there is no question of the helpful lion, since it has not yet entered the romance. In the Welsh the incongruous adventure of the Daughters of the Black Thorn (30) does not occur at all. The Welsh makes Iwain regain admission to the Otherworld Castle and to the favor of the fairy lady in 28, and the romance ends there. The "Castle of Ill Adventure" (29) is given separately in the Welsh as a sort of an appendix. This is obviously right. Episode 29 has no connection with the rest of the romance but is an independent variant of the well-known Otherworld Journey theme. In the Welsh the lion is not described as taking part in the combat of 29,² a hint that this episode has a different origin from that of the rest of the romance.

In the Welsh the pointless repetition of visits to the Fountain Perilous is avoided. We see from it, though no explanations are given, that the lion guided Iwain back to the Castle of the Fay. Immediately after the lion was encountered (25), Iwain found himself at the Fountain Perilous (26). Then follows the slaying of Giant Harpin (27),

¹ Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, 1 ff.

² See, however, p. 701, below.

who was perhaps one of the monsters that defended the entrance to the Other World. Then comes the mortal combat against the wicked seneschal (28), and the end of the story (31). The seneschal had manifestly usurped the place formerly held by Iwain, and before him by Esclados, as possessor of the lady and defender of the Fountain. Naturally therefore by slaying the seneschal,¹ Iwain reconquered his old position beside the fay, and regained admission to the Otherworld Castle.

It is not in the second half of the romance only, that the Welsh preserves features more original than those given by Chrétien. The Huge Herdsman (5) is in Chrétien's poem a mere hodge-podge, but in the Welsh he is a coherent monster. In *Iwain*, vv. 278-409, this "vilain qui resanbloit mor," had a head larger than that of a horse, and mossy ears the size of an elephant's. He had the eyes of an owl, the nose of a cat, his mouth was cleft like that of a wolf and his boar's teeth were sharp and red. He wore the newly flayed skins of two oxen, sat on a stump with a huge club in his hand and did not speak any more than a beast would do. Small wonder that Calogrenant's first words were: "Se tu es buene chose ou non?" The monster replied, "Je sui uns hon."² In appearance evidently the creature was more beast than man.

The description of this creature is in the Welsh more coherent:

"A black man of huge stature, seated at the summit of a mound. He had but one foot, and one eye in the middle of his forehead. In his hand he carried a massive iron club. . . . About him were a thousand savage animals. . . . He was the guardian of the forest."³

Readers of Celtic tales are acquainted with this one-legged,

¹ In the Welsh, not a seneschal but two pages are the usurpers.

² *Iwain*, vv. 329-30.

³ Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 8-9.

one-eyed and often one-handed figure, under the name of the *Fáchan*. He appears both in Irish and in Highland Scotch tales, and the descriptions from the various sources and that just quoted from the *Lady of the Fountain*, tally so exactly as to make unavoidable the conclusion that the *Fáchan* was a very ancient figure in pan-Celtic story.¹ MacPhie, Campbell's Highland informant, knew the *Fáchan* as "the Desert Creature of Glen Eiti . . . with one hand out of his chest, one leg out of his haunch, and one eye out of the front of his face." According to MacPhie "he was a giant and a wood-cutter, and went at a great pace before the Irish king Murdoch MacBrian, when the latter had lost sight of his red-eared hound, and his deer, and Ireland."²

¹A monster herdsman who plays the part of guide to the Other World can be pointed out both in Irish and in Welsh story before the time of Chrétien. In Irish such a figure occurs in the *Inram Mairduin*, and has been previously compared (Baist, *Zt. f. rom. Phil.*, XXI, 402-405; *Iwain A Study*, p. 62). A similar figure in the admittedly ancient Welsh tale *Kulhwch and Olwen* has hitherto escaped notice. In the course of the great quest, which forms the main incident of the tale, King Arthur is directed to the Otherworld Castle of the giant Yspaddeden by a shepherd (Custennin) who is accompanied by a marvellous dog (Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 228): "They beheld a vast flock of sheep which was boundless and without end. And upon the top of a mound there was a herdsman keeping the sheep. And a rug made of skins was upon him: and by his side was a shaggy maistiff larger than a steed nine winters old. Never has he lost even a lamb from his flock. . . . All the dead trees and bushes in the plain he burnt with his breath down to the very ground."

²Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the W. Highlands*, IV, 297-98: cf. II, 212; also III, 382-86, where MacPhie's version of the Lay of Manus is given. This tells of an "*Athach*" [= *Fathach* "giant"] with but one eye, who comes as herald from the king of Lochlann and acts as guide for Finn and the Fianna to Lochlann. There, after Manus has been slain, Finn marries the daughter and fetches her home with him. A figure like the *Fáchan* is in the Irish tale "Children of the King of Norway," *Irish Texts Soc.*, I, 135, and another called Roc, son of Diocan, in "Finn's Visit to Conan in Ceann Sleibhe," *Trans. of Oss. Soc.*, II, 141. Roc is a transformed man. According to my explanation of the *Iwain* the Monster Herdsman must have been in origin some creature of the fay in disguise, that is some one

In an Irish ms., quoted by Douglas Hyde,¹ a similar figure is described :

"A morose unlovely churl (who held) a very thick iron flail-club in his skinny hand . . . and a girdle of the skins of deer and roebuck around the thing that was his body, and one eye in the forehead of his black-faced countenance, and one bare, hard, very hairy hand coming out of his chest, and one veiny, thick-soled leg supporting him, and a close, firm, dark blue mantle of twisted, hard-thick feathers protecting his body, and surely he was more like unto devil than to man."

The agreement between these Celtic tales and the Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* extends not only to the general description of the monster, and of his function as guardian of the forest and guide to the traveller, but also to minute details: the club of iron, the black-faced countenance. Here are phenomena that can be accounted for on but one of two hypotheses. Either the author of the Welsh version had only Chrétien's poem before him, but was conversant with Celtic folk-lore, and altered Chrétien's heterogeneous beast to make it like a figure that was familiar to him in native tradition. Or, the Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* is not a mere version of Chrétien's poem, but its author had before him some pre-Chrétien poem from which he has preserved features more primitive than any in the work of the great poet. Those who see in the Welsh tale a mere adaptation

transformed : *Iwain A Study*, p. 114. In the *Livre d' Artus*, which copies the incident from the *Iwain*, we are told that the Huge Herdsman is Merlin, who has taken that disguise in order to lead Calogrenant to the fountain, see *Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, xvii, 54, and Freymond's long note on *monstra hominum*. To refer all one-eyed monsters to the classic cyclop is an easy but dangerous process. The combination of one eye, one foot [and one hand] is tolerably rare, and the appearance of such a monster as woodsman and guide seems peculiar to Celtic. But see *Reinfrit von Braunschweig*, ed. Bartsch, vv. 19308-319, where men with one eye and one leg occur. On cyclops see Bartsch, *Herzog Ernst*, pp. cxxxiv and clxvi f., and the learned essay in Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, 1 ff.

¹*Beside the Fire*, xx-xxii.

of Chrétien's famous romance must take refuge in the first hypothesis—an hypothesis which might perhaps be reasonable enough to explain a single incident, but becomes difficult when several features in which the Welsh is more archaic than the French are pointed out, and seems to break down entirely when it is seen, as has been shown above, that the Welsh version is more straightforward and rational than the French. That the Welsh version, even if founded solely on Chrétien's poem, should be more Celtic than it in dress and coloring, one understands. That, however, a Welsh translator, who could not definitely have understood Chrétien's poem as an Otherworld Journey story, or the lion as a guide to the Other World, since he affords the reader no direct hint of this explanation any more than Chrétien, should yet have made the story more coherent than his original, and especially should have made it end just where, and in the precise way it ought to end, if the lion is a guide to the fairy castle, is inconceivable. His lack of explanation of the lion as a guide, is a guarantee of his good faith. Had he explained, it might have been argued plausibly that he was a conscious archaizer. The Welsh author must have had the story before him in a more archaic form than the existing romance of Chrétien de Troyes.¹

In the Welsh, the animals that come together at the summons of the Monster Herdsman are as numerous² "as the stars in the sky, so that it was difficult [for Kynon] to

¹In two particulars, not mentioned in the Welsh, Chrétien's account of the monster herdsman agrees with the Irish and Scottish descriptions quoted above; namely, in the garment of the skins of beasts, and in the appellation *vilain* ("churl"). This fits perfectly with the hypothesis that both Chrétien and the Welsh version go back to a common original *x*, of which in general the Welsh has kept the more primitive features, but from which, as is natural, Chrétien may from time to time have retained a detail dropped out by the Welsh.

²Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 9.

find room in the glade to stand among them. There were serpents and adders, and divers sorts of animals. And he [the Herdsman] looked at them and bade them go and feed; and they bowed their heads and did him homage, as vassals to their lord."

This strange horde of monsters, and especially the adders and serpents, seem more archaic than the savage bulls fighting, which are all that are mentioned by Chrétien.¹ One easily recognizes in the serpents and dragons that bow their heads in homage to the Guardian of the Forest, the fierce creatures that beset the entrance to the Other World. It is easy to see that, according to the original conception, only he who was under the protection of the Monster Herdsman could pass this infested glade. In Iwain's second journey (24) it was doubtless originally the task of the helpful lion to act as conductor through this vale of serpents. From this, the development of a helpful lion and a hurtful serpent would be easy.²

*nice
lyge ?*
In our comparison between the first and the second parts of the *Ivain* it is perhaps, therefore, allowable to follow the order indicated by the Welsh, which seems in several instances to preserve features more original than the French of Chrétien.

The present discussion, however, does not depend upon

¹ Foerster's text mentions only wild bulls; "Tors sauvages et espaarz," v. 280, but the variants "lions," and in another MS. "Ors et lieparz," exist, while the Swedish version reads, "lions, bears and panthers," and the English "leopards, lions and bears," *Yvain*, ed. 1902, p. xxxix.

² The helpful lion probably fought the serpents, and such an incident suggested the lion and serpent combat. (In *Wolfdietrich* a lion helps W. slay the serpent, see note on p. 680, above). The precise form, however, which the combat, and the behavior of the lion, take in Chrétien's poem (and probably already in Chrétien's original), appears to be due to the influence of some chivalric legend like that attached to Goufier de Lastours.

the question of the relationship between the Welsh version and Chrétien, a difficult problem, which is only taken up here by the way, and cannot be further pursued.¹

If, without resorting to the Welsh, we make Chrétien's romance end at **28** the parallelism between the Otherworld Journey of the first part of the *Ivain*, and that of the second, can be easily made out. The hero sets out alone through a tangled wilderness in **3**, and again in **23**. To the Hospitable Host and his daughter of **4** correspond the damsel of the Fairy Remedy and the Hospitable Lady of **21** and **22**. To the Monster Herdsman of **5**, who is more beast than man, corresponds the helpful lion of **25**. Both help the hero on his way. Finally to the combat with Esclados at the Fountain Perilous in **9**, corresponds the battle with the seneschal at the same fountain in **28**.

There is then only an apparent difficulty in explaining the second half of the *Ivain* as a journey of wonders that corresponds in a general way to the first half. The lion would be a guiding beast, who also aided the hero in overcoming the monsters that guarded the passage.

¹To the vexed question of the relationship existing between three Welsh stories in the *Red Book of Hergest* and three corresponding romances by Chrétien de Troyes, I hope to return in another article. The evidence given above tends strongly to prove that both Chrétien's poem and the *Lady of the Fountain* go back to a common original. This lost French version *x* must have itself rested, perhaps through several intermediaries, on an essentially Celtic folk-tale. In *x* the original story was probably already partly rationalized. Perhaps it was also somewhat confused and corrupted. It is not necessary to attribute all of the inconsistencies of Chrétien's version to his lack of interest in, and probable lack of comprehension of, the Otherworld meaning of some of the folk-lore motives that he used. The reader will of course turn to Foerster's discussion, *Karrenritter*, 1899, pp. cxxvii ff.

III.

A lion¹ as guide to the Other World appears in an ancient Celtic story called the *Tochmarc Emere* or the Wooing of Emer. This fine tale which is preserved in part in the well-known Irish ms. *Lebor na h-Uidre*, and can be proved therefore to be older than 1050 A. D., tells of a lion that guided and carried Cuchulinn on his journey to the Other World. Since the tale has been but little studied, a summary of the part of it which relates to the journey may be conveniently given:²

Cuchulinn had parted from all his companions, and saw that he was astray and ignorant of the way. "He beheld a terrible great beast like a lion coming towards him which kept regarding him nor did him any harm. Whatever way he went, the beast went before him, and moreover it turned its side towards him. Then he took a leap and was on its neck. He did not guide it, but went wherever the beast liked. Four days they went in that wise until they came to the bounds of dwellers, and to an island,

¹ The lion was a familiar figure both in ancient Irish and in ancient Welsh literature. A *Dinnshenchas* in the *Book of Leinster* gives as an etymology of *humman* "shield" the word *leoman* "lion," because, adds the *Dinnshenchas*, "every shield has a lion on it."—*Iwain*, p. 130. In *Math the son of Mathonwy*, one of the four genuine Mabinogion which are the oldest of the tales in the *Red Book of Hergest*, is a character called "Lion of the Steady Hand," *Loth, Les Mab.*, I, 139. It is useless to multiply examples.

² Partly summarized and partly quoted from Kuno Meyer's translation of the longer version, from MSS. LU and Stowe 992, in *Archæological Review*, I, 234-35, 298-306. It happens that LU breaks off shortly before the lion is mentioned, but this cannot alter our opinion of the age of the incident, since LU agrees with the later MSS. word for word so far as it goes. Indeed Meyer thinks the shorter version of *Tochmarc Emere* is a piece of Irish of the eighth century, and the longer of the eleventh (*Rev. Celt.*, XI, 439). Because of its importance I quote the passage from both versions: "A mbai ann iarum co n-acai biastæ vathmair máir ina docum amail leymon" (the longer version, ed. Meyer, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, III, 248, § 63): "Fochairt iarom allaili m-beasti n-vathmair amail leoman" (the shorter version, *Rev. Celt.*, XI, 446, line 43).

where lads were rowing on a small lake. They laughed at the unwonted sight of a hurtful beast doing service to a man. Cuchulinn then leaped off, and the beast parted from him, and he blessed it." He then went on and "came to a large house in a great glen." There "he met a maiden of fair make in the house. The maiden addressed him and bade him welcome." She had known Cuchulinn before and she gave him to drink and to eat. There was also a youth in the house, of whom Cuchulinn inquired the way to the Dun of Scathach, or "Shadow" [the Queen of the Other World]. "The youth taught him the way across the Plain of Ill Luck . . . the Youth gave him a wheel and told him to follow its track thence across one-half of the plain. Then he gave him an apple, and told him to follow the ground where the apple would run."¹ The Youth also told him of "a large glen before him, and a single narrow path through it, which was full of monsters to destroy him."² Cuchulinn made

¹ For a ball as guide see *Folk-Lore Record*, II, 186; Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, p. 131, and *An Sgéahuidhe Gaedhealach*, p. 441; Curtin, *Myths and Folk Lore of Ireland*, p. 35.

² In the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind*, from LU, printed by O'Beirne Crowe in *Proc. of Royal Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, 4th series, I, 385 f. (1871), are verses describing an expedition of Cuchulinn to the Land of Scath (Shadow). Evidently it is a second version of Cuchulinn's Otherworld journey, and therefore parallel to the *Tochmarc Emere*. Here we have serpents, and a house full of toads and monsters, mentioned as obstacles (cf. the serpents before the Castle of Falerin, *Lanzelet*, vv. 7357 ff.) :

"Seven walls about that city—
 Hateful was the fort :
 A rampart of irons on each wall,
 On that were nine heads.
 Doors of iron on each flank—
 Against us not great defences :
 I struck them with my leg,
 Until I drove them into fragments.
 There was a pit in the Dun
 Belonging to the king it is related—
 Ten serpents burst
 Over its border—it was a deed ! . . .
 A house full of toads
 They were let fly at us :
 Sharp beaked monsters,
 They stuck in my snout.
 Fierce draconic monsters
 To us they used to fall : . . .
 Horse-tribe though they explained them."

his way across the Plain of Ill Luck and through the Perilous Glen as the Youth had taught him. He then had to pass the Bridge of the Cliff which rose in the middle and threw back anyone who stepped on it. At the third trial Cuchulinn succeeded in crossing the Bridge of the Cliff and entering the Dun. Before possessing himself of Scathach, and of her daughter Uathach, Cuchulinn was obliged to fight "a champion Cochar Cruifne, a warrior of Scathach's." "Sorrowful was the woman Scathach" when Cuchulinn slew her champion. "And Cuchulinn said to her that he would take upon himself the work and service of the man that had fallen, so that he was the leader of her host and her champion in his stead." Before returning from the Land of Shadow, Cuchulinn assisted the queen, his mistress, in a battle against a second Otherworld queen called Aife, and won for her a victory.

This ancient tale presents very many analogies to Chrétien's *Ivain*. Cuchulinn was all alone on his journey just as Calogrenant tells emphatically that he went: "seus come païsanz . . . querant aventures."¹ The large house in the great glen, where Cuchulinn was entertained by a fair maiden, is like the Castle of the Hospitable Host (4) where Calogrenant likewise found entertainment by a fair maiden, food, drink and directions for the way. The lion corresponds in a general way to the Monster Herdsman (5) that acted as guide. The Perilous Glen is a parallel to the tangled woods and dense thicket,² through which Calogrenant penetrated to the spring (3), and more exactly to the Glade of Serpents and Dragons in the Welsh version to which attention has been called. The Bridge of the Cliff that throws Cuchulinn down,³ is manifestly a form of the Active Door incident,

¹ Vv. 176-177.

²

"Parmi une forest espesse.

Mout i ot voie felenesse,

De ronces et d'espines plainne."—Vv. 181-3.

"L'estroit santier tot boissoneus

Que trop an est cusançoneus."—Vv. 699-700.

"[Santier] Plain de ronces et d'oscurté."—V. 769.

³ Cf. the magic bridge in *Perceval*, vv. 28554 ff., 28825 (ed. Potvin, iv, 277 ff.).

represented in the *Ivain* by the falling portcullis (10). Cuchulinn's slaying of Cochar Cruifne and taking the place of the fallen warrior as champion and paramour of the Otherworld Queen, is a startling parallel to Iwain's behavior towards Esclados the Red and his lady Laudine (9 and 15). We get in the Irish tale a glimpse at a cruder and more primitive form of the situation so long a puzzle in Chrétien's romance of the sudden marriage of a widow to the slayer of her husband.¹

In the *Tochmarc Emere*, which is older than the time of Chrétien, and is strikingly parallel to the *Ivain*, a lion guides the hero on his journey to the Other World. In the *Ivain* the lion is not said to act as a guide, though he accompanies his master, hunts for him like a dog, and aids him in combat. Chrétien evidently did not understand that only by a Journey of Wonders could Iwain win his way back to Laudine's marvellous land. The various adventures of the second half of the *Ivain* are, as has been pointed out, disconnected and rather purposeless. Even in the Welsh, where the original order seems better preserved, no explanation of the lion as a guiding beast occurs. It is not hard however to see, that, even in the present form of the story, the lion comes very

¹ This parallel is more striking than that instanced in *Iwain A Study*, p. 56, from LL and LU, where Cuchulinn slew a giant (Curoi) who inhabited a whirling castle, and married the giant's supernatural wife; for, in the *Tochmarc Emere*, we are expressly told that Cochar Cruifne is a mere champion and creature of the fay Scathach. In my former study I argued that in a primitive form of the episode the warrior must have been a mere creature of the fay, conjured up by her to test the hero's valour (just as Lynet conjures up an armed knight to fight the hero, in Malory, Bk. VII). Since the champion is a mere creature of the fay, no surprise need be felt at her speedy acceptance of the conqueror. The turning up of this parallel, overlooked in my former study, strengthens notably my contention that we have in an incident of this type the key to the puzzle of Laudine's speedy marriage to the slayer of Esclados.

near being a guide to the Other World.¹ He brings Iwain food, accompanies him everywhere, and it is only by his timely aid that Iwain survives the terrible battles of the hazardous journey. The *Tochmarc Emere* greatly strengthens the general explanation of the *Iwain* as a partly rationalized Otherworld Journey story, and makes it highly probable that the lion was in origin a guide and helper for the marvellous road.

IV.

In the *Tochmarc Emere* the lion actually carries the hero on its back. Perhaps this is a primitive form of the incident. In *La Mule sans Frein*,² a French poem written about 1200, but evidently based on a folk-tale of a far more primitive time, appears a beast that carries the hero to the Otherworld Adventure :

A damsel-messenger riding a mule without a bridle came to Arthur's court and asked for the help of a knight to recover her bridle. Whoever wished to undertake the adventure must mount the mule, and allow it to choose its path, without attempting at all to direct it. We learn later that the bridle is in the castle of a mysterious lady, evidently a partly rationalized fay, whose messenger the damsel is. Kay set out first, and rode on the back of the mule, through a dense forest where lions, tigers, leopards and other terrible creatures gathered round, but the beasts did obeisance to the mule, and, out of respect to the mule and to the lady whose creature it was, did not injure Kay. The mule then entered a narrow path, through

¹ Cf. "Et itel vie, ce me sanble,
Com il orent la nuit menee,
Ont ansamble andui (*i. e.*, Iwain and the lion) demenee
Pres trestote cele semaine
Tant qu' avanture a la fontaine
Desoz le pin les amena."—Vv. 3486-91.

² Méon, *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux*, I, 1-37. *La Mule sans Frein* has already been compared to the *Iwain*: *Iwain A Study*, p. 80, note; Foerster, *Yvain*, ed. 1902, p. lxvi, note. An incident resembling *La Mule sans Frein* is in *Diu Krône*, vv. 12627 ff.

the Valley of the Fear of Death, which was beset by scorpions and serpents. It knew the path, having often traversed it before, and followed it to a bright, sparkling fountain in a meadow. Then it approached a bridge, consisting of a single bar of iron not more than one-quarter of a foot wide, that spanned a dreadful river. Kay lost courage when he caught a glimpse of the river, and he forced the mule to return.

Gawain, more brave, allowed the helpful mule to carry him through all the dangers, across the perilous bridge, over "li fluns au diable," and into a turning castle, which spun round so swiftly that it cut off half of the mule's tail behind Gawain, as he entered on the beast's back. In the castle, besides playing the beheading game with a *vilain* who was as black as a Moor, Gawain was obliged to fight, first two lions, then a knight, and lastly two serpents, before he arrived at the lady. She said, "You have killed all my beasts,"¹ but the people of the castle rejoiced that the savage animals were dead. The lady would fain have persuaded Gawain to remain with her, and be her lord, and the lord of all her castles, but he refused, and departed with the bridle.

The parallels between this story and the *Ivain* are, of course, very numerous. Here occur the damsel messenger, the failure of the first adventurer, the solitary journey, the dense forest, the savage beasts, the narrow path, the fountain, the perilous passage, the cutting off of half of the mule's tail, which corresponds to the severing of Iwain's horse behind him by the falling portecullis, and lastly the successful combat(s) with the creature(s) of the fay. The savage beasts, "lions, tigers, leopards and other terrible creatures," and the Valley of the Fear of Death beset by scorpions and serpents, are more like to the Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* with its glade full of "serpents, dragons and divers sorts of animals" than to the fierce bulls of the *Ivain*.² The obsequious behavior of these animals toward the guiding beast is strikingly like that told of in the Welsh.³ It has been

¹The beasts and the champions that had to be fought were all in origin the creatures of the fay. See p. 691, note 1.

²See, however, p. 686, above.

³Compare the description in *La Mule sans Frein*, vv. 147-54 :

"Mès les bestes par conoissance
De la dame, e par enorance

noticed that the Welsh seems here to have preserved more primitive features.

La Mule sans Frein contains also close parallels to the *Tochmarc Emere*. Its Valley of the Fear of Death, beset by scorpions and serpents, is like Cuchulinn's Plain of Ill Luck, and his Perilous Glen, "full of monsters to destroy him." Its terrible bridge and revolving castle, are like Cuchulinn's Bridge of the Cliff, which threw him backward. Its carrying mule that knows the way, and must not be guided, is like Cuchulinn's "beast like a lion" that carried him, and was not guided, but "went where it liked."

In Froissart's romance *Meliador*, a carrying stag bears the hero to a fairy castle :¹

De la mule que eles voient,
Les deus genoux à terre ploient.
Einsi por l'anor de la Dame
S'agenoilloient de la jame,
Et por ce aséur se tienent,
Qu'en la forest gisent et vienent."

And vv. 365-68 :

"Tot maintenant que il revoient
La mule que il connoissoient,
Les deus genouz à terre plient
Vers lou chevalier s'umelient."

With the passage from the Welsh quoted above, p. 686 : "And he looked at them and bade them go feed ; and they bowed their heads and did him homage as vassals to their lord."

The description of the tangled road in *La Mule sans Frein* is much like that in the *Ivain*. Compare vv. 169-172 :

"Quant il vint en une valée
Qui moult estoit parfonde et lée
Et si estoit moult perillouse
Moult creux et moult tenebrose."

With the passages quoted from the *Ivain* above, p. 690, especially with v. 769, "Plain de ronces et d'oscurté." Cf. the corresponding passage in *Diu Krône*, vv. 12781-2 : "ein tiefez tal . . . sô vinster und sô eislich."

¹ Ed. Longnon, *Soc. Anc. Text*, vv. 28362 ff.

The hunter Saigremor was led a long chase by a white stag. At length, separated from all his comrades, and even from his horse, Saigremor was astonished to behold the stag approach him, and appear to invite him to mount. Despairing of being able to make his way on foot, Saigremor sprang upon the back of the beast. The stag immediately bore him away to a lake, into which it plunged. Presently Saigremor found himself in a marvellous castle with Diana and her maidens. We are told that the stag knew well what it ought to do. Without effort and without haste, it transported Saigremor into the lake. "The *féés*" had arranged thus¹ to have Saigremor brought to their abode.

A marvellous horse that has the power of carrying its rider across the sea to the Other World, is well-known in Irish tales.²

In *Kulhwch and Olwen* which is the oldest of the Arthurian tales contained in the Welsh ms. called *The Red Book of Hergest*, and is generally admitted to be uninfluenced by French romance, appears a salmon fish, that carries on its back heroes who journey to the Other World :³

Mabon, son of Modron, the only hunter that can hunt with the marvellous dog Drutwyn, is imprisoned [in the Other World]. "No imprisonment was ever so grievous." Kai and Gwrhryr Gwalstawt Ieithoedd [Long Man Translator of Tongues] set out to find this prison. They were directed whither to go, successively, by a black bird, a stag, an owl, and an eagle, and were carried over a water on the shoulders of a helpful salmon, so that they came to the wall of the prison, and heard the wailing of Mabon within. He could be released only by fighting. Kai and Gwrhryr returned and told their story. Then Kai and Bedwyr set out, were ferried over on the shoulders of the salmon, broke through the wall of the dungeon, released Mabon, and brought him away.

¹ Vv. 30343 ff. (Of course carrying beasts connect themselves with guiding beasts which are extremely well known as fairy messengers. I forbear to cite examples. See the long list in Miss Paton's *Studies in Fairy Mythology*, p. 230, note 3, and Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1900, p. 354.)

² In the *Acallamh na Senórach*, a compilation at least considerably older than the fifteenth century, Ciabán and his companions when like to perish in a terrible storm were taken upon the back of Manannán's horse and carried across the waves to the Other World : O'Grady, *Silv. Gad.*, II, 198-201. In the *Gilla Decair*, Finn's men, stuck fast on the back of a monster horse, were borne over-sea to the "Land of Promise : " *Silv. Gad.*, II, 297 ff.

³ Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 261 ff.

This story of Mabon, son of Mordred,¹ as given in *Kulhwch and Olwen* is plainly a mere summary of what must have been for the Welsh a well-known tale. This tale, as one can see from the summary, must have contained the incidents of an unsuccessful preliminary adventure, a helpful carrying animal,² a perilous passage across a water, and a combat in the Other World. It shows that before the time of Chrétien, to the Welsh as well as to the Irish, the notion of a beast helpful to the Otherworld Journey was familiar.

The stories outlined in this chapter are of unequal significance and value. Taken together, however, these tales, all of them connected with the Matter of Britain, strengthen the conclusion based on the *Tochmare Emere*, that a carrying

¹The appearance of Mabon in connection with an Otherworld Journey and a helpful beast arouses special interest because there are various reasons for suspecting that in early Welsh tradition Mabon was a parallel figure, perhaps a doublet, to Owain [Ivain]. *Kulhwch and Olwen* makes Modron the mother of Mabon. Modron was also the mother of Owain: "Modron, daughter of Avallach and mother of Owein ab Uryen" (Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 260, translating from a Welsh triad in *Myv. Arch.*, 392. 52). Mabon and Owain then were brothers. An ancient poem from the *Book of Taliessin*, Skene, *Four Books*, I, 363, associates Mabon and Owain. It is well known that the names Mabon and some variant of Owain are often mentioned together and applied to Otherworld figures: Mabon, Eurain in *Bel Inconnu*; Mabon, Irayn in *Libeaus Desconus*; Mabonagrain, Evrain in *Erec*; Mabounain, Urain in *Perceval*; Urbain in *Didot-Perceval* (see Philipot, *Rom.*, xxv, 275-77, Miss Paton, *Studies in Fairy Mythology*, p. 210), cf. Mabuz and Iweret in *Lanzelet*.

²A capital of the fourteenth century on one of the pillars of the left side of the nave of St. Peter's Church in Caen, represents eight figures, one of them an unarmed man riding on a lion. Trebutien, *Caen: Précis de son Histoire* (1855), p. 36. Two of the other figures are unmistakably Arthurian (Lancelot on the sword bridge, and Lancelot on the perilous couch) and De La Rue explained this as "Ivain, le Chevalier au Lion." The explanation is not, however, certain. See Gasté, *Un Chapiteau de l'Eglise Saint-Pierre de Caen* (1887).

beast, which might be a lion,¹ as an incident in the Other-world Journey, was familiar to Celtic story.²

V.

In the lost twelfth century French romance which Saran has shown³ lies behind the *Chevalier du Papegau* and the Middle High German *Wigalois*, was a guiding beast that had power to direct an adventurer to the Other World. In the *Papegau*⁴ the incident with which we are concerned begins while King Arthur is engaged in another adventure :

¹ Can Arthur's extraordinary and romantic dream (Layamon, ed. Madden, III, 120-21, vv. 28058-93) about being carried to sea on the back of a golden lion and brought to shore by a friendly fish, be a reminiscence of some Otherworld journey tale?

² Campbell, *Tales of the W. Highlands*, III, 367 ff., contains a recently collected Gaelic tale about Manus that presents many similarities to the *Ivain*. Manus, on his way to fairyland, was entertained at a Hospitable House where he obtained a number of marvellous belongings: a sword, a helmet, a cloth that spread itself with food, a chain that gave marvellous strength, and especially a lion whelp which Manus carried away with him wrapped in the folds of the magic cloth (cf. *Ivain's* carrying his wounded lion on a shield to a castle to be healed, vv. 4652-80. *Wolfdietrich* likewise carried his wounded lion to a castle, *Wolf. B.* str. 730 ff. This curious incident perhaps shows that the helpful beast was in origin a dog). Later Manus took the part of a White Gruagach who was at war with a Red Gruagach. The lion carried Manus on its back across the sea to an otherwise inaccessible land [the Other World]. It cleared a castle full of monsters, and slew a "brown lap dog" that "came to eat Manus." It helped Manus in his battle with the Red Gruagach and finally it slew a venomous horned creature (*Beannach Nimhe*), in which was the life of the Red Gruagach. The Red Gruagach was killed, his head was put on a stake, and Manus was crowned king of Lochlann. (On the Tale of Manus, cf. Alex. Bugge, *Contributions to the Hist. of Norsemen in Ireland*, II, *Norse Elements in Gaelic Trad. of Mod. Times*, p. 9, *Videnskabselskabets Skrifter*, hist. fil. klasse, 1900, no. 5.)

³ *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deut. Sp.*, XXI, 253-420; see esp. 413-417.

⁴ Ed. Heuckenkampf (1896), p. 24, line 31 ff.

A damsel messenger (cf. *Ivain* 1) comes to Arthur and asks help. King Beauvoisin (Belnain) of Ille Fort, a peninsula also called Royaume aux Damoiselles,¹ has been slain, and has left his realm and his daughter, Flors de Mont, in charge of his Marshal. The Marshal has proved a traitor (cf. 26). He holds the queen and the daughter in imprisonment, and wishes to marry Flors de Mont. The messenger asks Arthur to come to the aid of her lady. Accompanied by the damsel, Arthur made his way past several hostile knights to the castle where the ladies were imprisoned. Here Arthur, who goes by the name of Chevalier du Papegau,² is told that he must journey "tout seul sans nulle campagne" (63. 30), through a waste country where he can secure no food (in *Wigdlois* through a forest) (cf. 3), to the Chastel Perilleux³ where the Marshal is to be found. Fifteen have gone, and none has ever returned. Only a beast that appears every third day can act as guide.

When the beast appeared the hero set out. The beast bowed before the hero "et luy feist semblant d'umilité" (64. 12) [in *Wigdlois* played before him like a dog, v. 4497]⁴ to show its good will. It was "une moult belle beste . . . grande comme ung toriaux . . . le col soutil ainsi comme ung dragon . . . le chief petit et fait ainsi comme ung serf . . . deux cornes en la teste plus blanches que neges a barres de fin or," its skin was red (64. 4-8).⁵

¹ A well known term for the Celtic Other World; cf. "Isle as Puceles" in the Castle-of-Ill-Adventure Episode, *Ivain*, v. 5257; "meide lant" in *Lanzelet*, v. 4685, etc.

² Cf. *Ivain's* fighting the seneschal under the sobriquet "Chevalier au Lion" (28), and *Wigdlois'* fighting under the name "Riter mit dem Rade," *Wigdlois*, v. 6279, etc.

³ Cf. the "Fontaine Perilleuse," *Ivain*, v. 810, and the "Castle Perilous" in *Malory*, Bk. vii.

⁴ So *Ivain's* lion bowed before him:—

"Et ses piez joinz li estandoit
Et vers terre ancline sa chiere,
S'estut sor les deus piez deriere
Et puis si se ragenoilloit
Et tote sa face moilloit
De lermes par humilité." Vv. 3396-3401.

It also pulled down a stag, "Aussi com uns brachez feist," v. 3439. Compare the behavior of the beasts in the *Lady of the Fountain*, etc., p. 686, above.

⁵ The corresponding description in *Wigdlois*, ed. Pfeiffer, vv. 3853 ff., is: "Ein tier daz ist sô wolgetân . . . daz ich niht schoeners hân gesehen . . . ûf sînem houbet . . . eine guldîne krône . . . bewahsen schöne

The beast led the hero to "ung des plus belz arbres que nul vist onques mais." [The well-known Otherworld Landscape (6)]. Here it transformed itself into a man clad in white, who explained that he was the soul of the slain king Beauvoisin, who had taken the form of the beast. He told him about the traitorous Marshal, and gave him directions for the way. The hero had to slay a serpent, from the poison of which he fell into a swoon. He was rescued by the "Chevalier Amoureux du Chastel Sauvage" (71. 33), who entertained him for the night, and gave him directions (cf. 4) about the enchanted Chasteaux Perilleux. He pursued "une chaucie qui estoit moult estroite et serre d'arbres et d'espines"¹ and at length made his way into the Chasteaux Perilleux by crawling over a narrow, quick vibrating bridge that spanned a terrible river, "qui ne sembloit autre chose fors que ung enfer" (73. 10).² He passed a revolving razor-edged wheel that barred the entrance, eluded two armed "villans" (73. 21) on guard, and approached the Marshal. The Marshal did not salute the hero but defied him and attacked him the instant he caught sight of him [just as Esclados behaved toward Iwain]. The Marshal was "moult bien armé d'un es armes toutes vermeilles" (74. 26).³ When the Marshal was slain by the hero, the damsels of the castle made great joy, and embraced the hero, saying: "Bonne aventure ait le meilleur chevalier du monde qui nous a en ceste nuit delivrees du pire seigneur et du plus mauvais qui onques fust!" (75. 26-8.)

Analogies between this story and the *Iwain*, especially the second part of the *Iwain*, are evidently numerous. The distressed lady besieged by the Marshal reminds us of Lunete, whom Iwain defended against the Seneschal (28). The guiding beast is a very curious animal, but it appears to be a modification of some figure like Cuchulinn's carrying lion.⁴ The story has evidently been modified in a Christian sense. The beast is the soul of the king and at the marvellous tree is a scene, omitted in the above summary, which clearly pictures Purgatory. Since the beast, however, in the origi-

mit zwein swarzen hornen . . . in sinem munde die hitze . . . von sinem houbet . . . geschaffen als ein liebart." (To the fiery breath of this guiding beast compare the breath of the dog of the guiding shepherd in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, page 683, note 1, above).

¹ Cf. the path in *Iwain* (6), in *Tochmarc Emere*, and in *La Mule sans Frein*.

² Cf. 10.

³ Cf. "Esclados the Red" (9).

⁴ In *Wigalois* it is "geschaffen als ein liebart."

nal *märchen* must have been somebody in disguise,¹ its explanation as the ghost of a dead man would, for a monkish redactor, not have been difficult. The Marshal, who has usurped the place of the dead king in the enchanted castle, is a striking parallel to the wicked seneschal (28) whom Iwain had to fight. It is difficult to doubt that the original romance, of which *Papegau* and *Wigalois* are representatives, must have been founded on a tale in which a beast helped a hero to penetrate into the Other World.

VI.

If the contention of the preceding chapters is sound, and the *Iwain* is drawn almost entire from what must have been essentially a folk-tale, among recently collected folk-tales, especially among those found on Celtic territory, parallels to the separate incidents of the second half of the *Iwain* ought to exist.² To study this matter conveniently it is necessary to summarize the three most important separate adventures of the second part of the romance :

¹ Page 683, note 2, above.

² Some reviews of *Iwain A Study*, have objected to my use of "modern" folk-tales. In that study I endeavored to prove, in duplicate, that the *Iwain* is based on an Otherworld story. First, by using only parallels the antiquity of which is attested by LU and LL. Then by using recently collected Celtic tales. Since the evidence of the two sorts of material agrees, the second is a valuable confirmation of the first. LU and LL are preserved to us almost by accident. Let us suppose that the Danes had made another inroad and destroyed these precious MSS., *Iwain* would still be based on Celtic Otherworld Story, but it would be impossible to prove it, except by the use of tales transcribed later than the time of Chrétien. The value of the "modern" folk-tale is thus evident. A chapter on analogies between the second part of the *Iwain* and recently collected folk-tales seems to me indispensable, though I am willing to let the argument rest for those who desire it on the *Tochmarc Emere*, supported by *Kulhwch and Olwen* and *La Mule sans Frein*.

(27) Iwain secured entertainment for the night at a castle where he was well received, but the people did not at first wish to admit the lion. They were afraid lest it would do them harm. Iwain, however, insisted on bringing the lion in. The people of the castle were in great sorrow because Harpin of the Mountain, a giant, was coming in the morning to carry off the daughter of the lord of the castle unless a champion could be found to defend her. Iwain volunteered and was substantially aided in the conflict by his faithful lion. The giant, stupidly it would seem, made no objection to fighting the two at once, and was pulled down and slain. [The Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* seems here again to be more primitive. According to it, the giant objected to the unequal combat, and Owain took the lion back to the castle and shut the gate upon it. But when the lion heard that Owain was hard pressed, it made its way to the top of the castle, and sprang down from the walls. The incident ends as in Chrétien's account.]

(28) Iwain was obliged to fight three at once, the wicked seneschal and his two brothers. The lion looked so fierce that the three refused to join battle till Iwain had calmed his lion, and sent it to the rear. The faithful animal returned when it saw its master hard beset, and together man and helpful lion overthrew their three foes. [In the Welsh two pages are the aggressors. To oblige them Owain put his lion into a prison and blocked the door with stones. But when it was going hard with Owain, the lion burst through the wall, rushed upon the two men and instantly slew them.]

(29) At the Castle of Ill Adventure, Iwain had to fight two goblins or demons. The goblins would not fight till Iwain had shut his lion up in a chamber. But at the critical moment the lion dug its way out under the door-sill of its prison and rescued its master. The goblins were slain. Iwain was offered in reward the daughter of the lord of the castle, but he refused and journeyed on. [In the Welsh this adventure is given as an appendix, and is not woven into the main story at all. Owain is described in the Welsh as fighting alone, though the episode is introduced by a sentence in which we are assured that the lion did not leave Owain till he had won this combat. Here seems to be an evidence of good faith on the part of the Welsh author. Artistically he must have felt that the comradeship of the lion should be perpetual, but he is content to give the adventure as he knew it, only prefixing a statement that the lion did not really leave Owain.] Chrétien appears to have transferred to 29 features that belonged to 27, with the effect of a rather wearisome insistence on the lion.

A Journey of Wonders by which a hero penetrates to the Other World is of course a common feature in folk-tales. An unusually symmetrical tale containing this feature, and

one that has not before been studied, is called: "The Old Hag of the Forest." It was collected recently in Ireland, and does not admit of being proved ancient: ¹

Once on a time, when enchantments were as plentiful as blackthorn bushes, a king had three sons to each of whom he gave a hound that could catch anything, a hawk that could bring down anything, and a filly that could overtake anything. The eldest of the sons set out to seek his fortunes. He mounted the filly, with the hawk on his shoulder and the hound at his heels,² and departed. When the eldest brother had travelled twice as far as you could tell me of, he came to a great castle. He saw a wee small house near-by, and found only one old woman in it. "Can I have lodging for myself, my hawk, hound and filly?" "Well for yourself you can, but I don't like them animals, but sure you can house them outside." On the morrow he learned that the daughter of the lord of the castle was to be carried off by a giant unless there should be a hero to fight as her champion. He slew the giant, pursued a hare,³ got lost at night, and came to a wee small house in a hollow. It was the dwelling of the Old Hag of the Forest who, it turns out later, was the mother of the giant he has slain. The Old Hag said, "I'm afeerd of them wild animals of yours." She gave the hero three hairs from her head and persuaded him to bind his animals with them. She became terrible in size and fury, and fought with the hero. Almost overcome, he called successively for help to his three animals. They replied one after another that the hairs were binding them so fast as almost to cut into them. The Hag then overcame the hero, and turned him and his three animals to stone.

The second brother went through the same adventures, and met the same fate.

The younger brother was more wary. When given the Hag's hairs he threw them away, and bound his animals with something else. When hard pressed in battle with the Hag, he called to his animals. They broke loose. The Hound caught the Hag by the heel. The Filly kicked her. The Hawk picked out her eyes. The hero forced the Hag to restore his brothers and their animals to life, and then he slew her. He married the king's daughter whom he had rescued from the giant-offspring of the Hag. The tale ends happily.

The unwillingness of the hostess in this Irish tale to admit the hero's animals is exactly like the unwillingness of

¹ Summarized from Seumas MacManus, *In Chimney Corners*, N. Y. (1899), pp. 127-46.

² Hawk, hound, and horse were the typical companions of an ancient hunter.

³ I abbreviate very much at this point. The hare is the Hag in disguise.

Iwain's entertainers. As in the *Iwain* (27), the hero has to fight a giant in the morning in order to rescue the daughter of the lord of the castle. The tying of the helpful animals at the request of the Old Hag is like Owain's shutting up his lion in the castle, whence it escaped over the battlements (27, in the Welsh), and like his putting the lion in a prison blocked up with stones, whence it broke through the wall (28, in the Welsh). A close parallel to this is in 29, in the *Iwain*, where the lion is put into a chamber and digs out under the sill. In all of these incidents, it is important to notice that the helpful beasts break loose at precisely the critical moment, and that without their aid the hero would be slain.

If the conclusions of the preceding chapters are sound, Owain in ancient Welsh tradition must have been credited with a helpful lion. In this recently collected folk-tale, we find a hero engaged in an enterprise similar to Owain's, and assisted by a hound, a horse, and a hawk, quite as Owain was by his lion. It is worth noticing that ancient Welsh tradition credits Owain with helpful ravens. These ravens are mentioned at the end of the *Lady of the Fountain*,¹ and play a chief part in the ancient tale called the *Dream of Rhonobwy*.² Perhaps in very early story Owain had a helpful horse, dog, and hawk (which admits of confusion with a raven), the three animals that regularly accompanied an ancient hunter.³ Some indication that the helpful lion in

¹ Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 42. Owain is mentioned in connection with ravens in the Gododin poems in the *Bk. of Aneurin*, Skene, *Four Books*, I, 374.

² Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 303 ff. Cf. Loth's note, p. 308.

³ Cf. *Conte du Mantel* (a twelfth century text), ed. Wulff, *Romania*, XIV, 358-380: "Yvain . . . qui tant ama chiens et oiseaus," vv. 496-99. Irish tales very often assign three animals of this sort to their hero. Cf. "The King of the Black Desert," Hyde, *An Sgéahuidhe Gaedhealach*, pp. 143 ff., with its refrain eight times repeated: "His dog at his heels, his falcon on his wrist, riding on his good black horse." It is to be noted that the

the *Ivain* was originally a dog has been noted.¹ Anyhow the interchange of helpful lion and helpful dog is an easy one. Campbell prints a variant of the "Old Hag of the Forest" obtained in Skye, in which the helpful beasts are a lion, a wolf and a falcon,² and another in which a lion, a dove, and a rat³ help the hero slay his marvellous foe.

The folk-tale, of which "The Old Hag" is a representative, has analogues in many lands,⁴ and is doubtless very

ravens, according to Welsh tradition, won Owain's victories for him: "Partout où il allait avec eux [the ravens], il était vainqueur," Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 42. It is precisely thus with the lion in the *Ivain*. Wherever Iwain goes with the lion he conquers. Mabon, Iwain's doublet, was a marvellous hunter, p. 695 above.

¹ See p. 697, note 2.

² *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, I, 96 ff.

³ I, 102 ff. Cf. Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, pp. 373-406, where the hero slays "Hung up Naked," a supernatural foe, by the aid of a Hound, a Hawk and an Otter.

⁴ "Knight Rose" in Jones and Kropf, *Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, pp. 54-58, is the closest of these analogues. Knight Rose slew three giants. He then met their dam, a witch who had killed his two older brothers. He released his brother's dogs. The witch was afraid of the dogs, and by their aid he slew her. He then restored his brothers to life. This story is manifestly an imperfect distortion of the theme better represented by "The Old Hag" (O. H.). (1) In it the [enchanted] hounds are not explained but turn up casually, while in O. H. to each of three sons the king gave, at the outset, a filly that could overtake anything, a hound that could, etc. (2) It lacks, though it implies, the preliminary adventures of the two older brothers. (3) Knight Rose pursues a hare and cooks it before a fire, but it is not explained, as in O. H., that the hare is the Hag, the dam of the giants, who took this shape to lure away the slayer of her sons. (4) Knight Rose actually sees the dogs of his brothers. O. H. much better has the dogs turned to stone and invisible.

Other analogues, for the most part even less symmetrically preserved than "Knight Rose," are: "Marya-Morevna," Curtin, *Myths and Folk Tales of the Russians*, pp. 203-17. The hero Ivan is helped by a raven, eagle, falcon, and by a horse that kicks the supernatural foe Koshchéi the Deathless: "Ivan, the Bird and the Wolf," Curtin, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff. A wolf eats Ivan's steed but *himself carries* Ivan better than any steed; cf. pp. 106 ff., 165 ff.: "The Three Brothers," Denton, *Serbian Folk-lore*, pp. 256-294: "How the Rájá's son won the Princess Labám," Stokes (Maive

old. It is not absurd to believe that it is older than the time of Chrétien, and was known then, as now, in Celtic legend.¹ There is a good chance that the resemblances noted between this tale and the *Ivain* are not accidental, but are due to the use by Chrétien of a Celtic *märchen*. Nobody would maintain that the folk-tales are founded on the incidents in the *Ivain*. In view of the other evidence found in preceding chapters, a conclusion that the folk-tales give a glimpse at some archaic themes that appeared in Chrétien's original, may perhaps be regarded as highly probable. The inference made at the beginning of this chapter is anyhow correct. In folk-tales describing the Otherworld journey, close parallels to incidents in the latter part of the *Ivain* appear.

VII.

Whoever admits, as most scholars now seem inclined to do, that any considerable part of the *Ivain* was based on a folk-tale, should, as a result of this discussion, regard it as almost certain that the entire romance was derived from some one particular tale.

Of course this original tale was not a Celtic fairy mistress story in an uncontaminated form. It had borrowed traits from the theme of a giant that holds a lady captive, and

S. H.), *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 153-163, where a tiger helps the hero slay two demons [W. Stokes in a note on p. 287 suggests an analogy to "Owain's fight with the giant in the *Lady of the Fountain*"]: "Ivan Kupiskas Søn," Friis, *Lappiske Eventyr og Folkesagn*, pp. 170 ff., a helpful dog, bear and wolf dig out under two clashing mountains to aid the hero: "The Tower of Ill Luck," Pedroso, *Portuguese Folk-Tales*, pp. 45 ff., helpful horse and lion; also "The Slices of Fish," *op. cit.*, pp. 100 ff., helpful horse and lion: cf. "La Cerva Fatata," *Il Pentamerone* (ninth tale of the first day).

¹ Helpful animals have been pointed out in LU and LL. See *Ivain A Study*, p. 131, note 2: Cuchulinn's steed Grey of Macha, and Conall's horse Dewy Red, fought along with their masters.

perhaps also from some other themes. Doubtless it contained features which had passed into Celtic from what has been called "the common stock of European folk-lore." That in no way affects the conclusions of the present investigation, which does not concern itself with ultimate origins, but only with the relatively immediate source used by Chrétien. That these features came to Chrétien, interwoven with what was essentially a Celtic tale, is all that the argument requires. The present discussion should make stronger than ever the belief of those who hold that almost every incident in Chrétien's *Ivain* was suggested by an ancient Celtic tale, dealing with the familiar theme of a journey to win a fairy mistress in the Other World. The special point which the present discussion, it is thought, renders almost certain, is, that a helpful lion must have been an integral part of the original used by Chrétien.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN.

XXI.—THE SCANSION OF PROSE RHYTHM.

Listening to an orator delivering a speech or to a reader reciting good prose, we may notice, running through the speaker's utterances, a characteristic and persistent tune. The voice rises and falls, increases and diminishes, moves now slowly, now rapidly, throws emphasis upon one phrase and takes it away from another, not waywardly and erratically but in accordance with some underlying pattern or scheme of movement. It is this tune or pattern, in some of its simpler and more obvious features, that I mean to consider in this paper. The pattern is the rhythm of prose, and to chart it and discover its law is to effect for prose what metrical scansion does for verse.

The tune of prose, I need hardly say, is highly complex and elusive. To attempt to analyze it is to court disaster. So many writers, indeed, have called the task impossible that anyone who now ventures to take it up owes to his fellow investigators either an apology or a justification. I shall attempt the latter.

What is, I suppose, the prevailing opinion about the tune of prose, is well expressed in the following passage from a recent review: "The proper beauty and essence of prose rhythm in all the great stylists is its freedom, its variety, its complexity, its avoidance of the strict forms of metre and repetition of metre; its effects, in short, are secured by a violation of metrical regularity, by an elaborate combination of movement and of numbers which evade scientific analysis." (*Nation*, vol. LXXIV, p. 211.) This but echoes the dictum of a distinguished writer: "Each phrase of each sentence," says Robert Louis Stevenson in his essay *On Some Technical Elements of Style in Literature*,

“like an air or a recitative in music, should be so artfully compounded out of long and short, out of accented and unaccented, as to gratify the sensual ear. And of this the ear is the sole judge. It is impossible to lay down laws. Even in our accentual and rythmic language no analysis can find the secret of the beauty of a verse; how much less then of those phrases, such as prose is built of, which obey no law but to be lawless and yet to please.”

To obscurantist opinions and arguments such as these we may reply as follows: No matter how free or how seemingly irregular the rhythm of good prose may be, one fact remains,—it was produced by literary artists. Had prose literature been written by the winds or the wild sea waves, there might still be a chance of discovering the law of its rhythm, for even natural phenomena have a certain periodicity. But since it was produced not by wayward natural forces but by human beings with a fine sense for symmetry and order, the case is much more hopeful. We may reason thus: Whatever proceeds from the mind of an artist, at least in his happier moods, may be presumed to be written *secundum artem*. If there is art in it there is in it also a principle of order. This principle of order the inquirer may hope eventually to come at, no matter how cunningly it may have been concealed. The search for the principle may be long and laborious, it may in particular cases be barren of results; but it is not in the nature of things useless or foredoomed to failure.

In any attempt to discover the regulative principle of prose rhythm, it is necessary first to distinguish sharply between prose and poetry. As I have elsewhere tried to demonstrate, these two great literary types, as regards both their origin and their character, are essentially disparate.¹ With respect to their origin we may note that they have arisen from markedly different situations in primitive society.

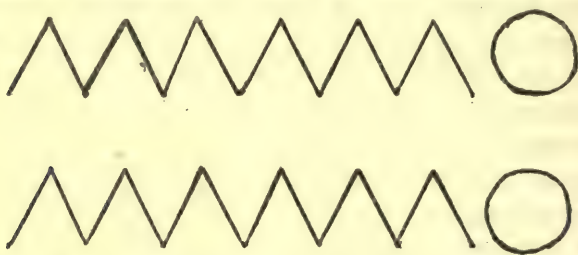
¹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX, 2.

Prose has sprung, I hold, from a situation in which primitive man used speech mainly for communication—a situation, that is, in which his chief interest in his words was in their effect upon his fellow-men. Prose is thus the lineal descendant of conversation, signals, warning cries, calls for help, and summonings to the feast or the fray. If prose was originally conveyance, poetry, on the other hand, has sprung from a state of things in which speech was used mainly for expression, that is, just to give vent to powerful feelings. Poetry, therefore, has its origin in communal dance and song, and perhaps also in the cries accompanying concerted labor. To quote my own formula, prose is expression for communication's sake, poetry is communication for expression's sake.

Out of these two distinct situations—the expressive and the communicative situation, if I may call them so—and out of the mental attitudes which naturally result from them, have arisen two distinct types of rhythm.

I will consider first, briefly, the rhythm of expression. This, as I have said, is associated in its origin mainly with the communal dance, where it is exhibited both in words and in bodily movements. Its characteristic form can perhaps best be noted in the stamping of feet, clapping of hands, nodding of the head, swaying of the body, etc., which accompany all modes of primitive dance and song. The dances of the Philippine natives at the St. Louis Exposition displayed this kind of rhythm reduced to its lowest terms. In the Igorrote village I observed a dance in which eight or ten savages took part. For music one of them beat a gong, others clicked and jangled pieces of metal together, and all chanted in unison a monotonous, wailing song; while a drummer, who sat apart from the dancers, beat continuously with his fingers upon a long horn-shaped drum. To these discordant sounds the dancers moved slowly in a circle, each

one revolving at the same time upon his own axis. As the natives went round they lifted and dropped their feet in a kind of solemn trot in exact time to the music. The man with the gong, as often as he came opposite the drummer, lifted his instrument on high and struck it a resounding blow. He then subsided into the measure of the jog-trot. Such was the dance. Represented diagrammatically the progress of the dancers and the pattern of the rhythm might take a form such as this :



the up-and-down lines representing the movements of the dancers' feet, the circle representing the stroke of the gong which marked the completion of the round. If the reader have a lively imagination he may see in these movements some resemblance to waves of light or of sound.

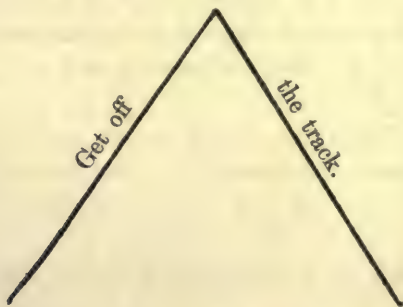
Assuming that the illustration is typical, we may infer that what constitutes the characteristic pattern of the expressional rhythm is the recurrence of brief units of sound or motion at regular intervals, the recurring units being so grouped as to show within small compass a measured progression. I will apply to this peculiar movement the term *nutation*—that is, a nodding.¹

¹ The word was suggested to me, not by Horace's *bonus dormitat Homerus*, but by the lines in Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* :

“Nodding their heads before her goes
The merry minstrelsy.”

Although the term is not as felicitous as I could wish, it will at any rate suggest the distinctive pattern of the rhythm.

If now we turn to the rhythm of communication we shall find a very different state of affairs. The exact nature of the difference will appear if we contrast two familiar experiences: one expressive, the other communicative. All know from recollections of childhood what it is to dance for joy, and some, in such moments of ecstasy, have, perhaps, fallen into poetry. These are the proper rhythms of expression. But now set in contrast to these the actions and speech appropriate to communication. Let the reader imagine a situation where the need of communication is urgent. A friend, let us say, is standing on the railroad track in front of a swiftly approaching train. In such an emergency one would not motion in the measured time of an orchestra conductor waving his baton, nor speak in iambic pentameter. Communicative utterance would trace a different pattern. The arms of the observer would impulsively shoot up in the air and come down again. The voice would perform a similar evolution. If one shouted, for example, "Get off the track," the voice would rise in pitch in a crescendo glide through the words "Get off," then descend in the words "the track." Such a movement might be represented graphically as follows:



Other examples of the communicative pattern may be found in the traditional calls to animals. The call "Co-o-o-

boss!" to cows and "Whoo-ee!" to pigs show the ascending and descending glide. Recently I heard under the window of my office a small boy trying to hold communication with his dog. The call was "Here, Vic! Here, Vic!" with a long upward glide on "Here," and an abrupt downward glide on "Vic!"

These few examples will perhaps illustrate sufficiently the main characteristics of the communicative rhythm. It is a rushing, surging, gliding movement, which starting at some minimum of force, rapidity, pitch, or suspense, rises to a climax in one or all of these particulars and then falls away again. I shall apply to this type of rhythm the term *motation*.

If the nutative pattern is compared to the undulations of sound-waves, the motative pattern may suggest a variety of analogues, none of them, I fear, very satisfactory. It may be compared to an ocean wave breaking upon the beach, running high up on the sand, and then sucking back again. Or it may be likened to the sound of rain on the roof made by the passing of a thunder shower,—first a few big drops, then more of them, then a rapid downfall, then the same phenomena in reverse order. Or a sudden gust of wind may give the same effect. The dead ivy leaves tap on the window-pane first timidly, then hurriedly, then in a desperate fright, then in degrees of diminishing excitement. The passing of a charge of cavalry might affect the ear in the same way.

Regarding the origin of this curious movement I am not prepared to speak with positiveness, but it may be explained physiologically by the fact that every innervation begins with a minimum of force, increases slowly or rapidly to a maximum, and then diminishes to the end as the nervous supply is exhausted.¹

¹ Good illustrations are the long whistle of surprise and spontaneous cheering at foot-ball games. The researches of Martens (*Über das Verhalten*

The two fundamental rhythms have now been described. It is upon them as upon a frame-work or skeleton that the elaborate structures of our modern prose and poetry have been erected. Poetry is mainly the elaboration of a simple nutative pattern. Prose is mainly the elaboration of a simple motative pattern.

von Vokalen und Diphthongen in gesprochenen Worten, *Zeitschrift f. Biologie*, vol. xxv, p. 295) and others show that isolated words and vowels are frequently pronounced in this way, that is, with circumflex glide. But all of the characteristics of the phenomenon cannot be accounted for by this hypothesis. As I suggested in a preceding paper, it seems likely that the speaker's expectation of a reply, and the hearer's response, have played some part in the shaping of the rhythm. If we might conceive of the earliest form of speech, or the precursor of speech, as a long ululation naturally rising in pitch and force with the rising emotion of the speaker (or ululator),—a view for which, in my opinion, much is to be said,—the earliest articulation of such an undifferentiated stream of utterance might well be caused by the response of a fellow-being. The response would check the ululation and make a significant break in it. After the break the cry would be expressive of a different mood, and with the relaxation of tension would naturally descend in pitch or force to the close.

The upward movement, if this hypothesis have any warrant, would then be connected with a state of tension, expectation and suspense, the downward movement with relaxation, discharge of nervous tension, completion of the impulse which led to the call, and so forth.

I am confirmed in this hypothesis by some phenomena of modern speech. Consider, for example, the case of a nurse calling to a child. The nurse lifts her voice in a shrill crescendo that mounts steadily in pitch through perhaps an octave. If now she suddenly discovers that the child is at her elbow, she breaks off abruptly and in some phrase such as "Oh, there you are," descends to the tonic note.

Illiterate conversation is usually of this type. The speaker begins the sentence excitedly, his voice mounting in pitch and increasing in rapidity with his eagerness to convey his idea. But midway in his progress if he sees that his hearers know what he is driving at and guess what is coming next, his speech trails away into an incoherent muttering. Very likely he closes the sentence with such a phrase as "You know what I mean," glad to escape the labor of rounding his period.

A similar phenomenon, as Mr. E. E. Hale has noted in his *My Double and How He Undid Me*, may be observed in the conversation of cultivated persons at a crowded reception.

We have next to consider the scansion of the motative type.

The question naturally arises at this point, What is meant by scansion? As it is used with reference to verse (and I am not aware that anyone hitherto has applied it seriously to prose), we may distinguish between a larger and a more restricted sense of the term. In its broadest sense it may be applied to any scheme of graphic outlines, symbols, etc., intended to exhibit the phenomena of metre.¹ But I shall not use the term in this broad sense. My present interest is in the special form known as 'routine scansion.' In this kind of scansion the sense of the line is disregarded. The words are so read as to exaggerate the difference between the strong and the weak stresses, and the syllables are separated in a seemingly unnatural manner in order to make quite obvious the divisions of the feet.

Opinions differ regarding the value and normality of this kind of scansion. Sievers speaks of it as a hybrid thing; Meumann, as something "counter to the nature of poetic material." Mr. Liddell (*An Introduction to the Study of Poetry*, p. 176) printing a line from one of Shakespeare's sonnets as it would be read in routine scansion, says that "no one would naturally utter these English words with the emphasis we have indicated." "We have been accustomed," says Robert Louis Stevenson, "to describe the heroic line as five iambic feet, and to be filled with pain and confusion, whenever, as by the conscientious school-boy, we have heard our own description put in practice.

"All night' | the dread' | less an' | gel un' | pursued'

goes the school-boy; but though we close our ears, we cling to our definition, in spite of its proved and naked insuffi-

¹ Some highly elaborate systems of symbolism, such as that of A. J. Ellis, have been devised for this purpose.

ciency.”¹ According to A. J. Ellis (*English Pronunciation*²), “the routine scansion with the accent on alternate syllables is known only to grammarians, having never been practiced by poets.” On the other hand, Mr. J. B. Mayor in his *Chapters on English Metre*, p. 6, spiritedly defends the practice, both on educational and on scientific grounds. “What I would affirm,” he says, “is that it is impossible for the routine scansion to die out as long as there are children and common people, and poetry which commends itself to them. And I would also venture to say that it *ought* not to die out as long as there are scientific men who will endeavor to bring clearness and precision into our notions about poetry as about other things. Routine scansion is the natural form of poetry to a child, as natural to it as the love of sweet things or bright colors: it is only through the routine scansion that its ear can be educated to appreciate in time a more varied and complex rhythm. No one who knows children can doubt this. If example is wanted, it may be found in Ruskin’s *Praeterita*, p. 55, where the author speaks of a prolonged struggle between his childish self and his mother ‘concerning the accent of the *of* in the lines:

“Shall any following spring revive
The ashes of the urn?”

I insisting partly in childish obstinacy, and partly in true instinct for rhythm (being wholly careless on the subject both of urns and their contents) on reciting it with an accented *of*. It was not till after three weeks’ labor that my mother got the accent lightened on the *of* and laid on the *ashes*, to her mind.’ But any parent may test it for himself in children who have a taste for poetry.³ Whatever effort

¹ *On Style in Literature, Contemporary Review*, vol. 47, p. 554.

² Part III, p. 929.

³ The test may profitably be applied also to adults, some of the most eminent poets being like children in this respect, as the following passages

may be made to teach them to observe the true verbal accents and the stops, and attend to the meaning and logic of the line, they will insist on singing it to a chant of their own, disregarding everything but the metrical accent, and are made quite unhappy if compelled to say or read it like prose. And, after all, is this not the right sense of the *μήνιν ἄειδε*, and 'arma cano'? is it not the fact that the earliest recitation of poetry was really what we should consider a childish sing-song? This becomes still more probable when we remember that music and dancing were frequent accompaniments of the earliest kinds of poetry, the effect of which would undoubtedly be to emphasize and regulate the beats or accents of the line; just as in church-singing now the verbal accent is ignored, if it is opposed to the general rhythmical character of the verse."¹

Reserving opinion regarding the educational value of routine scansion, I find this argument entirely to my liking, especially that part of it in which Professor Mayor suggests that the pleasure which children feel is due to the revival of the simple rhythms of the dance and song. This I take to be the true explanation both of the method of reading and of the accompanying motions. In routine scansion we

will show: "He [Mr. C. K. Paul] confirmed on Tennyson's own authority, the well-known story of his having, on that celebrated voyage to Copenhagen with Sir Donald Currie, unconsciously beat time to one of his own poems, which he was mouthing forth, upon the shoulder of the Empress of all the Russias!" (Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, *Notes from a Diary*.) "While Poe was in Richmond some of his friends got up a reading for his benefit, and I heard him read the 'Raven' and some other poems before a small audience in one of the parlors of the Exchange Hotel. In spite of my admiration of Poe I was not an uncritical listener, and I have retained the impression that he did not read very well. His voice was pleasant enough, but he emphasized the rhythm unduly—a failing common, I believe, to poets endowed with a keen sense of the music of their own verse." (B. L. Gildersleeve, in J. A. Harrison's *A Group of Poets and their Haunts*.)

¹ Cf. on this subject the article *A Phonetic Theory of English Prosody* by Jas. Lecky, in *Proceedings of the English Philological Society*, Dec. 19, 1884.

turn savages for the time being. As we chant the verses and feel the old crude rhythms surge through us, we nod the head, tap the foot, and beat time with the hand quite in the fashion of our primitive ancestors.

If then the routine scansion of verse reveals the nutative pattern, that is, the characteristic beat of the syllables of the foot and the grouping of the feet in the line, the routine scansion of prose should in like manner reveal a pattern of motation. The task of identifying the motative rhythm is made difficult, however, by the fact that motation works with somewhat different elements. In verse, at least in Germanic verse, the principal element of the metre is stress or energy. The other elements—pause, pitch, quality, number, quantity, and rate of movement—are subsidiary. But in the shaping of the motative rhythm the most important element of speech appears to be not stress but pitch.¹ Next in the order of their importance come pause, rate of movement, stress, quality, number, and quantity.

That stress is fundamental for verse rhythm and pitch for prose rhythm may be shown by a simple experiment. Read a specimen of verse by means of the vowels only, observing the stress and the pauses, but eliminating all of the other elements. Listening to such a recital one will have no hesitation in deciding that the original was in metre. And

¹ A different opinion is implied in the italicised words of the following (from A. J. Ellis's article *Accent and Emphasis* in *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1873-74, p. 132): "'Even speaking,' which is cultivated by modern actors, consists in delivering verse without any variety of pitch due to its construction. *This is reducing the intonation of verse to the intonation of prose, and leaving the distinction solely to their individual fixed and free periodicities of force.*" But to my ear 'even speaking' damages prose far more than it damages poetry. Examples of prose pronounced without change of pitch may be found in calls for trains in large railway stations, in the rapid reading of proof to a copy-holder in newspaper offices, and in the cicada-like drone of legislative reading-clerks.

if the listener is at a little distance he will say that you are reciting poetry in a mumbling sing-song. Now read a piece of prose in the same way. The rhythm will elude the most careful ear. The sounds may be compared to the clicking of a telegraph instrument in the ear of one who does not understand the Morse alphabet. But read the same passage with attention to the natural rise and fall of pitch, and the rhythm of prose is at once suggested.

Although such crude tests are inconclusive, it may fairly be inferred that the prose foot or organic unit of prose rhythm consists of an upward followed by a downward glide.¹ To this movement I shall give the name of *motative*

¹ This conception is not new, as the following passages will show ; but it has been applied heretofore, I believe, almost exclusively to the periodic sentence.

"As a wild beast gathers itself together for the attack, so should discourse gather itself together as in a coil in order to increase its vigor." (Demetrius, *On Style*, § 8. Trans. by Rhys Roberts.)

"Ogni Clausula come ha principio casi ha mezzo e fine : nel principio si va movendo, e ascende : nel mezzo quasi stanca dalla fatica, stando in pie si pasa alquanto ; poi discende, e vola al fine per acquetarsi."—Speroni, *Dialogo della Rhetorica* (Aldus, 1643), fol. 149.

"One rise in every sentence, one gentle descent, that is the law for French composition.—Whereas now amongst us English, not only is the too general tendency of our sentences toward hyperbolic length, but it will be found continually that, instead of one rise and one corresponding fall—one *arsis* and one *thesis*—there are many. Flux and reflux, swell and cadence, that is the movement for a sentence ; but our modern sentences agitate us by rolling fires after the fashion of those internal earthquakes that, not content with one throe, run along spasmodically in a long succession of intermitting convulsions." (DeQuincey, *Essay on Style*, paragraph 22.)

"To this period of individualism an end was put by Dryden, whose example in codifying and reforming was followed for nearly a century. During this period . . . a general principle was established that the cadence as well as the sense of a sentence should rise gradually toward the middle, should if necessary continue then on a level for a brief period, and should then descend in a gradation corresponding to its accent." (Saintsbury, *Specimens of English Prose Style*, p. xxxvi.)

"The true business of the literary artist is to plait or weave his mean-

arc. It will be assumed as a working hypothesis that all prose is made up of such arcs arranged in sequence, and that the tune of prose is determined by their character and inter-relation in somewhat the same way that a verse is determined by the character and inter-relation of metrical feet.

It will be understood, of course, that the motative arc does not represent the true voice-movements of appreciative reading. Far from it. In actual speech nearly every syllable has a quite peculiar modulation, and the number of glides is almost infinite.¹ But just as the routine scansion of verse, by disregarding the fine shades of the emotional reading, reduces poetry to a simple, monotonous pattern of strong and weak stresses, so a routine scansion of prose reduces the successive sentences of a prose composition to a crude diagram of rising and falling glides. It drops the minor deviations out of sight in order to chart the general trend.² This relation of actual speech movements to routine

ing, involving it around itself; so that each sentence, by successive phrases, shall first come into a kind of knot, and then after a moment of suspended meaning, solve and clear itself." (Stevenson, *On Some Technical Elements of Style in Literature. Works*, vol. xxii, p. 247.) The similarity of Stevenson's conception to that of Demetrius is worthy of notice.

¹To construct a simple apparatus for tracing speech-glides, stretch a violin-string over a strip of board about twenty inches long, supporting the string at each end by means of triangular bridges about one-fourth inch high. Tune the string to E and mark on the board under it the intervals of the musical scale in tones, half-tones, and quarter-tones. With such an instrument, by sliding the left forefinger up and down the string, plucking the latter meanwhile with the right, one may follow quite accurately the most intricate movements of the voice, provided, of course, that one possesses a sensitive ear. The movements of the left hand may be recorded by any one of several devices used for this purpose in psychological laboratories.

²There are writings, both in verse and in prose, which lend themselves so readily to routine scansion that they can hardly be read naturally in any other way. In verse *Mother Goose*, Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, and the *New England Primer*, in prose the works of Gibbon and Samuel Johnson, furnish abundant examples. Of Johnson's *Rambler*, Hazlitt (*On the Prose Style of Poets*) writes as follows:

scansion is shown in the figure below, the dotted line representing the voice, the black lines the scansion.



Read in this way prose bears some resemblance to the ranting speech of a Fourth of July orator.

Assuming, then, that the motative arc is a diagrammatic representation of a typical upward and downward movement of the voice that occurs in all prose speech, we may next proceed to inquire into its kinds and to exhibit some of its sequences.

Two principal types of arc may be distinguished, one differing from the other mainly in the location of the pause.

To the first type I shall apply the term *suspensive*. In the suspensive type the voice, beginning on the natural keynote, rises in a glide or series of glides to a certain maximum. Here a pause occurs to which we may give the name *medial pause*. The voice then begins again at the altitude where it left off or slightly below (sometimes,

“There is a tune in it, a mechanical recurrence of the same rise and fall in the clauses of his sentences, independent of any reference to the meaning of the text, or progress or inflection of the sense. There is the alternate roll of his cumbrous cargo of words : his periods complete their revolutions at certain stated intervals, let the matter be longer or shorter, rough or smooth, round or square, different or the same.”

though rarely, above), and descends in a glide or series of glides to the tonic. Usually the upward glide is marked by a crescendo of force and an increasing rate of movement, the downward glide by a decrescendo and decreasing rate of movement; but these accompaniments are subject to variation. I give a few simple examples, indicating the medial pause by a vertical line :

When he narrated | the scene was before you.—(R. L. Stevenson, *Pastoral*, p. 97.)

The consequences of this battle | were just of the same importance as the revolution itself.—(Webster, *Second Bunker Hill Oration*.)

The intercourse of society,—its trade, its religion, its friendships, its quarrels, | is one wide, judicial investigation of character.—(Emerson, *Over-Soul*.)

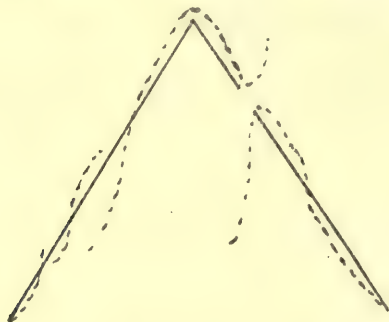
To take Macaulay out of literature and society and put him in the House of Commons | is like taking the chief physician out of London during a pestilence.—(Sydney Smith, *Memoir*, 1 : 265.)

In the second type of arc there is no pause at the point of maximum pitch. The voice glides up to the apex, then, without a break, glides down again for a certain distance. The medial pause comes in the descending segment of the arc, occurring normally at an interval of a fourth (or a minor fourth) below the maximum. Since the effect of this interval is to give to the cadence a plaintive quality, I have chosen for the second type of arc the name *pathetic*.¹ The

¹ This type seems to be hinted at in the following passages from Dionysius, *De Compositione Verborum* : "In Thucydides there is a passage in the speech delivered in the public assembly of the Plataeans which has a graceful arrangement and is full of pathos. It runs *ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾗτε*. But change the arrangement and dispose the clauses in this manner : *ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾗτε ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς*. Do the same grace and the same pathos still remain, when the clauses are arranged in this way? No one would assert it."

following sentence will illustrate it; the caret being used to indicate the highest point of the arc:

"His passions on the contrary, were violent even to[^] slaying | against all who leaned to whiggish principles."—(Macaulay, *Samuel Johnson*.) The arc corresponding to this sentence may be represented diagrammatically thus:



The first segment of the arc moves upward with steadily increasing intensity and rapidity through the phrase "even to;" after which, in the word "slaying" it descends with diminishing rapidity through an interval of a fourth. Then, after a pause of appreciable length, the sentence descends with diminishing speed to the close.

Other examples are as follows:

It was a treacherous[^] interval | of real summer.

He expresses what all[^] feel | but all cannot say.—(Newman, *Lecture on Literature*.)

Its secret alchemy turns to potable[^] gold | the poisonous waters which flow from death through life.—(Shelley, *Defence of Poetry*.)

From these two primary types¹ by compounding them and by varying their constituent elements, may be produced,

¹A third type in which the medial pause is lacking altogether, should perhaps be added, but I am not sure that it may not resolve itself ultimately into one of the other types. If it exists, it occurs but rarely.

I think, all of the more frequent rhythms of English prose. I will consider first the compounds, and then a few of the varieties.

The first type of compound arc, and the most common, is that which begins with the pathetic form and closes with the suspensive. Gliding up to the apex, the voice drops through an interval of a fourth without pausing; but instead of descending further it rises again, pauses at the maximum, and then descends to the tonic. Examples follow:

An infinite[^]joy | is lost to the world | by the want of culture of this spiritual endowment.—(W. E. Channing.)

It is therefore a happy[^]circumstance | for our frail species | that it is a crime which no man can possibly commit.—(Macaulay, *Disabilities of the Jews*.)

A second type of compound arc is formed by joining the pathetic to the suspensive type:

The office of Paymaster General during an expensive war was, in that age, | perhaps the most lucrative[^]situation | in the gift of the government.—(Macaulay, *Earl of Chatham*.)

Here the voice rises to the apex at "age," pauses, descends through "perhaps the most," rises through "lucrative," descends a fourth through "situation," then pauses, and finally descends through the concluding phrase.

The double suspensive and the double pathetic types also occur.

Any one of these types is susceptible of many variations. The most important are as follows:

1. The length of the segments may be varied at pleasure.
2. The number of phrasal sections in either segment may vary.
3. Minor pauses may occur in either segment.
4. Correspondence of words, phrases, and pauses may give a special character to the arc.

By means of these and other more complex variations a large number of sub-types may be formed. These, however,

I shall not attempt to treat at this time. Instead I will pass to a brief consideration of certain rhythmical effects produced by sequences of the primary types.

I shall not pretend that I have detected all of the prevailing sequences. Indeed I have detected very few of them. The possible number of combinations is so great and writers of prose are so artful in their variations upon them, that the investigation must needs progress slowly. But I can point out some few sequences which occur over and over again in all writers, and which whenever they occur give to the prose a characteristic tune. I will chose for my illustrations very simple and obvious examples.

1. The suspensive type followed by the pathetic is one of the most common. Good illustrations are seen in the following passages :

“Trust | thyself. Every^heart | vibrates to that iron string.”—(Emerson, *Self-Reliance*.)

“Though he slay me, | yet will I trust in him ; but I will maintain my own^ways | before him.”—(*Job*, xiii, 15.)

An example of the same progression, but one in which the segments of the arcs are more extended, is the following from Bagehot's essay, *Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning* :

“And we must remember that the task which Shakespeare undertook | was the most difficult which any poet has ever attempted, and that it is a task in which after a million^ efforts, | every other poet has failed.

Another illustration may be found in the last two sentences of the famous passage from Pitt's *Speech on the Excise Bill* :

“The poorest man may in his cottage | bid defiance to all the force of the crown. It may be frail ; its roof may shake ; the wind may blow through it ; the storm may enter,— | but the King of England cannot enter ; all his^forces | dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement : ”

A long suspensive arc followed by a short pathetic arc is characteristic of Newman :

I do not claim for him, as such, any great depth of thought, or breadth of view, or philosophy, or sagacity, or knowledge of human nature, or experience of human life, though these additional gifts he may have, and the more he has of them the greater he is ; | but I ascribe to him, as his characteristic gift, in a large sense the faculty of expression. He is master of the two-fold_^ Logos, | the thought and the word, distinct, but inseparable from each other.—Newman, *Idea of a University*.

In the following from Robert Louis Stevenson's *Prince Otto*, the sequence is used to imitate the sound of the wind :

The sound of the wind in the forest swelled and sank, |
and drew near them with a running rush,
and died away_^ and away | in the distance into fainting
whispers.

Somewhat less common is the sequence of pathetic and suspensive : ¹

He uttered a deep, voiceless, impassioned_^ outcry | that
she might not die young nor he die young ;

that the struggles and hardships of life, now seeming to
be ended, | might never begirt him or her so closely again.—
(Allen, *Choir Invisible*, Chap. III.)

¹ Rhetoricians who delight in correcting the prose of distinguished writers, sometimes display a singular obtuseness to the music of the rhythm. The following is a case in point. The author of a book entitled *Errors in English Composition*, selects for correction the following passage from an article by Mr. John Morley in the *Fortnightly Review*. Rhythmically considered the passage consists of a suspensive arc followed by a pathetic :

“On the whole it may be said that the change from anonymous to signed articles | has followed the course of most changes. It has not led to one-half either of the evils_^ or of the advantages | that its advocates and its opponents foretold.” The author's quarrel is with the second sentence. On the ground that it is not sufficiently clear, he causes it to read as follows : “It has not led to one-half either of the evils foretold by its opponents | or of the advantages foretold by its advocates.” But if he has made the sentence clearer he has at the same time destroyed the original rhythm. He has changed the arc from the pathetic type to the suspensive.

Addison readily_^undertook | the proposed task,
a task which to so good a Whig | was probably a pleasure.—
(Macaulay, *Addison*.)

Following are a few examples of more complex sequences. The first begins with the suspensive type, passes to the pathetic, then closes with a compound of pathetic and suspensive :

To take delight in that genius, so human, so kindly, so musical in expression | requires it may be said, no long preparation.

The art of Theocritus scarcely needs to be_^illustrated | by any description of the conditions among which it came to perfection.

It is always_^impossible | to analyze into its component parts | the genius of a poet.—(Lang, *Theocritus and His Age*, p. xiii.)

In the next example the suspensive type is followed by the pathetic-suspensive and this again by the pathetic.

Thus a Greek of the old school | must have despaired of Greek poetry.

There was_^nothing | (he would have said) | to evoke it ;
no dawn_^of liberty | could flush this silent Memnon into song.—(Andrew Lang, *Theocritus and His Age*.)

The following passage from *Jane Eyre* opens with the compound type ; the remaining arcs are alternately pathetic and suspensive.

A waft_^of wind | came sweeping down the laurel walk, |
and trembled through the boughs of the chestnut ;

it wandered away_^—away | —to an indefinite distance—it died.

The nightingale's voice was then the only_^voice | of the hour :

in listening to it | I again wept.—(*Jane Eyre*, Chap. 23.)

The next passage, from Landor, opens and closes with the pathetic type. The intervening arc is compound.

There are no fields_^ of amaranth | on this side of the grave ;
 there are no_^ voices, | O Rhodope, | that are not soon mute,
 however tuneful ;

there is no name, with whatever emphasis of passionate
 love_^ repeated, | of which the echo is not faint at last.

In the following paragraph the first two sentences are
 suspensive ; the third sentence is a pathetic arc of the same
 rhythm as the last one in the preceding selection ; the sequence
 closes with a brief suspensive arc. The second sentence
 appears to mount above the first because of the lengthening
 of the first segment of the arc.

Certainly at some hour, though not perhaps your hour, |
 the waiting waters will stir ;

in some shape though not perhaps the shape you dreamed,
 which your heart loved and for which it bled, | the healing
 herald will descend ;

the crippled and the blind and the dumb_^ and the possessed
 | will be led to bathe.

Herald, | come quickly.—(*Villette*, Chap. xvii.)

The following from Southey's *Life of Nelson* shows an
 alternation of compound and suspensive arcs :

The most trium_^phant death | is that of the martyr ;
 the most awful | that of the martyred patriot ;
 the most_^splendid | that of the hero in the hour of victory ;
 and if the chariot and the horse of fire had been vouch-
 safed for Nelson's translation | he could scarcely have departed
 in a brighter blaze of glory.

Finally I give a specimen in which two compound arcs
 are followed by two suspensive arcs, the passage closing with
 the pathetic type :

There is another_^isle | in my collection, | the memory of
 which besieges me.

I put a whole_^family | there | in one of my tales ;

And later on, threw upon its shores and condemned to
 several days of rain and shellfish, | the hero of another.

The ink | is not yet faded ;
The sound of the sentences | is still in my mind's ear ;
And I am under a spell | to write of that island again.—
(R. L. Stevenson, *Memoirs of an Islet*.)

In bringing my paper to a close I will make two general observations :

First, it is apparent that my analysis of prose rhythm, even if it be correct, has hardly stormed of this philological Port Arthur the outermost fortress. Stress, alliteration, distribution of phrasal sections, balance of word and phrase, these and other elements have been touched upon briefly or not at all. But they have not been overlooked or underestimated. They have been put aside in order to direct attention sharply to a single feature—the prose foot or unit of scansion.

Second, I am well aware that objections may be made to my method of scanning—and made with some force—on the ground that it is purely subjective. If others do not scan these sentences as I have scanned them, what becomes of my theory? To this objection I can only reply that I have scanned according to my feeling and my instincts. A considerable number of other scholars will, I hope, have the same feeling and will scan in approximately the same way. If they do, then there is sense in my way of scanning. However individuals here and there may differ with me, my way has sanction ; it cannot be wholly wrong. On the other hand if my scansion rings false to every one, then I shall be forced to concede either that I have not made myself clear, because of defects in the symbolism and mode of explanation, or (reluctantly) that my sense of rhythm is defective. In the latter case this paper will have, I hope, at least a transitory interest as a document in pathological psychology.

FRED NEWTON SCOTT.

XXII.—THOMAS KYD AND THE UR-HAMLET.

For some reason, the dramatist Kyd almost entirely dropped out of public notice during the 17th and 18th centuries. This is the more remarkable when we remember the popular favor which greeted certainly the *Spanish Tragedy* and perhaps other of his productions during the last decade of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century. It was one of the achievements of 19th century scholarship to restore Kyd to his place among the great Elizabethan dramatists. In this restoration, a single paragraph from Nash's prefatory Epistle to Greene's *Menaphon* has played a conspicuous rôle. It has now come to be all but universally accepted by scholars that this paragraph refers to Kyd, and in it are found not a few otherwise unknown facts of his literary history. This paragraph also has the distinction of containing the first reference in the English language to Hamlet; and a study of the context has led students to the opinion that, according to Nash, Kyd was the author of the Ur-Hamlet.

The two questions may be kept distinct: 1st, is Nash, in this paragraph, referring to Kyd and to no one else; 2nd, if so, does Nash mean to ascribe the Ur-Hamlet to Kyd? While there is practical unanimity of opinion among students of the subject it may be well to quote their conclusions.

Malone¹ enjoys the distinction of being the pioneer. "Not having seen the first edition of the tract till a few years ago, I formerly doubted whether the foregoing passage (in Nash) referred to the tragedy Hamlet; but the word Hamlets being printed in a different character from the rest, I have no

¹ *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, edited by the late Edward Malone, 1821.

longer any doubt on the subject." Vol. II, p. 371. "Perhaps the original Hamlet was written by Thomas Kyd." P. 372.

Widgery:¹ "We see, then, that this Epistle will refer to Kyd far better than it will to Shakespeare." P. 103.

Fleay² remarks, p. 119: "In the address prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*, in a passage in which Nash has been satirising Kyd and another as void of scholarship and unable to read Seneca in the original, etc."

A similar opinion is held by Mr. Sidney Lee.³ "Kyd's career doubtless suggested to Nash (in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon*) his description of those who, leaving 'the trade, etc.' When Nash proceeds to point out that Seneca's famished followers imitate the 'Kydde in Aesope' he is apparently punning on the dramatist's name."

Professor McCallum⁴ closes his discussion with these words:—"Unless or until this piece of evidence (that Kyd translated Italian) is explained away, Kyd's claim to the original Hamlet must be considered to have the preference" (over Shakespeare). P. 295.

No one has done so much to make plausible this whole Nash-Kyd theory as Sarrazin.⁵ P. 98: "Aus mehreren Gründen ist also die Hypothese, dass der Ur-Hamlet von Shakespeare selbst verfasst sei, ganz unhaltbar." P. 99: "Es ist jetzt möglich geworden, mit grosser wahrschein-

¹ *The First Quarto Edition of Hamlet*, 1603, London, 1880, Herford and Widgery.

² *A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of Shakespeare*, Frederick Gard Fleay, London, 1886.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, article *Thomas Kyd*.

⁴ *The Authorship of the Early Hamlet*, pp. 282-295, in *An English Miscellany*, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1901.

⁵ First in *Englische Studien*, vol. xv, and *Anglia*, vols. xii and xiii; and later in his *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, von Gregor Sarrazin, Berlin, 1892. All citations in this article from Sarrazin are from his *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*.

lichkeit objectiv zu erweisen, was Malone, Widgery, u. a. mehr nach subjectivem Gefühl, instinctiv richtig erriethen."

Professor J. Schick,¹ p. xvi, remarks: "The 'Kidde in Aesope'—this is indeed, I think, calling things by their names; surely Nash points here with his very finger to the person of Kyd." "We have no absolute proof that it (the paragraph from Nash) refers to Kyd and no one else; but unless as much light can be thrown on the passage, and as many items can be made to fit it, by substituting any other than Kyd's name, I think we may be allowed to interpret it in some such way as indicated above."

The crowning expression of the growing interest in Kyd is seen in the work of Boas.² In the introduction, p. xlv, we read, "It has been shown that, unless we are misled by a well-nigh incredible conspiracy of coincidences, Kyd must be the object of Nash's attack; and, consequently, the author of the early Hamlet-tragedy to which he derisively alludes." P. xlix: "Evidences of Kyd's authorship of it (Ur-Hamlet) have become practically conclusive."

Lastly, Schröer³ incidentally gives his opinion on the subject without giving any reason for dissenting from the position of Sarrazin and others. P. 88: "Die Hypothese eines Kyd'schen Ur-Hamlet scheint mir aber nach dem Gesagten noch mehr in der Luft zu schweben, wie die ganze Kyd'sche dramaturgische Gestalt selbst." P. 59: "Ich gehe auf die Hamletfrage hier nicht näher ein, da dies ohne Auseinandersetzung mit der gehaltvollen Arbeit Sarrazin's mit deren Resultaten ich vorläufig nicht übereinstimmen kann, nicht möglich wäre, und dies gehört eigentlich nicht

¹ *The Spanish Tragedy*, edited by J. Schick, J. M. Dent & Co., London, 1898.

² *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, edited by Frederick S. Boas, M. A., Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1901.

³ *Ueber Titus Andronicus*, Dr. M. M. Arnold Schröer, Marburg, 1891.

hierher." Whether Schröer has changed his views with the years we do not know. I have placed his name out of its chronological order to accentuate the fact that, so far as I know, he alone has dissented from the opinion universally held by scholars since the time of Malone. It is the purpose of this paper to present the arguments put forth by Sarrazin, Schick, Boas, and others in favor of Nash's reference to Kyd's authorship of the early Hamlet; to criticise these arguments and to present new evidence against the entire theory. How far my reasons are identical with those which led Schröer in 1891 to be skeptical, I do not know.

The sole source of external evidence for many of the supposed facts of Kyd's life and in favor of his authorship of the Ur-Hamlet is the 8th paragraph in Nash's Epistle introducing Greene's *Menaphon*.

But least I might seeme with these night crowes, *Nimis curiosus in aliena republica*, I'll turne backe to my first text, of studies of delight, and talk a little in friendship with a few of our triuiall translators. It is a common practise now a daies amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through every arte and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of Nouerint whereto they were borne, and busie themselues with the endeuors of Art, that could scarcelie latinize their necke-verse if they should haue neede; yet English Seneca read by candle light yeildes manie good sentences, as Bloud is a beggar, and so foorth; and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say, handfulls of tragical speaches. But 'o grieffe! *tempus edax rerum*, what's that will last alwaies? The sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance be drie, and Seneca let bloud line by line and page by page, at length must needes die to our stage: which makes his famisht followers to imitate the Kidde in Aesop, who enamored with the Foxes newfangles, forsooke all hopes of life to leape into a new occupation; and these men renouncing all possibilities of credit or estimation, to intermeddle with Italian translations; wherein how poorelie they haue plodded (as those that are neither prouenzall men, nor able to distinguish of Articles), let all indifferent Gentlemen that haue trauailed in that tongue, discern by their twopenie pamphlets; and no meruaile though their home-borne mediocritie be such in this matter; for what can be hoped of those, that thrust Elisium into hell, and haue not learned so long as they haue liued in the spheares, the just measure of the Horizon without an hexameter. Sufficeth them to bodge up a blanke verse

with ifs and ands, and other while for recreation after their candle stuffe, hauing starched their beardes most curiouslie, to make a peripateticall path into the inner parts of the Citie, and spend two or three howers in turning ouer French Doudie, where they attract more infection in one minute, than they can do eloquence all dayes of their life, by conuersing whith anie authors of like argument.

From this paragraph it has been argued: 1. That though the plural is used, the author has but one person in mind; 2. That the details here given agree with the otherwise known facts of Kyd's life; 3. That certain references here to *The Spanish Tragedy* show Nash is referring to Kyd. I shall take up these arguments, quoting the words of the chief defenders of the theory. I shall then, 4, name some points of disagreement between the passage and the known facts of Kyd's life.

I. As to the plural. "Wenn auch Manches in diesen Anspielungen dunkel ist und vielleicht immer dunkel bleiben wird, so geht doch soviel zunächst mit ziemlicher Sicherheit daraus hervor, dass sie sich nicht auf mehrere, sondern auf eine einzige Person beziehen; denn es ist eine ganz einheitliche und individuell bestimmte Characterzeichnung, die darin entworfen wird. Aehnlich spricht Nash in derselben Epistel von 'idiot art masters' und 'vain-glorious tragedians' und meint damit nur Christopher Marlowe; der plural dient nur zur Verhüllung des persönlichen Angriffs." Sarrazin, p. 100. "The use of the plural, . . . is evidently a mere rhetorical device, as so elaborate an indictment could only be aimed at a single personage." Boas, p. xx.

No one has thought it worth while to suggest any motive, plausible or otherwise, for Nash's concealing his personal opinion of Kyd. Certainly it was not his own native reserve nor over-sensitiveness at the pain he might cause another. Nor could it be, so far as we know, on social grounds or financial, as these men belonged to rival theatrical

companies.¹ Moreover, savage attacks upon literary fellow-workers were then in vogue.² Besides, the argument of Sarrazin that Nash may be interpreted as alluding here to one person while still using the plural because earlier in the Epistle he uses the plural and means no one but Marlowe, does not clinch the point at all; for, the second and third paragraphs of the Epistle, containing the supposed references to Marlowe, are just as applicable to Peele as to Marlowe, and hence Sarrazin has no right to say Nash here means "nur Christopher Marlowe." Furthermore it is interesting to note that Fleay (p. 119), while thinking the paragraph is aimed at Kyd, sees at the words "what can be hoped of those, etc.," a turning from Kyd to Marlowe. And also Professor Thorndike,³ while holding that Nash's allusions fit Kyd better than any one else, still thinks "it may possibly refer to more than one dramatist."⁴ That is to say, the paragraph evidently does not so unmistakably point to one person as even to convince those who see in it a reference to Kyd. The use of the plural without any adequate motive for concealment will have to be counterbalanced by clear personal reference to an individual, if we are to think the paragraph refers to one person and to one person only. Whether an interpretation of the paragraph making it refer to one person only, can satisfy the context will be discussed later.

¹ Fleay, pp. 10-15.

² If it can be shown that the reference is to Kyd, then it is quite possible, as Prof. Manly has suggested to me, that Nash (contrary to the view of Sarrazin) had no intention of concealment, that his thrusts at the dramatist would be easily recognized by those to whom they were addressed and that Nash chose this method, rather than the more direct one, purely for rhetorical effect.

³ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xvii, p. 290.

⁴ It may be worthy of note that those who see in the paragraph references to one or more dramatists besides Kyd are confronted by the additional difficulty of determining to what one Nash means to give the credit for the Ur-Hamlet.

II. Agreement of details of paragraph with otherwise known facts of Kyd's life.

a. "Ferner trifft es zu, dass jener Dichter zum Beruf des 'Noverint' geboren war, denn Thomas Kyds Vater war ja, wie wir gesehen haben, Notar, also einer, der solche mit 'Noverint universi' beginnende Urkunden abfasste; ob er selbst diesen Beruf erwählt und nachher aufgegeben hatte, wissen wir nicht, können es aber wegen der Vorliebe für Process-Scenen und einiger juristischer Kunstausdrücke, wie 'Ejectio firma,' 'sub-forma pauperis,' vermuthen. Sarrazin, p. 100. "Thomas Kyd's father being a scrivener, the son was indeed literally 'born to the trade of noverint.'" Schick, p. x. "Kyd, the scrivener's son, was certainly born to the trade, and Nash seems to imply that he followed it for a time, before leaving it to 'busie' himself with the 'indeuors' of art." Boas, p. xxi. The various attempts to show what trades and professions Shakespeare was probably an apprentice in, by citing his use of semi-technical words, must give us pause before the similar attempts of Sarrazin, Boas, and others to show that Kyd probably was himself a scrivener. There is however no denying the fact that Kyd's father was one. Whether Nash here means to refer to Kyd's father will be discussed later.

b. "Zunächst scheint schon der Vergleich mit dem Zicklein (Kidde) einer Aesopischen Fabel, welches sich in die neumodische Tracht des Fuchses verliebt, eine Anspielung auf den Namen des Dichters zu enthalten.¹

¹ Um so mehr als diese Fabel eine freie Variation Nashs ist. Keine der Aesopischen Fabeln, in welcher ein Zicklein oder Bock vorkommt, hat einen ähnlichen Inhalt; wohl aber ist in einer derselben (*Fabulae Aesopicae*, ed. Camerarius, p. 221, vgl. *Phaedri abularum Aesopiarum libri quinque*, ed. Luc. Mueller, p. 68) von einem Affen die Rede, welcher den Fuchs wegen seines schmucken Felles und seines schönen Schwanzes beneidet. Nash hat also offenbar statt des Affen das Zicklein in die Fabel hinein escamotirt, um ein Wortspiel auf Kyd zu gewinnen."—Sarrazin, p. 100.

"The 'Kidde in Aesop'—this is indeed, I think, calling

things by their names; surely Nash points here with his very finger to the person of Kyd." Schick, p. xi.

Two things ought to be said of this argument: First, Sarrazin's suggestion, that Nash had altered the original fable to make it fit the case, had great weight until Koeppel (*Eng. Studien*, vol. XVIII, p. 130) pointed out that Nash was here borrowing from Spencer's *Shepherd's Calender*, May, lines 274-277,

Tho out of his packe a glasse he tooke,
Wherein while Kidde unawares did looke,
He was so enamored with the newell,
That nought he deemed deare for the jewell.

Here is the Kyd and Fox story and the word "enamored" makes it clear Nash had this passage in mind; especially, as he elsewhere in this short Epistle praises Spencer, thus showing himself familiar with the poet's work. Secondly, accepting Koeppel's criticism as final, the matter reduces itself to the old "six of one and half a dozen of the other." If the thought fits Kyd and him only or if elsewhere in the paragraph Nash is alluding to Kyd, this is a clever pun; if, however, nothing unmistakably in the context points to Kyd, there is nothing in the words "the Kidde in Aesop" to give the slightest reason for thinking here Nash's mind was on Kyd. The use of the word "lamb" in an English book of 1833 does not give the slightest presumption that the author was thinking of Elia, nor the occurrence of "Fox" in an essay of 1685 that the writer had his mind on George Fox.

c. "Es wird ferner auf die Beschäftigung mit französischen und italienischen Uebersetzungen angespielt. In der Sp. Tr. kommen mehrfach italienische Citate vor, sowie ein Hinweis auf die Aufführungen italienischer Schauspieler (S. 152). Aus diesen Gründen und wegen der meist italienischen oder italienisch klingenden Eidgenennen der Sp. Tr. könnte man

versucht sein eine italienische Quelle anzunehmen. Unzweifelhaft aber ist, dass Kyd Garniers Cornelia aus dem Französischen ins Englische übersetzt hat; das französische 'Weibsbild' dürfte auf eben dies Drama gemünzt sein, welches freilich erst 1594 im Druck erschien, aber doch schon einige Jahre vorher verfasst sein kann." Sarrazin, p. 101. That Kyd knew Italian and translated it is admitted by all. This fact by itself proves little, because Italian was so generally known by literary people of the time and there were translations by the hundred.¹ Nor must it be forgotten that, as Kyd's pamphlet from the Italian dates from 1586 and the Epistle from August, 1589, we are paying the general intelligence of the students quite a compliment in supposing these youths knew of this translation and saw in Nash's reference to such a translation, an allusion to Kyd.

III. Allusions to *The Spanish Tragedy* in the paragraph of such a character as to indicate Nash has its author in mind.

a. "Namentlich aber trifft auf Kyd zu, dass der Verfasser des Ur-Hamlet als Nachahmer Senecas charakterisirt ist. Bei der Cornelia, die ganz im Stile Senecas gehalten ist, kann man freilich die Nachahmung nur als indirekt, durch Garnier vermittelt bezeichnen. Aber auch die Sp. Tr. zeigt fast auf jeder Seite den Einfluss Senecas." Sarrazin, p. 101. "He had Seneca's dramas at his fingers ends. In *The Spanish Tragedy* almost every one of them is drawn upon," Boas, p. xvii. No one has ever doubted that Seneca exerted a considerable influence upon Kyd. This influence is an accepted fact. But it is just as widely accepted that scarcely a dramatic contemporary of Kyd's escaped the Senecan influence. If we may suppose the bewildered stu-

¹ Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, 1903, Chap. VII, and Miss M. A. Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1895-1899.

dents questioning each other as to the meaning of Nash's dark paragraph, we may be sure that the veiled figure having been influenced by Seneca would give them little if any clue.

b. "Ein sehr betreffender Hieb ist es auch, wenn auf die Manier, den Blankvers mit 'ifs' und 'ands' auszufficken, hingewiesen wird. Man vergleiche z. b.:

Sp. Tr. II : i : 122-5 :

"And with that sword he fiercely waged war,
And in that war he gave me dangerous wounds,
And by those wounds he forced me to yield,
And by yielding I became his slave."

Sp. Tr. III : 13 : 98-100.

"If love's effects so strive in lesser things,
If love enforce such moods in meaner wits,
If love express such power in poor estates."

Sarrazin, p. 101.

But Schick, p. xii, and Boas, p. xxix, make the "ifs" and "ands" refer to the *Spanish Tragedy*, II : i : 79, quoting,

"What, villaine, ifs and ands."

Surely no one can reasonably assent to the contention that in the words "to bodge up a blank verse with 'ifs' and 'ands'" we have a clear reference to the *Spanish Tragedy* when those making the contention do not agree as to what line or lines the words refer to. Besides, as Kyd was not the only writer of his time who began successive lines with "and" or "if,"¹ nor the only one who used the phrase "ifs and ands,"² these words of Nash would by no means neces-

¹ Cf. *Gorboduc*, IV : 2 : 234-235, III : i : 16-18; *Wounds of Civil War* (Dodsley-Hazlett, vol. 7), pp. 124, 184, 157, 168, 114, 112; *Arraignment of Paris*, IV : i : 269-271, II : i : 138-139. For these and scores of other instances of repetition of initial "and" and "if" in contemporary English plays I am indebted to Prof. F. G. Hubbard of the University of Wisconsin.

² Bang, *Englische Studien*, vol. 28, p. 282.

sarily suggest to their readers the author of the *Spanish Tragedy*.

c. "When Nash speaks of 'thrusting Elisium into hell' he is alluding to the *Spanish Tragedy*, 1:1:72. . . . The sneer at those who 'have not learned the just measure of the hexameter' is directed at Kyd's borrowing the details of his picture of the lower world from the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, *Sp. Tr.*, 1:1:18-25," Boas, p. xxix. But this is supposing that Nash and the University students to whom the Epistle is directed, these young men (Nash himself was but 22) who had never held a copy of the *Spanish Tragedy* in their hands, only a small fraction of whom had ever seen it played (assuming for the moment that it was then in existence),—this is, I say, supposing that these young men are like the members of a 19th century University Seminar who know by heart every line of the poem or play they are studying. It is not impossible that they did so know it, but it is highly improbable. But be this as it may, Nash, with his mind on the *Sp. Tr.*, 1:1:72-73, would not have accused Kyd of stupidly thrusting "Elisium into hell," for the very obvious reason that Virgil, whom Kyd is so closely following here, has Aeneas view, in Hades, the same blissful fields.¹ Kyd is guilty of no blunder in lines 72-73, and hence Nash cannot have this line in mind when he wrote "what can be hoped of those that thrust Elisium into hell."

IV. Some points of disagreement.

a. Nash's words that they (Kyd) "could scarce lie latinize their neck verse if they should have need" must, according to Boas, p. xlv, be "largely discounted"; this is "stretching a satirist's licence to its limits," p. xlv. "Kyd, moreover, had a certain faculty of classical composition," p. xviii. "He is familiar with a fairly wide range of classical authors

¹ Cf. *Sp. Tr.* 1:1:60-75 with the *Aeneid* VI: 440-702.

but probably did not enjoy a "methodical University training," p. xvii. "The scurrilous depreciation of his rival's classical attainments." "Still he knew his Seneca thoroughly in the original," p. xlv. Now, there are two alternatives open: either to say with Boas that Nash has "scurrilously depreciated" Kyd's classical learning and that here he fails to tell the truth; or that these words are so far from true that Nash cannot here be speaking of Kyd. One ought to take the former alternative if there are some other things that taken alone or cumulatively point to Kyd, and besides if there are only few that contradict what we otherwise know of him; we ought to take the latter if the fixed points are few and if other important discrepancies are found.

b. Nash implies, so say the critics, that they (Kyd), knowing so little Latin, turn to the English translation of Seneca. Here again Boas, p. xlv, admits Nash's charge that Kyd was guilty of "bleeding English Seneca line by line and page by page must be exaggerated." Still "English Seneca has a strong influence upon him," p. xxiv. In spite of this affirmation not a single citation is made to substantiate it, nor has any one, so far as I have seen, pointed out in the *Spanish Tragedy* or elsewhere in Kyd a single line borrowed from the translations of Seneca then accessible. Perhaps borrowing can be pointed out, but as yet this has not been done. Boas does say, p. xlv, "In a passage like Act III: i: 1-11 of the *Spanish Tragedy* where lines 57-73 of the Roman dramatist's *Agememnon* are adopted into English, an unfriendly eye might see the influence of a translation." I reproduce lines 1-11 of the *Spanish Tragedy III* and lines 57-73 from the only English translation of Seneca's *Agememnon* now known to be in existence in 1589.

"Unfortunate condition of kings,
Seated amidst so many helpless dounts!
First we are plac'd upon extremest height,

And oft supplanted with exceeding hate,
 But ever subject to the wheel of chance ;
 And at our highest never joy we so,
 As we both doubt and dread our overthrow.
 So striveth not the waves with sundry winds,
 As fortune toileth in the affairs of kings,
 That would be feared, yet fear to be belov'd,
 Sith fear or love to kings is flattery."

Sp. Tr. III : i : 1-11.

Agamemnon.

" O Fortune, that dost fayle the great estate of kinges.
 On slippery sliding seat thou placest lofty things
 And setst on tottering sort, where perils do abound
 Yet never kingdome calme, nor quiet could be fond ;
 No day to Scepters sure doth shine, that they might say,
 To morrow shall we rule, as we have done today.
 One clod of croked care another bryngeth in,
 One hurly burly done, another doth begin :
 Not so the raging Sea doth boyle upon the Sande,
 Where as the southern winde that blows in Afryck lande,
 One wave upon another doth heape wyth sturdy blast ;
 Not so doth Euxene Sea, his swelling waves upcast ;
 Nor so his belching streame from shallow bottom roll,
 That borders hard upon the ysy frosen poall :
 Where as Bootes bryght doth twyne his Wayne about,
 And of the marble seas doth nothing stande in doubt.
 O how doth Fortune tosse and trouble in her wheele
 The staggering states of Kynges, that readdy bee to reele ?
 Fayne would they dreaded bee, and yet not settled so,
 When they feared are, they feare, and live in woe."

I leave it to the reader to determine whether even an "unfriendly eye" could see any borrowing here.¹

In criticising these arguments in detail I have not presumed to offer a full refutation, but rather have sought to show merely on what slender foundation a superstructure has been reared. If I have succeeded in making it plain that the current exegesis of the famous paragraph finds itself

¹ Prof. Manly has called my attention to the fact that the "borrowing" seems to have been made, not from the translation, but from the Latin !

in many embarrassments, my purpose is attained. Of course there is a limit to the burden of difficulties any hypothesis can carry.

What remains is to present a new interpretation of the paragraph. It is remarkable that hitherto no writer on the subject has so much as mentioned the paragraph's immediate context. An analysis of Nash's Epistle shows four clearly marked divisions :

1. Paragraphs 1-7. A plea for the kindly reception of the *Menaphon* on the part of the students at the Universities. A plea is necessary because its simple style and originality will not at once be attractive to those whose habits and tastes have recently been spoiled by the "vain glorious tragedians."

2. Paragraphs 8-13. Concerning early eminent translators, their work and that of their successors.

3. Paragraphs 14-15. A witty digression on wine and the production of poetry.

4. Paragraphs 16-18. English writers compare favorably with those of the continent.

We are concerned here with the second part only (paragraphs 8-13), the first paragraph of which is the one under discussion. Beginning with the second paragraph (9th) the argument is as follows :

2nd (9th). But lest I should condemn all translators and commend none, I shall name first those continental scholars who have labored successfully in translation ; Erasmus "that invested most of our Greek writers, in the Roabes of the Ancient Romaines" and Melancthon, Sadolet, and Plantine who "merviously enriched the Latine tongue with the expense of their toyle."

3rd (10th). It later became the custom in this country to exhibit one's Latin learning in English print. William Turner, Sir Thomas Eliot, Sir Thomas Moore made names for themselves here and St. John's College, Cambridge,

became a famous center from which went out such scholars as "Sir John Cheek a man of men, supernaturally traded in all tongues."

4th (11th). But the good practices of the past are now forgotten. The present short cut to learning is deplorable, viz. that of leaving the reading of standard classical authors for "mere Epitomes (summaries), leaving the fountains of Science, to follow the rivers of Knowledge." As a result our students know little Latin and yet both in translation and gloss are constantly exhibiting this little.

5th (12th). Yet some scholars of the present are worthy of praise. Gascoigne deserved imitation. Turberville's work is good "though in translating he attributed too much to the necessitie of rime." Arthur Golding is to be remembered "for his industrious toile in Englishing Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, besides many other exquisite editions of Divinitie, turned by him out of the French tongue." Master Phaer has left us his "famous Virgil" and Master Francis an "excellent translation of Master Thomas Watson's sugred Amintas."

6th (14th). Good poets must now be very rare, for no one of late "durst imitate any of the worst of these Romane wonders in English" and no one has shown himself "singular in any special Latin poem." Though Hoddon, Carre, "Thomas Newton with his Leydon," and Gabriel Harvey deserve mention. A man is unworthy the name of scholar who is not also a poet.

It is very clear that what Nash has his mind upon in the last five of the six paragraphs in this division is classical scholarship; sometimes he is thinking of it historically, as in the 2nd and 3rd paragraphs; sometimes pedagogically, as in the 4th paragraph. Of the twenty-five scholars mentioned, nine are explicitly named as translators of the ancient classics, and a study of their biographies shows that the remainder

are all famous only for their classical scholarship. There is not a word about French or Italian translations, except the incidental remark concerning Arthur Golding quoted above. Always, too, in Nash's mind is the conviction that the present state of classical attainments is quite below what it once was and should be. How, now, shall we interpret the first paragraph, the oft-quoted one beginning with the words "and talk a little in friendship with a few of our trivial translators," a paragraph which no reader of the *Epistle* will fail to connect with the five summarized above? Can this opening paragraph refer to one man, a dramatist, Kyd, whom no one has ranked as a classical scholar and who if he be referred to in the paragraph is said to know no Latin? I cannot think so. Moreover I do not think Kyd's name would ever have been associated with the paragraph had the context been carefully scanned. To say the point of the paragraph consists in an attack upon a dramatist of rather low birth who, after vainly seeking success in other callings, adopts the literary profession, writing his plays under the influence of an English translation of Seneca, obliges one to make a very violent transition at Nash's second paragraph which begins, "But least in this declamatorie vaine I should condemne all and commend none, I will propound to your learned imitation, those men of import, that have labored with credit in this laudible kind of translation." Again if these "trivial translators" of "now-a-days" of the 8th paragraph means Kyd, when after speaking of famous translators in the 9th and 10th paragraphs Nash comes back again to the present in the 11th and 12th paragraphs with the opening words, "But how ill their precepts have prospered with an idle age . . . their overfrought studies, with trifling compendiarie maie testifie," he must again be speaking of Kyd. How ill these paragraphs, full of criticism of the classical scholarship of the day, fit the dramatist Kyd, a

single reading will convince anyone. If it can be shown that but one person is referred to in this paragraph, the person must in his accomplishments resemble the group mentioned in the following paragraph, *i. e.* must be a person of profound classical attainment and not one whose classical deficiencies are referred to incidentally.

But does the content of this paragraph fit any better the preceding context? In the opening sentence we have the words "I'll turn back to my first text of studies of delight, and talk a little in friendship with a few of our trivial translators." In the 3rd paragraph of the Epistle, Nash has said that these "vain glorious tragedians" feed on "nought but the crummes that fall from the translators trenchers." Surely the natural interpretation here will identify the "translators" of the 3rd paragraph and the "trivial translators" of the 8th, as Nash distinctly says he will "turn back" to them. But no one will maintain that Kyd was the "translators" from whom the Marlowe school drew; rather, it seems clear that these "translators" must have been translators of the ancient classics, most likely translators of Seneca. The position of this paragraph in a section treating of classical scholars and their work is overwhelmingly against the theory that the paragraph refers to the dramatist, Kyd. So clear is the logical order of these paragraphs, so evident is their general meaning, so serious their purpose, so absurdly irrelevant any digression on Kyd, so free are the paragraphs from any suggestion of a digression that we do the utmost violence to the context if we hold the paragraph in question was directed against the author of the *Spanish Tragedy*. We surely err gravely if we interpret sentence or paragraph without due regard to their context. This is the error all recent writers on Kyd have committed.

The difficulties of the current exegesis of the paragraph have been sufficiently exposed. These are many and serious.

It remains to offer a substitute interpretation of this famous paragraph. The following is a free rendering, but designed to express every idea of any importance in the paragraph: I desire to revert to what I was talking about at the opening of the Epistle and say a few words in a friendly fashion (spoken ironically) about some of our hack translators of the day. It is quite common now-a-days for a set of incapable fellows who are jacks of all trades and masters of none, whom nature intended to do mere clerical work ("noverint whereto they were borne"¹) to betake themselves to scholarly tasks, though their classical learning is very slight indeed. One of the products of these hack translators is the rendering of Seneca into English. Now these translations of the Roman dramatist are not wholly bad, for you will find in them such a fine alliterative sentence (probably penned with a twinkle of Nash's eye) as "Blood is a beggar" and there may also be found "whole Hamlets, I should say, handfulls of tragical speaches." To be serious, however, these translations of Seneca are wretched, they literally murder the original Seneca ("Seneca let blood line by line and page by page") not once or twice but everywhere. Even these hack translators themselves feel their work to be so poor that they see Seneca will soon lose his vogue on the English stage. In anticipation of this they (hack writers) are turning from the translation of Latin to the translation of Italian. It is not to be wondered at if in this last venture they do ill, for what good can be hoped of those who have transformed good Latin into wretched English ("thrust Elisium into hell") and who stupidly persist in translating

¹ "whereuppon I thought it as good for mee to reape the frute of my owne labours, as to let some unskilful pen-man or Noverint-Maker starch his ruffe and new spade his beard with the benefit he made of them."—*The Works of Nash*, ed. by Grosart, vol. III, p. 214.

Latin hexameters into English hexameters.¹ These men having no fine literary sense are content to patch up their verse with *ifs* and *ands*; nor are their morals better, for when night has come, disguised they associate with French women² of questionable character from whom they will take more defilement in one minute than they can speak eloquence in the remainder of their lives.

Are there difficulties in this interpretation?

1. "Blood is a beggar." It may, with right, be objected that this sentence is not in the translation of Seneca edited by Newton in 1581. But surely Nash's words "manie good sentences, as 'Bloud is a beggar'" must be irony, as no one would call this slight alliterative predication "good." Nash is here jesting at the alliteration used by the Senecan translator on every page.

2. "Whole Hamlets." The meaning is, in English Seneca will be found either (1) characters much like Hamlet, or (2) plays as full of tragical speeches as either (*a*) the well-known play of Hamlet, or (*b*) as the prose tale of Hamlet. The language is not sufficiently explicit to warrant a dogmatic statement.

3. "Intermeddle with Italian translations." It may be said the translators of the 1581 Seneca (Studley, Nuce, Neville, Heywood, and Newton) did not later betake themselves to Italian translations. But a reference to the Epistle will make it clear that no violence is done to the paragraph in making Nash refer primarily to "trivial translators" in

¹ Thus interpreted, the words, "have not yet learned the just measure of the Horizon without an hexameter" not only fit perfectly Nash's argument in the paragraph, but they are also in harmony with his views expressed elsewhere. Cf. *Works of Thomas Nash*, edited by Grosart, vol. II, p. 218: "For that was a plannet exalted above their hexameter Horizon;" *ibidem*, pp. 237-238, Nash at length inveighs against the use of the hexameter in English.

² Professor McCallum, p. 294; and Professor Thorndike, p. 290.

general, and only incidentally to the translators of Seneca. When he speaks of turning to translate Italian he has departed from his specific illustration and reverted to the genus, "trivial translators," whom he has in mind throughout the six paragraphs. Thus interpreted, Nash's words are strictly true to the trend of events in August, 1589. Senecan influence had been dominant on the English stage for thirty years, but beginning with 1590, *i. e.* with the career of Shakespeare, Seneca's influence is clearly on the rapid decline. Italian influences rather than Latin were from the start powerful with the bard of Avon.¹ Nash may not have been right in assigning the cause of the Senecan decline to poor translations, but he was perfectly right about the decline, as he was also respecting the new forces which were superseding the old.

I believe we may say with considerable confidence that over against an interpretation of the paragraph full of difficulties and obscurities we may have an interpretation wherein the difficulties are extremely slight, if indeed they may be said to exist at all. Moreover the interpretation given above unifies the paragraph as the current interpretation does not: The failure of the hack translators of the classics is its unifying theme. With this interpretation the paragraph is in logical harmony with its whole context, as is its idea consonant with that of the whole Epistle. Moreover, its words, as was shown above, give a true account of the literary history of the time.

The conclusion reached is twofold: 1st, Nash has not Kyd in mind in this paragraph nor indeed any dramatist at all; 2nd, this paragraph throws no light upon the authorship of the Ur-Hamlet, nor indeed is it perfectly clear that Nash knew of a Hamlet drama.

ALBERT E. JACK.

¹ Einstein, Chapter VIII.

XXIII.—THE PROLOGUE TO THE *LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN* CONSIDERED IN ITS CHRONOLOGICAL RELATIONS.

The following discussion of the actual dates of the composition and revision of the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* takes up the question at the point where it was left in a previous article¹ on the Prologue as related to its

¹ *Publications Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xix, 593-683. To a dissertation of Dr. John C. French (*The Problem of the Two Prologues to Chaucer's Legend of Good Women*, Baltimore, 1905), which re-argues the question from the point of view of the priority of the A-version, the reader may be referred for a criticism of the article just mentioned. It is impossible, within the limits of a foot-note, to do justice to Dr. French's suggestive study; yet a note is all that space allows. One may perhaps be permitted to observe, however, that Dr. French's criticism of the paper under discussion seems to rest on a misapprehension of the purport of its first three sections, which have been given in consequence a turn that obscures the real point at issue. Those sections (whose mention here seems necessary, in order to bring the problem itself into the clear) deal throughout with the relations of the Prologue, particularly the B-version, to its sources, leaving explicitly the argument for the relation of the two versions to each other to the final section, where the problem is considered in the light of the relations of each to the French and Italian originals. It surely needs no elaborate argument to demonstrate that if a poem *x* is derived from an original *y*, and *z* is a revision of *x*, a great deal of *y* will continue to appear in *z*, and that very obvious fact was taken for granted by the present writer in the discussion of the sources of B. Dr. French's interesting argument (*op. cit.*, pp. 32-38) to prove that A. also agrees in many points with those same sources deals, accordingly, with a man of straw. In the case of only one passage has Dr. French attempted to show what alone, on his premises, would invalidate the argument he is examining—the fact, namely, that A. is *closer* to the sources than B. And in that one case—the comparison (*op. cit.*, p. 36) of A. 51-52 and B. 60-61 with *Lay de Franchise*, ll. 44-45—the phrase “whan the sonne ginneth for to weste” (*quant il [le soleil] fait son retour*) is common to both versions, and “than closeth hit” (*Ses fueilles clot*) of A. is exactly balanced by “And whan that hit is eve” (*Et au vespre*) of B. Dr. French's conclusion that A. 51-52 “are much

French and Italian sources and models. The attempt was there made to show, on the basis of such relations, that B.

nearer to the French than are the corresponding lines of F. [B.]” accordingly falls to the ground, while the striking parallel of B. 64 and *Lay de Franchise*, l. 47 is scarcely explained away by the remark that “*hir chere* and *son atour* are certainly not equivalent save in the sense that they are different figures of speech for the same literal original” (*op. cit.*, p. 39; cf. *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 615, n. 3). In like manner, Dr. French’s very sound conclusion (*op. cit.*, p. 33)—after pointing out that structurally A. as well as B. agrees in certain respects with the *Lay de Franchise*—that “the difference between the two versions, therefore, is not so great as might seem, for it is merely a difference in the treatment of the same material” [*italics mine*], again simply emphasizes the obvious fact taken for granted throughout the particular sections under discussion, which leave this (somewhat important!) “difference in the treatment” for discussion later in a passage (*Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 679–80) to which Dr. French does not refer. The same fallacy vitiates the discussion of the passages cited on pp. 65–66 of the dissertation. In other words, Dr. French confuses the issue entirely by pointing out *in extenso* what no one would think of denying—the fact that A. as well as B. contains passages which go back to the French originals; while in but one instance does he attempt to demonstrate what for his case is the *sine qua non*—that A. stands in closer relations to those originals than B.

As for the other main point at issue, the *balade*, Dr. French’s admission (*op. cit.*, p. 26) that “the ballad in F [B] is therefore somewhat out of harmony with its context, and bears the appearance of a passage wrested from its former connection to serve a new purpose,” while “in G [A], on the other hand, the ballad is perfectly in place,” grants the whole case (see *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 655–57, 681); while his criticism (p. 50) of the “awkward device”—as he elsewhere (p. 96) calls it—of the herald lark (A. 138–143) on the ground that “the allusion to his [the god of Love’s] spreading wings is . . . incongruous, for it is hard to conceive him at one moment as flying through the air and the next as walking beside his queen attended by a multitude of ladies”—this criticism unluckily overlooks the fact that Chaucer was so inconsiderate as to retain this same incongruity (B. 236) in his supposed revision! To mention but a single other instance where one fact has been overlooked in attending to another, it is in B. and not A. that the real confusion of antecedents exists to which Dr. French refers on p. 46, as a glance at the following couplets makes clear:

- A. 48–49. To seen *these floures* agein *the sonne* sprede,
Whan *it* up-riseth by the morwe shene;
B. 48–49. To seen *this flour* agein *the sonne* sprede,
Whan *hit* upryseth erly by the morwe.

was the original version and A. the revision. Assuming the soundness of such a conclusion, is it possible to fix at all

Dr. French's assertion (p. 32) "that the bifurcation of F [B] at line 196 is entirely arbitrary," is an extreme reaction upon a statement which, it may be frankly admitted, was perhaps itself somewhat strongly put. Arbitrary the division ("bifurcation" is Dr. French's word) at B. 196 is not; but a happier statement of the position criticized would have laid the emphasis first, as well as last (see *op. cit.*, p. 680—the passage which Dr. French overlooks), upon the *mechanical* character of the unity of B. (whose unity, of this lower type, it was never intended to deny), as contrasted with the *organic* unity of A. The contention is not for unity vs. lack of unity, but for a higher vs. a distinctly lower type of it.

Dr. French's main positive contribution to the discussion of the problem—for his "thorough line by line comparison of the whole of the two versions" (p. 3) can scarcely be granted when sixty-four lines, including such important variations as those of A. 135–36 = B. 150–51, A. 231 = B. 305, A. 253–54 = B. 327–28, A. 340–42 = B. 362–64, are merely appended (p. 98) in a list "for the sake of completeness"—is his treatment (pp. 75–98) of the lines partly identical in both versions. But practically everything Chaucer has done in passing, according to Dr. French, from A. to B., he can be shown to have done on the hypothesis of a change from B. to A., and even the instances actually cited seem hopelessly at variance with one another. Space permits brief reference to the "changes for metrical improvement" alone. When, to take a single example, *story* and *stryf* of A. 80 are (supposedly) changed to *story* and *thing* of B. 196, it is to avoid "a heaping up of sibilants" (p. 78); when *sat* and *than this* of A. 228, however, are changed to *sat* and *sith his* of B. 302, thus *introducing* the fatal second sibilant, it is to avoid "the recurrence of the *th*-sounds" (p. 80). But when, again, in A. 95 the Scylla of a repeated *of* is avoided, it is only to fall, in B. 199, into the Charybdis of a repeated *the*, which gives the very "repetition of the harsh *th*-sound" that, not only in the passage just cited, but also in A. 4 = B. 4, A. 5 = B. 5, A. 228 = B. 302, Dr. French had insisted Chaucer was bent on cutting out. Unluckily, too, the supposed change from A. to B. has *introduced* quite as many "awkward heaping[s] up of the *th*-sounds" as it has *obviated*—among others, A. 116 = B. 128, A. 137 = B. 151, A. 170 = B. 238, A. 209 = B. 255 (the refrain of the *balade* itself!), A. 342 = B. 364. Indeed, as one reads Dr. French's argument, one recalls with some bewilderment lines that are among the glories of English poetry: "Full fathom five *thy* father lies;" "*That there hath* past away a glory from the earth;" "*Both of them speak of something that is gone.*" Scarcely less arbitrary than his standards of euphony seem Dr. French's other criteria of improvement, read in the light of Chaucer's own usage or that of other English poetry; but space precludes detailed examination here.

definitely the date of each? The present paper essays an answer to that question and includes as a corollary a discussion of the chronology of certain of Chaucer's other works specifically named in one or both forms of the Prologue itself.

A word, however, by way of definition of the point of view may be permitted to find place here. In such an investigation as the present one there is need, perhaps, of facing squarely what seems to be by no means an imaginary danger—that of allowing considerations of chronology or of sources insensibly to blind one to the paramount claims of the work of art as such. And inasmuch as in what follows the question of chronology will occupy space which (especially if one dare imagine Chaucer's sense of humor playing on it) must appear grotesquely disproportionate, it may be pertinent to say frankly at the outset that the interest of the present discussion in the mere chronology of Chaucer's work is, despite seemingly damning evidence to the contrary, an altogether subordinate one. It is subordinate, that is to say, to the appreciation (if one must tax again a word which has suffered many things of many cults) of the poems themselves. In other words, in so far as the establishment of the chronology genuinely illuminates the poems by bringing them out of comparative isolation into vital relation with each other and with the larger compass of the poet's work; in so far as it throws light upon the poet's *modus operandi* and helps one to "catch Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's true play;" in so far as it tends in general to a dynamic rather than a static conception of the poet's art, it more than justifies itself. In what follows, accordingly, it is the ultimate possibility of a truer, because a larger and more vital appreciation that is sought after, with however small success, in the seeming effort merely to fix certain dates. With this prefa-

tory confession of the substance of things hoped for, one may come with a freer conscience to what at the outset is a somewhat bald rehearsal of facts and figures. And the date of the B-version will be first considered.

I.

In attempting to reach the date of B. two steps seem necessary: first, the determination, if possible, of the limits between which the time of composition must lie; second, the close examination of the possibilities within the limits thus fixed.

One of the limits in question has been already pointed out. For if the inferences of the earlier discussion regarding the influence of the *Lay de Franchise* on the B-version of the Prologue are sound,¹ and if, as seems clear, the *Lay* was composed by Deschamps for the celebration of May-day, 1385,² it follows at once that the first version of the Prologue was written after May 1, 1385. Is it also possible to reach from external evidence a limit in the other direction? On the basis of the very acute deductions of Professor Kittredge regarding the authorship of the *Book of Cupid*,³ such a limit does seem attainable. For one may be reasonably certain that the writer of the *Book of Cupid* knew the B-version of the Prologue.⁴ If, then, the poem was the work of Sir John

¹ *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 615-16, 620-21, 635-41.

² *Ib.*, 603-06.

³ See the article on "Chaucer and some of his Friends," *Mod. Philol.*, I, 15-18.

⁴ It is needless to repeat the evidence collected by Vollmer (*Das mittelenglische Gedicht The Boke of Cupide*, Berlin, 1898, pp. 49-50) and Skeat (*Chaucerian and other Pieces*, pp. 526 ff., under ll. 20, 23, 243). The passages there given are individually none of them entirely conclusive, inasmuch as they are in large measure commonplaces. The whole atmosphere of the poem is, however, that of the Prologue, and the fact that the author does undoubtedly borrow from the *Knight's Tale* and probably from the *Parle-*

Clanvowe, who died, as is now known,¹ October 17, 1391, this date will give a positive limit in this direction for the composition of the Prologue, which we may place, accordingly, between May 1st, 1385 and October, 1391—or, indeed, with some assurance, between May 1st, 1385 and the departure of Clanvowe for Barbary in 1390.² Within the

ment of *Foules* as well (Kittredge, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Vollmer, *loc. cit.*) points with practical certainty to the Prologue as the source of the passages in question.

¹ I am indebted to Professor Kittredge, since the present article has been in type, for the exact date of Sir John Clanvowe's death and for the note which follows regarding its circumstances. The reference is found in John Malverne's continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (Rolls Ser., *Polychron.*, ix, 261): "Item xvii^o. die Octobris dominus Johannes Clanvowe miles egregius in quodam vico juxta Constantinopolim in Græcia diem clausit extremum." Malverne, as Professor Kittredge points out, is the best kind of authority, since he was not only a contemporary of Clanvowe, but seems to have known him particularly well. What Clanvowe was doing at Constantinople is not clear. Perhaps he returned from Barbary that way; perhaps he was going on a pilgrimage. It is worth noting that William Nevil, his companion on the journey, died of grief. "Quam ob causam," continues Malverne, "dominus Willelmus Nevyle ejus comes in itinere, quem non minus se ipsum diligebat, inconsolabiliter dolens nunquam postea sumpsit cibum. Unde transactis duobus diebus sequentibus in eodum vico lamentabiliter exspiravit" (*Polychron.*, Appendix, ix, 261-62). This William Nevil had gone on the Barbary expedition with Clanvowe (or Clanvowe with him); see ix, 234. Nowhere does Malverne say anything of Clanvowe's return. He does briefly describe the evil fate of the expedition (ix, 240): "Dux Bourbon . . . primo victoriam obtinuit de prædictis paganis; sed secunda vice ex adverso venit intolerabilis copia paganorum cum magna audacia Christianos compulit fugere ad naves eorum in multo discrimine personarum, sicque *Christiani qui vivi evaserunt a manibus paganorum ad propria sunt reversi de eorum evasione deum multipliciter collaudantes.*" It is probably safe to say that Clanvowe did not compose much love poetry after he started on the Barbary expedition!

² The question will certainly be asked: Does this date not likewise give the limit for the composition of *A.* as well? For Vollmer (*op. cit.*, p. 50) concludes his discussion of the relation of the *Book of Cupid* to the Prologue as follows: "Endlich eine stelle aus der nur in einer hs. erhaltenen, von der im Fairfax MS. stark abweichenden version *A.* . . . v. 139/40 heisst es da: *This song to herke I dide al myn entente, For-why I mette I wiste what they mente, womit zu vergleichen ist [Boke of Cupide, ll. 108-09]: Me*

period of five (or six) years thus indicated, is a still closer approximation possible?

In a poem containing an address to certain singers to whom he specifically acknowledges indebtedness, Chaucer gives evidence of having borrowed from a poem of Deschamps. Deschamps is known to have sent to Chaucer by Clifford certain poems of his own, with a request that the compliment be returned. There is accordingly the strongest antecedent probability that the particular poem of Deschamps which Chaucer did know, to whose writer, among others, he did, as it seems, make distinct acknowledgment, was among those which reached him from Deschamps himself through their common friend. The determination, accordingly, of the possible opportunities for a meeting between Deschamps and

thoghte (ebenfalls im traum) I wiste al that the briddes mente, And what they seide and what was her entente." The parallel is at first sight a striking one, and the inference of a borrowing from A. would of course, if valid, date the A-version, on the hypothesis just stated, before 1390-92. But such an inference overlooks, as Professor Kittredge has pointed out regarding it, two important facts. The first is that the rhyme *mente: entente* is of so frequent occurrence as to render it worthless as evidence of the influence of one passage on another. Moreover, as a glance at the examples will show, the rhyme is also associated with certain other stock phrases, appearing in both the passages in question, which even further diminish its evidential value. See, for instance, the following: "'Never erst,' quod she, 'ne wiste I what ye mente. But now, Aurelie, I knowe your entente'" (F. 981-82); "'She com to diner in hir playn entente. But god and Pandare wiste al what this mente'" (*Troilus*, II, 1560-61); "'To telle me the fyn of his entente; Yet wiste I never wel what that he mente'" (*ib.*, III, 125-26); "'Answerde him tho; but, as of his entente, It semed not she wiste what he mente'" (*ib.*, v, 867-68); "'[By] privee signes, wiste he what she mente; And she knew eek the fyn of his entente (E. 2105-6). Cf. also G. 998-99; A. 2989-90; B. 4613-14; F. 107-08; F. 521-22; B. 324, 327; *Troilus*, II, 363-64; 1219, 1221; III, 1185, 1188; IV, 172-73; 1416, 1418; v, 1693-94.

The second observation, which applies to the coincidence in *substance*, is that in the *Book of Cupid* the device of assuming knowledge of the language of the birds is not, as in the A-version of the Prologue, a mere incident (however effective), but grows out of the fundamental motive of

Clifford within the limits marked seems to carry with it the fixing of the possible dates at which the *Lay de Franchise* could have reached Chaucer, and that, in turn, defines still more closely the date of the first form of the Prologue. Such an examination, however, it should at once be premised, by no means depends for its pertinence solely upon the acceptance of the particular inference just stated. For whether by the hand of Clifford or of some one else the *Lay de Franchise* clearly had somehow to reach England before Chaucer could make use of it. And precisely at the period we are concerned with the sort of communication between England and France through which alone the current literature of the one country could have any reasonable chance of reaching the other was kept within somewhat sharply defined limits by the exigencies of the Hundred Years' War, which was still dragging on. The fact that the negotiations for the various truces between France and England were frequently in the hands of friends or acquaintances of the two poets, so that their

the poem itself, inasmuch as the very thing it purports to give is a dialogue between two birds. If the poem is to be at all, the device is virtually inevitable, and the hypothesis of borrowing accordingly uncalled for. A very much closer parallel, indeed, than that in the Prologue exists for the Clanvowe passage in another poem of Chaucer's, where a similar couplet appears in connection with similar inherent requirements of the plot. In the *Squire's Tale*, when Canace walks out on the morning after the gift of her magic ring, she has new delight in the singing of the birds,

For right anon she wiste what they mente
Right by hir song, and knew al hir entente (F. 399-400).

That is to say, in the *Squire's Tale* and the *Book of Cupid* alike the situations proposed carry with them as a corollary the employment of such a device, and in each instance, along with the almost inevitable stock phrase "wiste what they mente" would come the no less predestined rhyme "entente." No conclusion, then, of any sort can well be drawn from the couplet in Clanvowe, regarding the date of A. That to Chaucer himself, whose phrases had a habit of clinging to his mind, the fundamental situation of one of his own poems might conceivably suggest an incidental touch in another is a possibility of a different sort, to be considered later.

respective circles more than once intersected; the alternate smouldering and flaming not only of actual hostilities but also of the sense of antagonism itself; the very specific fact that Deschamps's personal attitude towards England during part of the period in question was such as apparently to preclude for the time the possibility of his sending a complimentary message to any Englishman whatsoever—this ebb and flow, in a word, of the larger tides of international affairs seems to have genuine significance for the smaller problem where our first interest lies.¹ The movements of Deschamps and Clifford, with their various implications, must accordingly be carefully examined.

Deschamps's attitude towards "la terre Angelique" was not at all times that of the *balade* to Chaucer.² In August, 1380, his little country house—his "maison gracieuse"—of *les Champs* at Vertus was burned "per ceulx de Bruth, de l'ille d'Angleterre,"³ with a loss of two thousand francs.⁴ To his hostility "toute generalment" as a Frenchman there

¹ It is not altogether unilluminating that the collector of such data finds in Deschamps a mine of historical material, while in Chaucer he discovers only—poetry! What follows, accordingly, even should it be deemed to serve no other purpose, may at least enhance by contrast our appreciation of what Chaucer might in his own day have been, and by the countenance and grace of heaven was not.

² Coming, as he does, very near being his own Boswell, Deschamps explains at length in *balade* No. 1154 (VI, 87–88), with the characteristic refrain "C'est de ce mot l'interpretacion," the terms he applies to England in the obscure Chaucer *balade* itself. "Chaque fois," said the Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, "que Deschamps parle de l'Angleterre, il devient obscur;" and for any light he voluntarily offers, one may be duly thankful.

³ No. 845 (V, 17). See Nos. 250 (II, 86), 835–36 (V, 5, 6), 864 (V, 42) for further statements regarding the catastrophe, and cf. Raynaud in *Oeuvres*, XI, 11, 32–33.

⁴ We are left in no doubt on this point. "II. M. frans et plus lui a couste Ceste guerre," he writes in the third person to the king (No. 250); "II^m. frans m'a leur guerre couste," he informs the Dukes of Anjou and Bourgogne (No. 864); in the identical line he also complains to the world in general (No. 835).

was thus added the tone of personal resentment, which one readily detects in a number of the *balades* directed against the English. It seems entirely reasonable, then, to infer that the message to Chaucer belongs to one of the not infrequent *ententes cordiales* that marked the progress, in the last decades of the fourteenth century, of the Hundred Years' War, rather than to the intervening periods when, the more bitter after futile hopes of peace, hostility ran high—an inference whose warrant a fuller presentation of the details may serve to make more clear.

The discomforts of the first Flemish campaign, of 1382-83, in which Deschamps took part with much groaning of spirit,¹ did not conduce to amicable feelings towards the English allies of the hated Flemings, nor did the second campaign of 1383.² In the spring of 1384, however, during the truce of Leulingham,³ negotiations were begun looking once more towards a treaty of peace between France and England. John of Gaunt and the Earl of Buckingham and Essex were the commissioners from England;⁴ the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Brittany the ambassadors from France;⁵ and the negotiations were to be carried on at Boulogne in Picardy. To Picardy in the spring of 1384 Deschamps himself was sent to inspect the fortresses (with the added possibility of a voyage to England)⁶ and to await

¹ See Raynaud, xi, 37-38; *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xix, 607, n. 2.

² Raynaud, xi, 39-40; *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, *loc. cit.*

³ From January 26 to October 1, 1384. See Rymer (2d ed., Holmes), vii, 418-20; cf. Raynaud, xi, 42.

⁴ Rymer, vii, 429 (27 May, 1384), cf. 432. See particularly Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt* (1904), pp. 287-88, and references there given.

⁵ Rymer, vii, 431 (27 May, 1384). With the French ambassadors were, among others, the Count of Sancerre, Arnault de Corbie, and Guy de Trémouille (Rymer, vii, 433), all of them friends or acquaintances of Deschamps (see Raynaud's index in *Oeuvres de Deschamps*, x, s. v. Corbie, Champagne (Louis de), La Trémouille (Guy de)).

⁶ *Oeuvres*, xi, 42.

at Boulogne the arrival of the French ambassadors. August seems, however, to have arrived first,¹ and meantime Deschamps availed himself of the opportunity to visit Calais in the company of Otho de Graunson, "flour of hem that make in France." The brief stay of the two poets in Calais was enlivened by an incident whose narrative makes an interesting pendant to the *balade* associated with Philippa of Lancaster, and taken in conjunction with it throws some light upon what nearly concerns us—the fluctuations in Deschamps's attitude towards England. He begins his tale as follows:

Je fu l'autrier trop mal venuz
 Quant j'alay pour veir Calays;
 J'entray dedenz comme cornuz,
 Sanz congié; lors vint. II. Anglois,
 Granson devant et moy après,
 Qui me prindrent parmi la bride:
 L'un me dist: "dogue,"² l'autre: "ride;"³
 Lors me devint la coulour bleue:
 "Goday,"⁴ fait l'un, l'autre: "commidre."⁵
 Lors dis: "Oil, je voy vo queue."⁶

The interchange of amenities continues during an altercation over Deschamps's *laissez-passer*, he narrowly escapes arrest, and with Graunson spends a night which he later

¹ In the *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi* (ed. Petit) the time from Aug. 4 to Sept. 15 is given up to "Sejour a Boulogne pour le traittie de la paix" (p. 169). See also the documents for July in Rymer, VII, 433, 438-39, 441

² dog.

³ ride.

⁴ good day.

⁵ come hither.

⁶ No. 893 (v, 79-80). For the legend of the *Anglici caudati*—which Deschamps also makes use of in Nos. 671 (iv, 130), 847 (v, 20), 868 (v, 48), the latter beginning: "Franche dogue, dist un Anglois, Vous ne faictes que boire vin"—at first applied only to the inhabitants of Dorset, see *Roman de Brut* (ed. Le Roux de Lincy), II, 251-53; Montaiglon, *Rec. de poésies fr.*, VI, 347-48; P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXI, 51 n; Étienne de Bourbon (ed. Lecoy de la Marche), p. 234; Du Cange, s. v. *Caudatus*; Wright, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, II, 230; P. d'Auvergne (Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, No. 222); Godefroy, II, 167.

recalls in vivid terms.¹ Finally, however, the Dukes arrive at Boulogne, and the negotiations continue until September 14th,² merely extending the truce to May 1st, 1385. But it is clearly to this same period that the P. H. E. L. I. P. P. E. *balade*³ belongs. For as has already been pointed out on other grounds⁴ that almost certainly falls at the close of 1384 or the beginning of 1385. The presence at Boulogne of both the Duke of Lancaster and Deschamps during August and September, 1384, seems to account perfectly for all the facts in the case, and makes it still more difficult to doubt that the *balade* was sent to the Lady Philippa by Deschamps himself, in which case it may well have been seen by Chaucer.⁵ That Deschamps, moreover, whose acquaintance within the circle of John of Gaunt is thus indicated, should not there have heard of Geoffrey Chaucer, is hard to believe, and one may fairly infer that at the close of 1384 the two poets knew something of each other's work. That inference and the fact that Deschamps was capable of two very different tones

¹ Est cilz aise qui ne se puet dormir
Et qui ne fait toute nuit que viller,
Puces sentir, oyr enfans crier,
Sur un mattas et sur cordes gesir,
Avoir or draps et sur dur orillier? . . .
Et, d'autre part, oir la grant mer bruir
Et les chevaux combatre et deslier?
Cest a Calais; Granson, veillés jugier (No. 596, iv, 55).

² Rymer, vii, 441-43. The Duke of Burgundy leaves Sept. 15 (Petit, *Itinéraires*, p. 169); the account of Walter Skirlawe, sent to Calais "*pro tractatu pacis*," etc., covers the period 15 June-28 Sept. (Mirot et Deprez, *Les Ambassades anglaises pendant la guerre de Cent ans*, in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Vol. LX, p. 206).

³ No. 765 (iv, 259-60).

⁴ *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xix, 608-10. I had entirely overlooked the corroboration afforded the view there stated by the facts, just commented on, connected with the peace negotiations of 1384.

⁵ See Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, i, 5.

indeed toward England, may be of value in weighing the subsequent evidence.¹

For we come, now, to the events which follow May 1st, 1385, the date of the composition of the *Lay de Franchise*, and the question at once presents itself: What was the first reasonable opportunity after May 1st for knowledge of the *Lay de Franchise* to reach Chaucer, either at the hands of Sir Lewis Clifford or otherwise? The first thing to be noted is that May 1st was also the date of the expiration of the extended truce. Another of the abortive efforts to turn a truce into a peace had just terminated. The Bishop of Hereford, William Beauchamp, Walter Skirlawe and Sir John Clanvowe on the part of England,² the Bishop of Bayeux, Arnault de Corbye, the Sire de Sempy³ and others on the side of France,⁴ had failed to reach an agreement, and by the 30th of April the English commissioners seem to have left France. That Sir Lewis Clifford had been with them there (a thing in itself by no means impossible) there is no evidence, and the fact that on May 4th, 1385, protection for half a year was granted Philip Bluet, "staying on the King's service with Lewis de Clifford, constable of Cardigan Castle in South Wales,"⁵ seems to indicate that he was in Wales at the time. But even if Clifford had been at Calais, Deschamps was not,⁶ so that at the actual

¹The following *balades* of Deschamps have reference to the negotiations of 1384 at Boulogne: Nos. 785 (iv, 289), 66 (I, 162), 337 (III, 47), 344 (III, 62-63), 359 (III, 93-95). See also XI, 43.

²Rymer, VII, 466-67.

³See for each Raynaud's index to Deschamps.

⁴See the accounts of the Bishop of Hereford, Skirlawe and Clanvowe, all closing April 30th, in Mirot et Deprez, *op. cit.*, p. 207. From *Cal. Pat. Rolls. Rich. II*, 1381-85, p. 569, we learn that on May 18th Sir John Clanvowe was about to go to Wales on the King's service.

⁵*Cal. Pat. Rolls. Rich. II*, 1381-85, p. 569.

⁶See the account of Deschamps's movements in the spring of 1385 in *Oeuvres*, XI, pp. 45-46.

time of composition of the *Lay de Franchise* opportunity for it to reach England seems wanting.¹

But immediately after May 1st hostilities were renewed more vigorously than for many years. Particularly was this true on the part of France, and Deschamps's patriotism seems to have reached at about this time a somewhat violent pitch. Not far from May 20th² the French Admiral, Jean de Vienne, sailed for Scotland, an event which Deschamps celebrated in two *balades*,³ one of which ends with the sanguinary lines :

Du sang des mors de chascune partie
Fleuves courent, et veritablement
Les fils de Bruth mourront là a tourment,
Et, des ce jour, n'ont espoir de merci :
Destruiz seront, c'est leur definement,
Tant qu'om dira : Angleterre fut cy.⁴

Nor was it long before Deschamps himself was actively engaged in the hostilities, marching with the royal forces on July 21st for his third expedition into Flanders, where Ackermann, the ally of the English, was making fresh trouble for France.⁵ The month of August was spent before Dam⁶; on the 28th of September the King was again in

¹ One must of course recognize that poetry is not contraband of war, and may run the blockade in ways hard to trace. But we are dealing here with a case which seems to involve the relations of the *poets* as well.

² Terrier de Loray, *Jean de Vienne, Amiral de France* (Paris, 1877), p. 189, cf. pp. 185 ff. ; *Chronographia Regum Francorum* (ed. Moranville), III, 75; cf. *Oeuvres de Deschamps*, XI, 46; Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 293, n. 3.

³ *Oeuvres*, XI, 46.

⁴ No. 26 (I, 106-07). The other *balade*, No. 143 (I, 268-269) is a less bloodthirsty prophecy of victory.

⁵ *Chronographia Reg. Franc.*, III, 75, n. 3; *Oeuvres de Deschamps*, XI, 47.

⁶ *Oeuvres de Deschamps*, XI, 47. See particularly the *balades* referred to there and in note 1.

Paris,¹ whence Deschamps accompanied him the next month to Troyes, which he left only in November.²

But while Deschamps was engaged with the English allies in Flanders, Sir Lewis Clifford was fighting the French forces in Scotland. The invasion of Scotland by Jean de Vienne led to a call on the 4th and again on the 13th of June for the English forces to assemble at Newcastle-on-Tyne by the 14th of July.³ From this call, however, Clifford (of whom the last previous notice is that of May 4th, already referred to), together with Sir Richard Stury, John de Worth, Thomas Latimer and Thomas Morwell, was on the 12th of of June specifically exempted, and enjoined to attend on the King's mother, the Princess Joan, "*ubicumque eam infra Regnum nostrum praedictum moram trahere contigerit.*"⁴ The Princess Joan's will is dated August 7th, 1385,⁵ and her death certainly followed within a few days.⁶ On the 6th of August the King had entered Scotland,⁷ and Clifford, so soon as released by the death of the Princess Joan, must have joined him there. That he did is indicated by the statement of Froissart that "*en la cité de Karlion estoient en garnisson messires Loys de Clifort, frère au seigneur, messires Guillaumes de Noefville, messires Thomas Mousegrave et*

¹ *Ib.*, p. 48.

² *Ib.*, p. 48.

³ Rymer, VII, 473 (4 June), 474 (13 June); cf. Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

⁴ Rymer, VII, 474.

⁵ Nichols, *Wills of the Kings and Queens of England*, p. 78.

⁶ The Monk of Evesham (*Hist. Regni et Vitae Rich. II*, p. 63) gives the date as "*circa principium mensis Augusti.*" Nichols' statement (*op. cit.*, p. 82) that the Princess Joan died July 8, 1385, is a manifest error. On his assertion that she died "of grief for the King her son's just resentment to her son John Holland, for killing Lord Stafford in a fray" (*loc. cit.*), see Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, II, 130, and cf. the Monk of Evesham, *loc. cit.* See also Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 294. The Princess Joan's will was proved Dec. 9, 1385, and Clifford was one of her executors (Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 81).

⁷ Wallon, *Richard II*, I, 243; Terrier de Loray, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

ses fils," etc.¹ Jean de Vienne did not return to France until shortly after November 26th, 1385,² and it is extremely unlikely that Clifford left Scotland while hostilities were still in progress. From May to December of 1385, accordingly, Deschamps and Clifford were employed in such a fashion as to make it practically impossible that they should have met in the interval. Moreover, the attitude of Deschamps toward England was clearly not such as would dictate the exchange of courtesies implied in the Chaucer *balade*. And finally, leaving the direct agency of Deschamps altogether out of the question, it is in the highest degree improbable that at any time during 1385 a French poem of so distinctly occasional a character as the *Lay de Franchise* should by any other medium have crossed the channel. It is probabilities and not certainties with which, indeed, we have just here to deal; but the probabilities seem decidedly against Chaucer's knowledge of the *Lay de Franchise* before the close of 1385, and therefore against the inference that the B-version of the Prologue was composed during that year.

The year 1386, however, opened more auspiciously, and in the early spring the circles of the two poets again intersected. As a result of the intercession of Leo, King of Armenia,³ commissioners were once more appointed to treat for peace, including on the English side Sir John Clanvowe,⁴ and on the French side Arnaut de Corbye, Louis de Champagne, and Charles de Trie⁵—the first two having been

¹ Ed. Kervyn, x, 394.

² Terrier de Loray, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

³ See the various references in *An Eng. Chron. of the Reigns of Rich. II, Henry IV, etc.* (Camden Soc., 1856), p. 146, and add *Chron. de St. Denys*, I, 418 ff.

⁴ Rymer, VII, 491-94; cf. Mirot et Deprez, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-08. The accounts are from the 9th (10th, 12th) of February to the 28th of March.

⁵ Rymer, VII, 497; cf. 496, 498.

among those who took part in the previous negotiations.¹ Charles VI, supposing that Richard II was coming to Calais to treat in person, advanced as far as Boulogne, but finding that only commissioners were being sent, despatched his own representatives to Leulingham, midway between Calais and Boulogne.² Deschamps, who seems to have been at this period, as *huissier d'armes*, in close attendance upon the King,³ may have been—it is scarcely too much to say, probably was—present at these negotiations, as we know him to have been at those of 1384, although his name appears in neither case in Rymer.⁴ Nor is there evidence of weight to oppose to any one who cares to conjecture that Sir Lewis Clifford may possibly have accompanied his friend Sir John Clanvowe and the English commissioners to France.⁵ The records are silent as to his whereabouts from the mention of his presence at Carlisle at the close of 1385 to his testimony in the Scrope-Grosvenor suit, October 19th, 1386. For that he did not accompany the Duke of Lancaster to Spain in 1386, as Froissart's mention of a Lewis Clifford in connection with that expedition implies,⁶ seems, in spite of Froissart, almost a

¹ See p. 758, n. 5, adding for Charles de Trie, index to Deschamps, s. v. *Trie*.

² *Chron. de St. Denys*, I, 426-27; cf. *Oeuvres de Deschamps*, XI, 48.

³ *Oeuvres de Deschamps*, XI, 45-48.

⁴ The safe conduct granted the commissioners included, however, "leurs Gents, Familiars, Chevalers, Esquiers, Clers, Varles et autres, de quel estat ou condicion que ils soient, *jusques au dit nombre de Trois cens Parsonnes*" (Rymer, *loc. cit.*).

⁵ It should be remembered that Chaucer's name, for example, is not included in the commissions of 1377 to treat of peace, although his own statement of accounts for both and Froissart's mention of him in connection with one prove him to have been on the two missions.

⁶ "Et fut la ville de Saint-Jaques à ung chevallier d'Angleterre bailliée a garder, et pour en estre le chief et capitaine, lequel on appelloit messire Loys Clifford, et avoit par dessoubz luy trente lances et cent archiers (ed. Kervyn, XII, 94-95). Cf. *Scrope-Grosvenor Roll*, II, 429; Morant, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Deanery of Craven*, p. 315; Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 263.

certainty. Lancaster and those who were to accompany him had already testified at Plymouth in the Scrope-Grosvenor case;¹ Clifford, on the other hand, gave his evidence in the refectory of Westminster Abbey on October 19th.² The fact that he was not among those who testified at Plymouth, and the immediate return from Spain that would necessarily have been involved in his presence later at the trial render his connection with the expedition highly improbable. Moreover, Froissart's reference is to a date after the marriage of Philippa of Lancaster, that is, after February 2nd, 1387,³ so that even though Froissart be correct (which is unlikely),⁴ there is no need to suppose that Clifford left for Spain until after October, 1386.⁵ There seems to have been, accordingly, as there had not been since the date of the *Lay de Franchise*, an opportunity in March, 1386, for Deschamps and Clifford to come together. That they did so meet one cannot from the facts at hand assert; but the possibility of a meeting may not be left out of the account.

Moreover, in June of the same year still another opportunity should perhaps be recognized. Professor Kittredge

¹ Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-310; *Scrope-Grosvenor Roll*, I, 49.

² *Scrope-Grosvenor Roll*, I, 183; Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 263.

³ See *Modern Philology*, I, 4.

⁴ "Froissart's account of the Galician campaign is simply hopeless. Chronology and topography are nothing to him. The Marshal takes a town in the heart of Leon, and goes back to Santiago to dinner! It is curious that Froissart should have made such a muddle of it, for he was at Foix in 1388, where there were eye-witnesses to question, and João Fernandes Pacheco, who told him about it at Middleburgh a few years later, was in a position to know." Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 321 n.

⁵ It may be mentioned (though of course the *argumentum ex silentio* has only corroboratory value in such a case) that Clifford's name does not occur in the lists of those to whom letters of protection were issued in connection with the expedition. See Rymer, VII, 490-91, 499-501, 508; *Cal. Pat. Rolls. Rich. II*, 1385-89, pp. 139, 160, 164, 191-93, 198, 209, 213, 250, 276, 309.

has already called attention to the fact that at that time Sir Thomas Clifford, son of Roger Lord Clifford, challenged Boucicault the younger to certain feats of arms.¹ It was with this same Sir Thomas Clifford, probably a near kinsman, that Sir Lewis Clifford had helped to hold Carlisle against the French the previous autumn,² and that he should have accompanied the challenging knight to France is not an unreasonable conjecture. The tourney took place at Calais, before William de Beauchamp,³ and who constituted the party of Boucicault we are not told. The incident, however, is of value as showing that during the early part of 1386 such communication was for the time restored between England and France as might readily afford occasion, whether at the hands of Clifford or of some one else, for the passage of the poem across the channel.

But there the opportunities seem sharply to break off. The formidable preparations at l'Écluse for the French invasion of England;⁴ the terror of the Londoners, who, "timidi velut lepores, meticulosi ut mures, requirunt hinc inde divortia, perscrutantur latebras;"⁵ the counter preparations on the part of England⁶—put further amenities out of the question for months to come. Deschamps appears as an uncompromising enemy of England, and an enthusiastic advocate of the proposed invasion:

Passons la mer, ou, j'apperçoy trop bien,
Sanz paix avoir, nous aurons guerre, guerre.⁷

¹ *Modern Philology*, I, 11; Rymer, VII, 526; *Livre des Faicts du bon Mesire Jean le Maingre, dit Boucicault*, Pt. I, Ch. XIV (*Collec. des Memoires*, ed. Pettitot, XVI, pp. 413-16; *Memoires*, ed. Michaud and Ponjoulat, II, 226).

² *Rotuli Scotiae*, II, 75 (29 Oct., 1385) and *passim*; *Cal. Pat. Rolls. Rich. II*, 1381-85, pp. 518 (26 Jan., 1385), 527 (16 Dec., 1384).

³ *Livres des Faicts*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See Wallon, *op. cit.*, I, 280 ff. and references.

⁵ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, II, 145, cf. 147.

⁶ Wallon, *op. cit.*, I, 287 ff.

⁷ No. 48 (I, 136-37); cf. *Oeuvres*, XI, 50.

The "terre Angelique" of the Chaucer *balade* is given a characteristic turn :

Las ! toy, terre gouvernée d'enfans !
 Visaige d'unge portez ; mais la pensée
 De diable est en vous toudis sortissans
 Destruiz serez, Grec diront et Latin :
 Ou temps jadis estoit ci Angleterre.¹

The poet prepares, with mingled feelings, to accompany the expected invasion :

L'yver est grant, la mer est ample,
 Les vens sont grief,

he exclaims.² And so :

Adieu la terre ou l'en puet reposer,
 Douce eaue aussy, adieu !³

But the dominant note is that of the *balade* on the Prophecy of Merlin :

Selon de Brut de l'isle des Geans
 Qui depuis fut Albions appelée,
 Peuple maudit, tardis en Dieu creans,
 Sera l'isle de tous poins desolée ;⁴

to which is joined vehement counsel to avoid delay :

Princes, passez sanz point de demourée :
 Vostres sera le pays d'Angleterre ;
 Autre fois l'a un Normant conquestée :
 Vaillant cuer puet en tous temps faire guerre.⁵

This mood seems to have lasted until the shameful *fiasco* in December of 1386, when the French fleet turned back ; whereupon Deschamps's ready invectives were launched

¹ No. 211 (II, 33-34) ; cf. *Oeuvres*, XI, 50, 98, n. 1. See the other *balades* on the same theme referred to in Vol. XI, 49 ff.

² No. 1060 (V, 351-52).

³ No. 798 (IV, 309).

⁴ No. 211 (II, 33).

⁵ No. 1145 (VI, 73-74), quoted by Raynaud in *Oeuvres*, XI, 50-51. See the other references there given.

against the "Lasches, couars, recreans et faillis"¹ of his own country as well.

Into the details beyond this point it seems unnecessary to go. Suffice it to say that the hostilities continued until early in the year 1389, when, on June 18th, a truce was concluded between England and France and their allies until August 16th, 1392.² After that there are of course opportunities in abundance for communication through Clifford between Deschamps and Chaucer: the tournament of Saint-Inglevert, where Clifford jousted March 21, 1389/90;³ the Barbary expedition of the same year, in which Clifford was associated with the circle of Deschamps's acquaintances;⁴ the mission to Paris early in 1391;⁵ and finally the one occasion where there is positive documentary evidence that Deschamps and Clifford were together, the negotiations for peace in April, 1393.⁶ What conclusion, then, may we

¹ No. 180 (I, 315-16); cf. especially *Oeuvres*, XI, 51 for the personal attack on Deschamps for his freedom of speech, and cf. his own bitter complaint in No. 772 (IV, 270); cf. No. 773.

² Rymer, VII, 622 ff., esp. 626.

³ See Kittredge, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11 for references, and add *Livre des Faicts*, Pt. I, Ch. xvii, and the interesting *Joutes de Saint-Ingelbert*, *Poème contemporain*, in *Partie inédite des Chroniques de Saint-Denis*, ed. Pichon (Paris, 1864), especially pp. 69-70.

⁴ Kittredge, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Clifford seems to have returned to England after the tournament, which lasted thirty days, for Froissart (ed. Kervyn, XIV, 150-51) speaks of the Englishmen as all returning together. The Earl of Derby was at Calais from May 9th to May 31st, with the intention (later changed) of joining the expedition (Toulmin-Smith, *Derby Accounts*, p. xxxix), and Clifford was picked up at Calais (Cabaret, *Chron. du bon Duc Loys de Bourbon*, ed. Chazaud, p. 222). The expedition started back at the end of September, 1390 (Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e Siècle*, I, 194). In April, 1390, and again at the close of the same year, then, we know Clifford to have passed from France to England.

⁵ Kittredge, *op. cit.*, p. 10, and references.

⁶ The *Complaint de l'Eglise* (VII, 293-311) is dated by Deschamps April 13, 1393, and the Epilogue reads: Ceste epistre fist et compila Eustace des Champs, dit Morel, au traictié de la paix des .II. rois de France et de Angleterre, estans pour lors a Lolinghem, etc. From Rymer, VII, 738-39 we know that Clifford was one of the English commissioners.

draw from this long and somewhat dreary rehearsal of the facts?

Were nothing else involved, the period beginning with the Saint-Inglevert tourney might well be regarded as offering the most favorable opportunity for the despatch of the *balade* and its accompanying poems from Deschamps to Chaucer. Two considerations, however, run counter to this conclusion. In the first place, we have seen¹ that in all probability Deschamps knew of Chaucer as early as the autumn of 1384, an inference which, taken in connection with the otherwise curious fact that the *balade* seems to show acquaintance only with the translation of the *Romance of the Rose* among Chaucer's works, renders so late a date as 1390 or thereafter very unlikely. But it is far more important to note, in the second place, that, whether knowledge of the *Lay de Franchise* reached Chaucer through Clifford or through some other source, the B-version of the Prologue was, as we may safely infer both from general considerations and from its special relation to the *Book of Cupid*,² written some little time before the date of Sir John Clanvowe's departure on the Barbary expedition, in the spring of 1390. We are compelled, therefore, practically to throw out of court the period of the three years' truce as affecting the problem at all.

That leaves us, accordingly, the fact that for almost a year after the precise day for which the *Lay de Franchise* was written England and France were literally at sword's points, with Deschamps and Clifford during part of the time engaged in the actual hostilities, and with no reasonable opportunity of any sort seeming to present itself for knowledge of such a poem as the *Lay* to cross to England. Early in 1386 such an opportunity does seem to have arisen, during renewed

¹ See p. 760.

² See p. 754.

negotiations for peace; immediately thereafter the preparations for the French invasion and Deschamps's anti-English crusade put it out of the question again for at least the remainder of the year, and hostilities continue until the truce of Leulingham. All the evidence, therefore, seems to point to the late spring or the summer of 1386 as the earliest possible date for the composition of the B-version of the Prologue. And it may also be said that whatever opportunity for communication there may have been in the following year (upon which the records apparently throw no light) none seems probable *after* the spring or summer of 1386 for at least the remainder of that year. Accepting, then, the spring, or more probably the summer or autumn of 1386¹ as a provisional date for the B-version of the Prologue, how does it relate itself to the other considerations involved?

Its most important bearings will be discussed in a later section of this paper. Here, however, two other attempts that have been made on different grounds to determine the date of B. must be considered. The first depends on a bit of evidence which brings into the problem a most tantalizing touch of human interest. Where was Chaucer actually living when the Prologue was composed, and does he perhaps in it, with something of the pride of new possession, allude to a house more to his taste than the one where for the twelve years previous he had lived, upon the city wall? In the *Academy* for December 6th, 1879, Professor J. W. Hales called attention to the fact that Chaucer's house in Aldgate—"totam mansionem supra portam de Algate"²—which had been leased to him in May, 1374, was granted by the corporation in October, 1386,³ to one Richard Foster,

¹ One needs to guard one's self against the fallacy of supposing that spring poems are necessarily composed in the spring!

² *Life Records*, p. 264.

³ *Ib.*, *loc. cit.* The exact date of the lease was 5th October, 1386. There is no actual record of the surrender. The lease was delivered on 6th November. See *Life Records*, pp. xxxiv, 264.

"possibly identical with the 'Richard Forrester' who was one of Chaucer's proxies when he went abroad for a time in May, 1378. . . . *The Legend of Good Women*," Professor Hales goes on, "was written after he had moved away, probably very shortly afterwards, *likely enough in the spring or summer of 1386*;¹ for, probably enough, he ceased to reside in the Gate-house a little time before he ceased to be the lessee. . . . Anyhow—and the remark may be of use towards settling the date of it—the house he mentions in *The Legend* can scarcely have been his tower in Aldgate." Professor Hales then quotes ll. 197–207 of the B-version of the Prologue, referring to the "litel herber that I have," in connection with the mention of "myn hous." Professor Skeat² also agrees that the remarks about 'myn hous' "are inconsistent with the position of a house above a city-gate," but in order to avoid the conflict between this fact and the date to which he has assigned the composition of the Prologue suggests that "if, as is probable, they [*i. e.*, the remarks about 'myn hous'] have reference to facts, we may suppose that [Chaucer] had already practically resigned his house to his friend in 1385, when he was no longer expected to perform his official duties personally." Professor Hales, on the other hand, had suggested as Chaucer's motive for leaving the house the fact that "his parliamentary duties called for his frequent presence in Westminster"—an explanation on the whole more probable than that he should have actually vacated his house over a year and a half before the lease was transferred. The writ for the election of the two knights of the shire for Kent is dated August 8, 1386,³ and Parliament assembled October 1st. The surrender of Chaucer's lease in August, then, would certainly be natural

¹ Italics mine.

² *Oxford Chaucer*, I, xxxviii.

³ *Life Records*, p. 261.

enough. One may even surmise that the duties involved in his full commission, dated June 28, 1386, as Justice of the Peace for Kent¹ may possibly have been such as to render a change of residence advisable. At all events, the detail is an extremely interesting one, and *if* Chaucer was in fact referring to his own house, it seems rather to corroborate the date for the composition of B. here arrived at on grounds entirely different from those of Professor Hales. The lion in the way is, of course, one's grave doubt whether here, as in the daisy-passage itself, Chaucer may not be giving his usual verisimilitude to a poetic fancy, for one cannot feel sure that the "olde bokes" even this time are "a-weye," and the *if* before one's premises must be writ large.

A very elaborate argument for 1385 and 1390 as the dates of A. and B. respectively, has been constructed by Mr. Bilderbeck²—an argument which, despite one's profound respect for the scholarly and always suggestive work of its author, rests on premises which seem to be not only untenable in themselves but even more unfortunate in their implications. The argument is based on the lines³ in which Alcestris urges the god of Love to leave his ire and be "somewhat treftable." "There can be no doubt," Mr. Bilderbeck assures us, "that, in the lecture on the duties of a king which Chaucer puts into the mouth of Alcestris, he is taking advantage of Queen Anne's well-known influence with the king, in order to convey to him, through her, a warning or a remonstrance against proceedings on his part which were calculated to endanger his safety and the peace of the kingdom."⁴ To the lines in question, Mr. Bilderbeck

¹ *Ib.*, pp. xxxiii, 259. Chaucer had been an "associate" Justice since 12 Oct., 1385 (*ib.*, pp. xxxiii, 254).

² J. B. Bilderbeck, *Chaucer's Legend of Good Women* (London, 1902), pp. 93 ff.

³ A. 353-375 = B. 373-389.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

submits, "it is impossible to concede appositeness. What has the God of Love got to do with the distinctions between rich and poor, or the advancement in rank of his lords? Why should Love, to whom the gods themselves are sometimes subject, be afraid of any *half-goddys*? The arguments and appeals in the passage have been dragged in to the violation of the fitness of things, in respect either to the character of the God of Love or to the circumstances of the fable out of which these arguments and appeals arise."¹ But has not the critic in this case, one is constrained to ask, in his zeal for the acquisition of chronological data been somewhat blinded to obvious artistic considerations? For one is forced to protest that the passage, with its arguments and appeals, is *not* "dragged in." On the contrary it is consistent with itself and with what precedes and follows it. For the sum of Alcestis's appeal at this point is simply *noblesse oblige*. It is his subject, his *vassal*, with whom the god of Love (Alcestis reminds him) is dealing—he must remember that; it is one of his people, to whom benignity is due:²

A king to kepe his *liges* in justyce;
With-uten doute, that is his offyce.³

True, it is also right and reasonable that he respect the claims of his *lords*; but it is of greater moment that

This shal he doon, *bothe to pore* [and] *riche*,
Al be that her estat be nat a-liche,
And han of pore folk *compassioun*.⁴

¹ *Ib.*, p. 95.

² I am using the A-version at this point, since it is the one from which Bilderbeck argues.

³ A. 366-67.

⁴ A. 374-76. The subordination of the reference to the lords is still more distinct in B., through the "al yit" of ll. 384, 388.

This last line, which contains the conclusion of the whole matter, Bilderbeck entirely overlooks, closing his quotation with a period at line 375. What follows—the concrete illustration of the lion and the fly—is also left out of account, so that the very essence of Alcestis's appeal, its stress on the low degree of the culprit and the consequent obligation to mercy in the "noble corage" of the one whom he has offended, is disregarded, and emphasis laid on a subordinate point. What the god of Love "has . . . to do with the distinction between rich and poor," then, is to recognize that "of his gentyre, Him deyneth nat to wreke him on a flye." That is the very gist of Alcestis's plea. Nor is there question in the lines of his being "afraid of any *half-goddys*," as Bilderbeck implies. His lords too have their rights, Alcestis points out; it is reasonable that they be "enhaunced and honoured and most dere" (for have not the half-gods claims of rank and kinship alike?), but this man's claim rests on the very fact that he is *not* a lord. The premise on which the whole argument of Bilderbeck depends seems admissible only if one reads the lines in the light of a preconceived theory.

"Chaucer's lecture on the duties and responsibilities of a king,"¹ in A., Bilderbeck assigns to 1385, because in that year Chaucer could still "convey to the king a strong and *timely* hint of the dangers that might attend a blind and unqualified adhesion to the policy which he seemed disposed to pursue."² That policy was, in the words Bilderbeck quotes from Stubbs,³ "to raise up a counterpoise to [his uncles] by promoting and enriching servants of his own," and it was the ennobling of de la Pole, "created Earl of Suffolk on August 6th, 1385,"⁴ and the fact that "in the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

² *Ib.* p. 99.

³ *Ib.*, p. 96.

⁴ Bilderbeck himself calls attention two pages earlier to the fact that on the same day on which de la Pole was created Earl of Suffolk the king likewise created his uncles Edward and Thomas Duke of York and Duke of Gloucester respectively!

same year John of Gaunt fortified himself against arrest in his castle at Pontefract," which "perhaps inspired the poet's recommendation that the king should 'kepe his lordys hir degre;' that they should be 'enchaunsede and honoured' as 'half-goddys;' and that he should—

Nat ryghtfully his yre wreke
Or he haue herd the tother party speke."¹

But is not all that, like the other, entirely beside the point? The god of Love, like a petulant boy, has begun with a contemptuous reference to a worm as more welcome in his presence than the poet,² and has ended with a threat in which he so far forgets his dignity as to include the offender for a second time among old fools.³ With a touch worthy of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* Chaucer allows Alcestis (whose sense of humor has not always descended to her commentators) to fall into mock heroic vein; over against the figure of the captious god of Love, in a pet because a poet has translated despite of love from old clerks, are all at once set the redoubtable "tiraunts of Lombardye That usen wilfulhed and tiraunye." The thing is masterly; it is Chaucer through and through.⁴ And instead of its delicately

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

² I am still using the A-version, from which Bilderbeck argues.

³ The sly humor of Alcestis's opening words: "god, *right of your courtesye*" is one of Chaucer's most delicious touches. Though, indeed, on the hypothesis under discussion one is at a loss to know precisely where to draw the line. May not Alcestis, who is Queen Anne, be gently reading the god of Love, who is King Richard, a "lecture" on kingly restraint of speech? For Richard, if one may believe the chroniclers, often availed himself in right regal fashion of his prerogatives as "lord of this langage!"

⁴ Nothing, indeed, could be more characteristic than the evident zest with which the figure of Love as a pettish and captious young person is drawn; and precisely the tyranny which Alcestis deprecates is animadverted on by Theseus (A. 1623-26), by Pandare (*Troilus*, I, 904-40), and, not to name others, by Chaucer in his own person:

For al be that I knowe not love in dede,
Ne wot how that he quyeth folk hir hyre,

humorous incongruity¹ we are asked to accept "a lecture on the duties of a king, expressed in tones at once earnest and solemn," which Chaucer with fine tact puts into the mouth of the Queen herself, who thus is made to remind her husband that

Him oghte nat be tiraunt ne cruel,
As is a fermour, to doon the harm he can !

In a word, where the plan and structure of the poem itself, considered as the work of art which Chaucer indubitably supposed he was engaged on, adequately account for the imagined references to matters without its scope,² the princi-

Yet happeth me ful ofte in bokes rede
Of his miracles, and his cruel yre ;
Ther rede I wel he wol be lord and syre,
I dar not seyn, his strokes been so sore,
But god save swich a lord ! I can no more.

(*Parl. of Foules*, ll. 8-14. Cf. ll. 1-7 ; *Merciles Beaute*, ll. 27-39 ; *Envoy to Scogan*, ll. 22-28 ; etc.).

¹It is interesting to note that Legouis (see below, p. 787, n. 1) recognized a similar humorous incongruity in another connection. Speaking of Amour's references "aux bons auteurs" in his long speech in A. 268 ff., he writes : "Quelque comique naissait sans doute de la discordance qu'il y avait entre sa jolie figure et son lourd étalage d'erudition" (p. 9). This is, however, he thinks, to the detriment, even to the ruin, of a Prologue till then all grace and all poetic charm.

²There is a seemingly valid distinction to be made between the *Parlement of Foules* and the Prologue, which is possibly of some importance in its bearing on the subject under discussion. In the *Parlement*, in the very nature of the case, one is forced to go outside the poem itself for any significance it may have over and above the ostensible picture it gives of the parliament of the birds. That *prima facie* significance does not in and for itself justify its elaboration in the poem ; one instinctively looks outside it for its real occasion. In the Prologue, on the other hand, the allegory is in itself "*totus, teres atque rotundus*." Every detail can be adequately accounted for by reference to the three central figures in precisely the characters they purport to have. The burden of proof rests wholly upon those who import an ulterior significance. The two poems, in other words, belong to distinct types, and to argue from one to another involves an initial fallacy.

ple of economy itself renders such references extremely doubtful. And when the acceptance of them involves a lecture with a sting in its tail,¹ "breathing," also, "a spirit of concern and anxiety,"² delivered—of all men!—by Geoffrey Chaucer to his sovereign, the respect emphatically gives us pause.³ It is not—be it distinctly said—

¹ Bilderbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

² *Ib.*, p. 108.

³ The uncertainties incident to such a method of interpretation as Bilderbeck's may be shown in another way. For independent reasons one has arrived at the summer or autumn of 1386 as a probable date for the composition of B. One turns to Knighton and finds that in the autumn of 1386 the Parliament (of which Chaucer was then a member) sent to King Richard as envoys the Duke of Gloucester and the Bishop of Ely, who were to inform the King, among other things, that it was his duty to summon a parliament once a year, "*tanquam ad summam curiam totius regni, in qua omnis aequitas relucere deberet absque qualibet scrupulositate vel nota, tanquam sol in ascensu meridiei, ubi pauperes et divites pro refrigerio tranquillitatis et pacis et repulsione injuriarum refrigerium infallibile quaerere possent,*" etc. (Knighton, II, 217). There at once is Chaucer's "*right to pore and riche.*" Moreover, the envoys also called attention to the fact that "*si rex . . . nec voluerit per jura regni et statuta ac laudibiles ordinationes cum salubri consilio dominorum et procerum regni gubernari et regulari, sed capuose in suis insanis consiliis propriam voluntatem suam singularem proterve exercere, extunc licitum est eis . . . regem de regali solio abrogare,*" etc. (Knighton, II, 219). There is also the "*keping his lords hir degre;*" there is the "*tyrannye*"—to say nothing of the striking parallel in the whole situation as Knighton gives it. One might, accordingly, with the utmost plausibility argue that in the autumn of 1386 Chaucer, himself a Member of Parliament, was in the B-version voicing as a friend the admonition which he feared would come in sterner form from the king's enemies, whose temper he had ample opportunity to know.

One recalls, moreover, that there are in A. five lines which Bilderbeck, with his theory of 1385 as the date of that version, overlooks, although if any lines in the poem seem to have specific contemporary reference it is they :

And that him oweth, of verray duetee,
Shewen his peple pleyn benignitee,
And wel to here hir excusaciouns,
And hir compleyntes and peticiouns,
In duewe tyme, whan they shal hit profre

(A. 360-64).

that one absurdly denies the possibility of Chaucer's indulging in references to contemporary events.¹ The contention is simply that such supposed references must first of all be judged as integral parts of a work of art, and that, furthermore, the characteristics of the poet himself, so far as one may gather them from his other works, must enter into the estimate.

There seems, then, to be in the opposing arguments examined no valid reason for abandoning the date proposed for the composition of B.—a date not earlier than the late spring or even the summer of 1386.

These lines do not occur in B. One will recall further that on August 29, 1393, Richard visited London to be publicly reconciled with the citizens—an occasion celebrated in a famous Latin poem by Richard de Maidstone (Wright, *Political Poems*, Rolls Series, I, 282-300), in which Richard literally heard the "excusaciouns" of his people, and at the "*supplicatio reginae pro eisdem civibus*" did show them "pleyn benignitee." But, in the very article of ten Brink whose argument Bilderbeck is attempting to refute, it will be remembered that ten Brink suggested for A. the possibility of a date scarcely before 1393, or possibly in 1394. Applying Bilderbeck's own principle of interpretation, then, one finds in A. what seems to be an almost startling reference to an event at the close of 1393. (To Legouis, on the other hand, the scene recalls something else: "Elle fait penser à l'intercession de la bonne reine Philippine de Hainaut en faveur des pauvres bourgeois de Calais voués à la mort par Edouard III. Plusieurs traits renforcent cette impression: la colère du dieu calmée par Alceste; l'allusion au pénitent qui implore merci et s'offre 'in his bare sherte,' etc." (*op. cit.*, p. 18). That was in 1347! The riches of the allusion are somewhat embarrassing). In other words, one may readily find in the supposed references to contemporary events equally strong arguments (I should myself be inclined to say much stronger ones) for referring B. and A. respectively to 1386 and 1394, as for Bilderbeck's suggestion of 1385 and 1390 respectively for A. and B. Bilderbeck's argument proves too much.

¹That Chaucer's phraseology is possibly, even probably, here and there more or less reminiscent of the general situation in England for a period extending over several years (precisely as the phrase "tyraunts of Lombardy" is reminiscent of well-known foreign affairs) one may readily admit. But that is a very different thing indeed from the claim that the whole situation of the poem is to be identified with the situation at the English court.

II.

Is it possible, now, to determine the date of A? Any attempt to do so must manifestly take first into account the couplet of B. in which the *Legend* is dedicated to the Queen:

And whan this book is maad, yive hit the quene
On my behalfe, at Eltham, or at Shene.¹

This is the one direct, explicit, unmistakable reference in the poem to the Queen, and in A. it is omitted. Why? Ten Brink suggested two possible reasons: "Als Chaucer seinen prolog umarbeitete, war entweder sein verhältniss zu den majestäten ein derartiges, dass es ihm gerathen schien, eine zu deutliche anspielung auf früher genossene gnade zu unterdrücken, oder aber die königen Anna († 7. Juni, 1394) war damals schon nicht mehr am leben."² The first reason, it must be confessed, seems little short of incredible.³ That an English gentleman should deliberately recall a dedication to his Queen because he did not stand so high in royal favor as in earlier days would be hard in any instance to believe;⁴ the possibility that Chaucer himself should commit so gross a breach of courtesy one may dismiss without hesitation. That leaves ten Brink's second suggestion, which under ordinary circumstances would seem little more probable than the first, inasmuch as a poem dedicated in her lifetime to the Queen would naturally enough remain after her death a tribute to her memory. But a peculiar circum-

¹ B. 496-97.

² *Eng. Stud.*, xvii, 19.

³ Both Koch (*Chronology*, p. 85) and Bilderbeck (*op. cit.*, p. 81) call attention to the improbability of such a reason for the excision of the couplet, but both overlook entirely the fact that ten Brink had offered an alternative suggestion.

⁴ Gower's change in the dedication of the *Confessio Amantis* is not, as Bilderbeck with right points out (*op. cit.*, p. 81), a case in point.

stance already referred to¹ renders it highly probable that—granted for the moment the existence at the time of the Queen's death of a well-known poem dedicated to her, with the addition of an explicit reference to Shene—the dedication *would* in the particular case of Queen Anne be cancelled after her death. For we read in Stow: "The seuenth of June Queene Anne dyed at Shine in Southery, and was buried at Westminst. The king tooke her death sô heauily, that besides cursing the place where shee dyed, hee did also for anger throwe downe the buildings unto the which the former kinges beeing wearyed of the Citee, were wont for pleasure to resort."² That a recognition of the grief which led the half-crazed king to tear down the manor house at Shene in which the Queen had died, should dictate the removal from a familiar poem of the lines which, associating the living Queen with that very house, must have recalled too painfully the happier days, is a supposition which gives an entirely adequate and vividly human motive for a change otherwise almost inexplicable. If, then, there should be found independent evidence which points in general to a somewhat late date for the version, we shall probably be justified in placing not long after the middle of 1394 the revision resulting in A.³ And other grounds

¹ See *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 671, n. 4.

² *Annales* (1615), p. 308; cf. the Monk of Evesham, *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II* (ed. Hearne), p. 125. Reference is made to the incident in another connection by Bilderbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³ Koeppel's suggestion regarding the revision of the Prologue—"dass sie nämlich als ein missglückter versuch Chaucer's zu betrachten ist, auch den prolog und einige der legenden für das hauptwerk seiner letzten periode, für die Canterbury-geschichten zu erwerten (*Eng. Stud.*, XXX, 467; reiterated in *Literaturblatt*, 1893, p. 51)—rests solely upon the supposed implications of the phrase "or I fro yow fare" of A. 85, which is, however, a simple narrative commonplace, with no hint whatever of actually riding away from one's company.

for supposing that A. does represent Chaucer's later work may indeed be pointed out.¹

One such piece of evidence seems to be afforded by the passages in A. which refer to Chaucer's age.² Regarding these references the first point to be considered is the question of fact. What, in a word, actually constituted old age in Chaucer's day? The prime essential to an understanding is to divest one's mind entirely of modern preconceptions in the case. "We must" as Professor Skeat has said in

¹ It is also worth noting that on July 12th, 1394, Froissart, after twenty-seven years' absence, landed in England, led by an overmastering desire to see the country once more. With him he brought, as he says, a book to present to the King: "Et avoie de pourvéance fait escrire, grosser et enluminer et fait recueillir tous les traittiés amoureux et de moralité que ou terme de xxxiiii ans je avoie par le grâce de Dieu et d'amours fais et compilés" (ed. Kervyn, xv, 141). After trying in vain to obtain audience with the King at Canterbury, whither Richard had come to make his pilgrimage on his return from Ireland, and after several rather pathetic disappointments, he found at last at Eltham his own and Chaucer's old friend Sir Richard Stury, with whom he talked much, "en gambiant les galleries de l'ostel à Eltem où il faisoit moult bel et moult plaisant et umbru, car icelles galleries pour lors estoient toutes couvertes de vignes." Through Sir Richard Stury the old chronicler and poet was at last informed that the King was anxious to see his book. "Si le vey en sa chambre, car tout pourveu je l'avoie, et luy mis sur son lit. Il l'ouvry et regarda ens, et luy pleut très-grandement et bien plaire luy devoit, car il estoit enluminé, escript et historié et couvert de vermeil velours à dix clous attachiés d'argent dorés et roses d'or ou milieu, a deux grans frumans dorés et richement ouvrés ou milieu de roses d'or. Adont me demanda le roy de quoy il traittoit. Je luy dis: 'D'amours.'" How the king was greatly pleased with this reply, and how he had the book carried to his "chambre de retraite," Froissart goes on to tell (ed. Kervyn, xv, 167). Is it not at least possible that Chaucer, hearing through their common friend of the return of this one of his old "lovers that can make of sentement" and of the gift to the King of the volume, part of which he knew so well, may have thus had called to his mind with double force the earlier poem? It is only a possibility, but it seems worthy of a moment's entertainment.

² A. 258-63, 315, 400-401.

another connection,¹ "if we really wish to ascertain the truth without prejudice, try to bear in mind the fact that, in the fourteenth century, men were deemed old at an age which we should now esteem as almost young." Few more striking statements of this mediaeval point of view could well be found than those in Deschamps. Pope Innocent III, commenting in the *De Contemptu Mundi* on the Psalmist's limit of seventy years, had said: "Pauci nunc ad .xl., paucissimi ad .lx. annos perveniunt."² On this limit of sixty years Deschamps bases the thirteenth section of his *Double Lay de la Fragilité humaine*—"De la Briefté de l'Aage:"³

A bien vous amesurez,
Que .lx. ans ne durez,
—Pou passent oultre le sueil—
Dont vint ans mescognoissiez,
Dix ans vous esjouissiez,
Dix ans dittes: "L'avoir cueil,"
Dix ans dittes: "Je me dueil,"
Dix ans estes rassotez
Et moins qu'enfans devenez,
Qu'on couche en un bersueil.

This surrender to old age of the two decades from forty to sixty one finds over and over again in Deschamps.⁴ Espe-

¹ *Oxford Chaucer*, I, xvi. To the instances there given add those on p. 86 of the same volume, and compare Vollmer, *The Boke of Cupide*, p. 55. See, too, Lounsbury's discussion (*Studies*, I, 48 ff.) of the statement in the *Pricke of Conscience* (ll. 764-65) that

Fone men may now fourty yhere pas,
And foner fifty, als it somtym was.

² See *Oeuvres de Deschamps*, II, 265.

³ *Ib.*, II, 264.

⁴ For this same division of the sixty years see Nos. 25 (I, 104), 321 (III, 14), 675 (IV, 134), 1450 (VIII, 135). The limit of sixty years is set, without division into decades, in Nos. 134 (I, 258), 198 (II, 17), 330 (III, 33), 565 (IV, 23). For part of these references I am indebted to Raynaud in *Oeuvres*, XI, 96, 146. One must not confuse this mediaeval attitude with the later conventional device, on the part of youthful sonneteers, of feigning old age; cf. Sidney Lee, *William Shakespeare*, pp. 85, 86.

cially is the decade from fifty to sixty painted, as above, in gruesome colors :

Autres .x. ans languereux, orphenin,
Vieulx, decrepiz ; mort nous met en sa fonde ;
L'umeur deffault et nous chéent li crin.¹

So, in balade No. 191² we are told that

Depuis c'uns homs a passé cinquante ans,
Sanz lui armer se tiengne en sa maison,
S'il a de quoy, ne voist plus par les champs ;
De reposer doit querir sa saison,
Vivre de sien, et user par raison
Des biens acquis loyaument, et non prendre
Les biens d'autrui, car c'est grant desraison :
Bonne vie fait a bonne fin tendre.

Ce temps passé, devient chanuz et blans
Par viellesce homs, s'a mainte passion,
Doleur de chief, froidure, goute es flans ;
De s'ame doit avoir compassion,
Penser a Dieu, querir remission
De ses pechiez, etc.³

¹ No. 321, ll. 33-35 (III, 15) ; cf. especially in the last stanza of No. 1450 (VIII, 136).

² II, 8, 9.

³ Cf. No. 297 (II, 156). For a woman old age began much earlier. See, for example, in the "Lamentations d'une dame sur la perte de sa jeunesse," No. 535 (III, 373-74), such lines as the following :

Vint et cinq ans dura ma jeune flours,
Mais a trente ans fu ma coulour muée.
Lasse ! languir vois ou desert d'amours :
Car mon chief blond en cel eage trouway
Blanc et merlé. . .
Ha ! Viellesce, par toy sui effacée.

With this, which should be read entire for its full effect, one may compare the parallel passage in No. 305 (II, 187), ll. 165 ff. :

Qui m'a si tost amené
Et donné
xxx. ans ? Mon aage est finé
De jeunesse ; ay cuit mon pain ;
Viellesce d'ui a demain
S'a tout mon bon temps cassé.

Nor is Deschamps merely painting an imaginary state of things. Under date of September 17, 1385, in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, for instance, is entered "exemption, for life, in consideration of his great age, of Gilbert Bouge, who is over 60, from being put on assizes, juries, attaints or recognizances," etc., etc.¹ So far, then, as the general boundaries of the period of old age in the fourteenth century are concerned, the case is a clear one.

Now it must be remembered that on Chaucer's own testimony in the Scrope-Grosvenor trial he was in October, 1386, "del age de xl ans et plus"²—a statement which has usually been assumed to imply the age of about forty-six.³ At the time of the composition of the first version of the Prologue, accordingly, he had not yet reached the fatal decade from fifty to sixty; after 1390 he was within its limits. Nor are we without specific testimony on the point. For somewhere between the beginning of the year 1390, during which the earliest form of the *Confessio Amantis* was completed,⁴ and the middle of June, 1391, when the new epilogue was substituted for the old,⁵ appeared Gower's famous advice to Chaucer, put into the mouth of Venus at the close of the *Confessio* itself:

And gret wel Chaucer whan ye mete,
As mi disciple and mi poete :
For in the floures of his youthe
In sondri wise, as he wel couthe,
Of Ditees and of songes glade,

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II.*, 1385-89, p. 95.

² *Scrope-Grosvenor Roll*, I, 178; *Life Records*, p. 265, cf. xiii; cf. also Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, I, xxxvii.

³ So Bond, in *Life Records*, p. 102; cf. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, I, xv-xvi; Koch, *Chronology*, p. 2, etc.

⁴ Macaulay, *The Works of John Gower*, II, xxi.

⁵ *Ib.*, xxii. Professor Macaulay has shown the previous conjectures regarding the dates of composition and revision to be worthless.

The whiche he for mi sake made,
 The lond fulfild is overal :
 Wherof to him in special
 Above alle othre I am most holde.
For thi now in hise daies olde
 Thow schalt him telle this message,
That he upon his latere age,
To sette an ende of alle his werk,
 As he which is myn owne clerk,
 Do make his testament of love,
 As thou hast do thi schrifte above,
 So that mi Court it mai recorde.¹

Gower's lines, accordingly, at least make clear the appositeness of references to Chaucer's advancing age in 1390 or later. So much for the facts.

As for the interpretation thereof, the best authority would doubtless be Chaucer himself, could he but be fairly called into court. And something not far from that seems to be really possible. Ten Brink years ago referred to the *Envoy to Scogan* as indicating that "der dichter etwa seit dem jahre 1393 dieses thema ohne scheu . . . berührt."² He did not, however, call attention to what is even more significant—the fact, namely, that Chaucer's reference to his age in the *Envoy* is, as in the A-version of the Prologue, connected with an offense against the god of Love, and expresses in Chaucer's own person the same humorous recognition of Cupid's contempt for "alle hem that ben hore and rounde of shape" which in A. is put, in the stronger terms demanded by the dramatic situation, into the mouth of the god of Love himself. That is to say, in a poem which we can almost certainly place late in 1393 we find such a reference to Chaucer's age as is not only in keeping with the general mediæval acceptance of its limits, but also in striking accord with the A-version of the Pro-

¹ *Works* (ed. Macaulay), III, 466 (Bk. VIII, ll. 2941*-2957*).

² *Englische Studien*, XVII, 14.

logue, which independent evidence has led us to date about the middle of 1394. The "old age passages" are, accordingly, to say the very least, not inconsistent with a date approximating that of the *Envoy to Scogan*.

Moreover, the reference to the "olde foles" heightens appreciably the *dramatic* quality of the Prologue. Regarding the absence from B. of this same mention of the poet's age Professor Legouis holds, it is true, "que le personnage d'Amour gagne à l'omission en consistance, et le prologue entier en poésie."¹ But as regards consistency, what is the fundamental note in the characterization of the god of Love? Even in B. is it sweet reasonableness? Suppose now that about 1394 Chaucer for some reason did come back to his earlier poem. What difference would his preoccupation meantime with the *Canterbury Tales*, so far as one may judge from their qualities, have made in his point of view? For one thing, he would cer-

¹ *Quel fut le premier composé par Chaucer des deux prologues de la Légende des Femmes Exemplaires?* (Le Havre, 1900.), p. 10. Through the courtesy both of Professor Legouis himself and also of Professor Kaluza, this important essay has been made accessible to me. One wishes it were possible to agree as heartily with the conclusions of Professor Legouis's extremely able paper, as with the fundamental principle it enunciates: "N'entendons pas par là qu'il [Chaucer] se soit préoccupé de fournir à ses futurs biographes un plus grand nombre de renseignements sur la vie et ses œuvres, mais qu'il a, en vrai poète, retouché le plan pour lui donner le plus de cohésion et d'harmonie possible; que, s'il a modifié des vers particuliers, c'est afin de les rendre plus clairs, plus expressifs et plus beaux" (p. 4). But the two alternatives which Professor Legouis states are those of a revision undertaken in the poet's decline (p. 4), which he rejects, and a revision which almost immediately followed the first composition (p. 18), which he accepts. This fails, however, to take into account a third possibility: namely, that the revision was undertaken at a period not of declining, but of heightened, powers—powers, however, whose direction and emphasis had meantime somewhat changed, so that from their exercise upon the earlier work there resulted a certain inevitable loss as well as a no less inevitable gain. For the present contention is not that the superiority of A. to B. holds absolutely at every point, but that A. bears unmistakable marks of a revision by a maturer, a firmer, a more sparing hand.

tainly have a stronger prepossession in favor of compactness of structure, and that, as we have already seen,¹ A. shows. But with equal certainty, I think, we may assume that to the man who had conceived the vivid contrasts of the Wife of Bath and the Clerk of Oxford, of Harry Bailly and the Prioress, of the "chanoun of religioun" and the London priest, the possibility of *dramatic contrasts* would be likely to make the first appeal. And the heightening of the contrast between the petulance and extravagance of the god of Love and the humorous tolerance and entire sweetness with which Alcestis, woman fashion, brings the offended deity to terms, is in perfect keeping with such a point of view. The lines themselves, too, besides accomplishing this, hit off delightfully Chaucer's own often boasted aloofness—the coolness of his wit—where there is question of loving *par amours*, while the sly malice of the god's suggestion of the true motive serves to give keener point to Alcestis's allusions to his cruelty. As for the loss in "poésie" one would have to define terms carefully before hazarding a reply. Thus much, however, seems pretty clear: that if by "poésie" one understands here the quality one feels in what Professor Legouis has himself aptly called "un Prologue [B] qui était jusqu'ici toute grâce et tout charme poétique,"² one must frankly admit that the other version does sometimes speak of something that is gone. But therein lies, perhaps, the strongest argument for the later date of the possibly less charming, less graceful, but certainly more compact, more dramatic, version. For where in the later *Tales* does one find the charming looseness of structure, the *abandon*, the lavish use of all the poet's wealth which one finds, let us say, in the *Parlement of Foules*? The fault of Legouis's admirable treatment of the problem is not that it attempts to

¹ *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 658 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

judge the matter on purely artistic grounds, for that is its most welcome contribution to a discussion not wholly free from pedantry. It is, if one may venture the criticism, that it perhaps fails to recognize that an artist, *as an artist*, does not stand still;¹ that the same problem will be approached by him at different periods from different angles; and that, in a world where every gain finds loss to match, one is compelled to weigh not only the fact of losses but the significance of their character as well. Gains and losses alike, then, in the A-version of the Prologue seem to point to a period well on in Chaucer's poetic development.²

¹ Legouis does believe of Chaucer that "le génie poétique suivit un progrès constant jusque'au jour où la plume lui tomba des mains" (*op. cit.*, p. 4). But his view that the two Prologues fall in the same year, "très rapprochées" (see *ib.*, p. 18), prevents his application to the present problem of the principle involved.

² Bilderbeck has offered the extremely interesting suggestion that Gower's message to Chaucer, already quoted, was the cause of the elimination, in 1390, of the "old age passages" in A. "Whether Chaucer took offense is an open question," he concludes, "but there can be little doubt that he recognized the *reductio ad absurdum* of the position in which Gower had placed him, and his recognition of this probably reinforced his determination to eliminate all references to old age which his artistic sense also condemned" (*op. cit.*, p. 106; cf. the fuller statements on pp. 105-6). If the lines in the Prologue have any direct connection with the passage at the close of the *Confessio*—something of which one may entertain no small doubt—is it not far more in keeping with Chaucer's character that they should have been *added*, in the spirit of the Canacee passage of the Man of Law's head-link, as a sly retort upon his friend? Venus's advice to Chaucer, it will be recalled, is that he

Do make his testament of love,
As thou hast do thi schrifte above.

In other words, like Gower and for the same reason—namely, that

. . . loves lust and lockes hore
In chambre acorden neveremore,
And thogh thou feigne a yong corage,
It scheweth wel be the visage
That olde grisel is no fole (2403-7)—

There is a further consideration, involving the translation of the *De Contemptu Mundi*, which seems to point to a date for the revision somewhere in the period of the *Canterbury Tales*. On the brink of the dismal arguments built up about the still more dismal treatise of Pope Innocent one lingers shivering. For the view that the translation "of the Wretched Engendring of Mankinde, As man may in pope Innocent

Chaucer is exhorted to "made a plein reles To love" (see, for Gower's use of "testament," as above, in the sense of last will, *Confessio*, vii, 3860; *Praise of Peace*, 177). For Gower's *shrift*, which Chaucer is thus to supplement, is, as the priest's specific words make clear (2895-96), precisely his confession that he is "unbehovely Your Court fro this day forth to serve" (2884-85), and his prayer: "I preie you to ben excused" (2888). If one turn, now, to the A-version of the Prologue, one finds in the first threat of the god of Love the lines:

*Although [that] thou reneyed hast my lay,
As othere olde foles many a day,
Thou shalt repente hit, that hit shall be sene* (314-16),

to which Alcestis later replies, in a couplet that does not occur in B.:

Whyl he was yong, he kepte your estat;
I not wher he be now a renegat (400-401).

That is to say, the god of Love is characterizing, in the two lines italicized, precisely such an attitude as that of Gower ("olde foles" in A. having replaced "wreches han don" of B.); while Alcestis—in two lines which sum up, the first by affirmation, the second by implied denial, the two parts of the message of Venus to Chaucer, with its admission of early service (ll. 2943*-49*) and its implication that his day, for her, was done (ll. 2950*-57*)—refuses to admit its application to Chaucer. When one remembers, now, that in the Man of Law's head-link, in direct connection with a long and explicit reference to the *Legend* (B. 60-76), occurs what is generally conceded to be a good-natured fling at Gower (B. 77-89), the possibility in the case of the Prologue of a clever reference, in perfect good humor, to Gower's not altogether tactful assumption that Chaucer and he were in similar parlous case may perhaps be admitted. I confess to thinking any connection between the two poems extremely doubtful. If there be one, however, it is sufficiently ambiguous to warrant the contention that it points quite as much to the insertion as to the rejection of the "olde age passages" after 1390.

y-finde" belongs to Chaucer's later period there is, indeed, I am convinced, sufficient ground. But the specific reasons hitherto urged for this opinion by those who have argued for the late date of A., I find myself entirely unable to accept. For they rest upon what, rightly or wrongly, seems to me an altogether unwarranted assumption: namely, that when a poet's outward circumstances are adverse, this state of things will inevitably be reflected in his work. To mark out, accordingly, the ebb and flow of his fortunes; to classify his poems according as they are grave or gay; to ascribe the grave to the ebb, the gay to the flow—such is the neat formula which gives, it must be admitted, no less precise results. But it smacks of the scholar's pigeon-holes rather than of insight into life, and seems particularly to ignore the cardinal fact that it has to do with Geoffrey Chaucer. We are asked to believe with Koeppel¹ that as a result of Chaucer's unhappy circumstances after the close of 1386 he devoted himself to achieving intimate acquaintance not only with Pope Innocent's *Liber de vilitate conditionis humanæ naturæ*, but also with the *Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins*, with the *Liber consolationis et consilii* of Albert of Brescia, and with St. Jerome, and that we enter upon "eine längere Periode dichterischer Erschöpfung, dichterischen Stillstandes." Ten Brink solemnly assures us that the straits in which Chaucer at this same time found himself were able "seine Lebenslust auf eine Weile [zu] dämpfen, auf kurze Zeit sogar den Humor von seiner Seite [zu] verscheuchen;" that "der weltfrohe Dichter fühlte sich zu ernster Betrachtung, zu erneuter Einkehr in seine innere Welt veranlasst; und für's erste mag seine Stimmung wiederum eine entschieden religiöse Färbung angenommen haben;"² and he connects the translation of the *De Contemptu* with the knowledge of poverty thus gained.³

¹ *Literaturblatt*, 1893, p. 54.

² *Geschichte*, II, 123–24.

³ *Eng. Stud.*, XVII, 22.

That retirement to the solace of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, that banishment of even his sense of humor, that period of poetic exhaustion, because of a turn in his fortunes, we are expected to ascribe to the man who wrote of Fortune herself the ringing lines :

But natheles, the lak of her favour
Ne may nat don me singen, though I dye,
'*Jay tout perdu mon temps et mon labour :*'
For fynally, Fortune, I thee defye !—

the man who put in Fortune's own mouth the words :

No man is wrecched, but him-self hit wene,
And he that hath him-self hath suffisaunce.

What had *he* on earth to do (one feels like asking in a fellow poet's, not a critic's, phrase) with the aimless, helpless, hopeless—being—Geoffrey Chaucer? Is it not far more in keeping with the character of the man who never wrote with more delicate humor than in the lines dispatched to Scogan from the "solitary wilderness" where he lay forgotten at the end of the stream,¹ to suppose that the enforced release from business, accompanied by poverty though it may have been, was welcomed as the long awaited opportunity to carry out larger plans? Surely Professor Skeat's view that "the years 1387 and 1388 were . . . the most active time of his poetical career"² is more likely to be in accordance with the facts.³ At all events, whatever reasons there may be for placing the translation of the *De Contemptu Mundi* in

¹ Compare, too, the *Complaint to his Empty Purse*.

² *Oxford Chaucer*, I, xxxix.

³ Perhaps, on the whole, the best corrective to such conjectures as those of Koepfel and ten Brink would be to construct a theoretical chronology of the writings of Thomas Hood, based on the axiom that humor and prosperity go hand in hand, and humbly submit it to the castigation of the facts.

Chaucer's later period, the assumption of its semi-autobiographic character needs careful scrutiny.¹

A far stronger argument for the late date of the translation appears by implication in ten Brink's discussion,² and rests on the distribution of the fragments of the treatise in Chaucer's own work. For, naturally enough, the question of Chaucer's motive in mentioning the treatise will not down. That it was his intention, as Koeppel has suggested, to complete up to date the catalogue of his works³ seems scarcely probable. Believing it, as Koeppel does, to be so, his recourse to italics in what follows is readily intelligible: "*was hätte den dichter abhalten können, auch [die geschichte der Constanze] in die liste des prologs aufzunehmen?*"⁴ What indeed? The obvious conclusion seems to be that Chaucer did *not* intend in A. to complete the catalogue of his works—particularly since he added only one! Why, then, should he have named that? An answer which at least tallies perfectly with what we know of Chaucer's practice in other instances is: Because he happened to have it fresh in mind—presumably from having been recently busied with it. But clearly he was also busied with it in some fashion when he wrote the *Man of Law's* head-link and the *Pardoner's Tale*, as well as when he wrote or modified the *Man of Law's Tale*—possibly also when the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* was composed.⁵ That the various poems

¹ Koch likewise believes that Chaucer had given way to ascetic feelings when he made the translation, but, also believing A. to be the earlier version, he places the *Wretched Engendring* with the *Life of St. Cecily* in 1374 (*Chron.*, pp. 28–29, 78). It would of course be equally extreme to deny *in toto* the thesis that a writer's fortunes may be more or less reflected in his work. So wholesale a disclaimer would find its refutation in any one of a score of instances. What gives one pause is the confident erection into a general principle of a matter of individual temperament.

² *Eng. Stud.*, xvii, 21.

³ *Ib.*, p. 198.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Perhaps one line of the *Monk's Tale* (B. 3199) is to be assigned here. It is interesting—in its bearing on ten Brink's theory that the original

which show in one way or another that the *De Contemptu* was in Chaucer's mind when they were written should belong to approximately the same general period, seems, if not certain, at least a natural and probable inference.¹

But why, the question keeps intruding itself, should Chaucer have begun translating it at all? There is a possible answer which, so far as I know, has never been suggested, yet which has at least analogy in its favor. Chaucer's translation of whatever pious tract it be that, combining Raymund of Pennaforte and Guilielmus Peraldus, underlies the *Parson's Tale*,² together with his translation of Albertano of Brescia's *Liber Consolationis*, find a place (the former in particular most aptly) in the *Canterbury Tales*. Is it not at least possible that Chaucer may have likewise intended his version of Pope Innocent for one of the Canterbury pilgrims? That is perhaps more likely than that it was an act of personal mortification on Chaucer's part—though indeed that he had found the translation of

Palamon and Arcite was in 7-line stanzas, because the fragments of the *Teseide* in the *Parlement* and the *Troilus* so appear—to observe that the fragments of the *De Contemptu* are in 7-line stanzas (in the *Man of Law's* Prologue and *Tale*) and decasyllabic couplets (in the *Pardoner's Tale*), while the original version was in prose! In other words, the material is given the metre of the poem in which it happens to be inserted, without reference to its original form. That, indeed, is what common sense would lead one to suppose, were common sense always allowed to influence the consideration of such problems. Even more to the point is it to observe that on ten Brink's hypothesis the lines from the *Filostrato* in the Prologue to the *Legend* would force us to the acceptance of a proto-*Troilus* in decasyllabic couplets.

¹ It should be observed, moreover, that the *Pardoner's Tale* and the *Wife of Bath's* Prologue are linked with the A-version on another side—through their common borrowings from *Jerome ageyns Jovynyan* and from *Valerie*. See esp. Koepfel, *Anglia*, N. F., I, 174 ff.

² See Miss Petersen's *The Sources of the Parson's Tale* (Boston, 1901).

it penance enough to warrant his having "now . . . the lesse payne," any one who has read but the opening pages of its fierce misanthropy can readily believe.¹

It is perhaps even possible to go one step farther and venture, though with the utmost diffidence, a conjecture regarding the particular member of the company for whom the translation may have been intended. Consider for a moment the Man of Law's head-link. The Man of Law is certain that he "can right now no thrifty tale seyn." Chaucer, in fact, has said them all—the stories of "thise noble wyves and thise loveres eke," examples of wifehood like Penelope and Alcestis (though no such cursed stories, to be sure, as those of Canace and Apollonius of Tyre). For to the Man of Law "the knotte why that every tale is told" seems to be mainly its bent to edification. Moreover, he is puzzled about the form his tale shall take, and extremely averse to being by any chance mistaken for a Muse :

But of my tale how shal I doon this day?
Me were looth be lykned, doutelesse,
To Muses that men clepe Pierides—
Metamorphoseos wot what I mene.

And so, he declares,

I speke in prose, and lat him rymes make.

¹ Even Deschamps, whom one can easily imagine revelling in its gloomy pages, seems to have been unable to finish it. For it is worth noting that on April 18, 1383, Deschamps presented to Charles VI a translation (more accurately, a paraphrase) of parts of the *De Contemptu* under the title of *Livre de la Fragilité d'umaine Nature* (*Oeuvres*, II, 237-305). His selections are made from the following chapters (Bonn edition) : I, 1-10, 12-14, 16-17, 19, 22-24, 29 ; II, 1, 6, 29 ; III, 1, 11, 15-17. Chaucer's fragments are from I, 1 (?), 16, 18, 22, 23 ; II, 17, 18, 19, 21 (see Koepfel, *loc. cit.*). It is of course a bare possibility that Deschamps's *Double Lay de la Fragilité humaine* was included among the poems he sent to Chaucer, in which case it may have given to Chaucer the suggestion for his own translation of the work. For other translations of the treatise, see the bibliographical notes to *Le Passe Temps de tout Homme et de toute Femme*, in *Oeuvres poétiques de Guillaume Alexis* (*Soc. de Anc. Textes fr.*), II, 71 ff.

That Chaucer actually intended, when the head-link was written, to put a prose preachment of some sort into the Man of Law's mouth admits little doubt. That it was not originally the story of Constance which he was to tell, follows, it seems clear, from the fact that her history is one of those very stories of "noble wyves" regarding which the Man of Law asks :

What sholde I tellen hem, sin they ben tolde?

Just at this time, however, as appears from the Prologue to the *Seintes Legende of Cupyde* itself, Chaucer seems to have been working over a prose translation of a tract quite sombre enough to satisfy even the Man of Law. And what the Man of Law actually begins with is a prologue taken bodily from this very work, while fragments of it appear here and there in the tale he does really tell. If Chaucer began, then, his prose translation with the Man of Law in mind ; if he soon found it too much for even his own robust taste ; if he substituted as the next best thing the story of Constance, in all likelihood composed before ; if, however, a bit of the original material, offering a rather apt introduction to the account of the merchants with which the tale begins, occurred to him as a fitting prologue, while other bits were called to mind as, pen in hand, he went once more over the poem—if one make these assumptions, one seems at least with some plausibility to account for several rather puzzling features of the situation as it stands. Be that, however, as it may, the distribution of the material of the *De Contemptu* elsewhere seems with some clearness to indicate that the translation, or at least its working over, falls in the time of the *Canterbury Tales* instead of in the earlier period, and this in turn carries with it as an inference the late date of that version of the Prologue which refers to it.¹

¹ The introduction of the lark passage in A. (ll. 139-143 ; cf. *Pubs. Mod.*

That the revision was a late piece of work seems to be indicated, again, by an extremely interesting and suggestive trait that characterizes it—a trait which in any case throws no little light upon the way in which Chaucer went about his task. For one of the most striking things connected with the revision is the scrupulous care which Chaucer takes to save himself the trouble of altering rhymes, and this invincible disinclination to touch his rhyme-words is of the utmost interest, independently of its present bearing. What has happened is briefly this: In only eleven instances in the entire Prologue has Chaucer changed the rhyme of a couplet, and then, it would seem, usually under stress of stern necessity.¹ On the other hand, in twenty-one instances he has

Lang. Assoc., XIX, 682) may possibly also point to the period of the *Canterbury Tales*. It has already been noted (p. 754, n. 2) that the couplet A. 139–140, which closely parallels F. 399–400, is too nearly a commonplace to give such a verbal detail evidential value. But that Chaucer's interest in the various strands which had entered or were to enter the tangled web of the *Squire's Tale*—particularly his treatment of the virtue of the magic ring—may have suggested not so much the phrasing as the finely imagined device itself of the herald lark whose words were understood, is not impossible. Moreover, that the *Squire's Tale* and the A-version were in mind not far from the same time seems probable from another interesting parallel—A. 113–18 with F. 52–57—which includes the reference to the sword of winter. The passage in A. differs from B., except in tenses, in one detail, the substitution in A. 112 of "And clothed him in grene al" for "That naked was and clad hit" of B. 130. F. 54 reads: "What for the seson and the yonge grene." That is, at the one point where A. varies from B, it agrees with the parallel passage in the *Squire's Tale*. (One should further compare with the three passages referred to *The Book of the Duchesse*, 410 ff., and *R. R.*, 56 ff.) It may be noted, also, that F. 481–82 recalls A. 83–84. The evidence is in itself altogether too slight to be convincing. Taken in connection with other considerations, however, which point the same way, it gains at least corroborative value.

¹ (1) A. 13–14 = B. 13–14; (2) A. 49–50 = B. 49–50; (3) A. 53–54 = B. 63–64; (4) A. 91–92 = B. 181–82; (5) A. 224–25 = B. 270–71; (6) A. 264–65 = B. 332–33; (7) A. 266–67 = B. 334–35; (8) A. 312–13 = B. 338–39; (9) A. 330–31 = B. 354–55; (10) A. 332–33 = B. 356–57; (11) A. 526–27 = B. 538–39. Of these, it will be noted that (2) and (3) belong

changed an entire line *except the last word*.¹ One is inclined to fancy that quite as much ingenuity must have been exercised in keeping the final word intact as in throwing it overboard and modelling the couplet *de novo*, but seemingly Chaucer did not think so. Moreover, in nine lines the last *two* words alone remain unchanged;² while in two lines only the last *three*,³ and in three lines only the last *four*⁴ are left untouched. That is to say, in thirty-five instances has more than half of the line been modified, and the rhyme-word carefully preserved. To these thirty-five cases, furthermore, there should be added the nine lines⁵ in which a single new rhyme-word is substituted for an old without, however, changing the rhyme itself. It is clear, then, that the *vis inertiae* to be overcome before Chaucer could bring himself to modify a rhyme was by no means inconsiderable.

At least two inferences may perhaps be drawn from these very suggestive facts. In the first place, they seem to offer

to the recasting of the *cento* from the *Marguerite* poems; that (4) is among the introductory lines of the passage that has been carried back over one hundred lines in order to fuse the two parts of the poem into one; that (5) has lost from between its two lines twenty-nine lines of B., through the omission and transposition involved in the modification of the *balade* setting; that (6), (7) and (8) form the setting of the long book-paragraph inserted in A.; and that (11) forms part of the notable change in the god of Love's final reference to the *balade*. That is to say, all but three—(1), (9), (10)—of the changes in the rhyme of couplets belong to the more thoroughgoing portions of the revision, where rather heroic measures were rendered necessary. (Couplets added or omitted *in toto* are of course not included.)

¹ A. 28 = B. 28; 51 = 61; 58 = 56; 59 = 67; 60 = 68; 69 = 81; 70 = 82; 72 = 188; 78 = 194; 83 = 99; 84 = 100; 107 = 120; 127 = 139; 146 = 214; 160 = 228; 165 = 233; 179 = 276; 227 = 300; 348 = 368; 402 = 414; 532 = 543. Cf. 106 = 202; 108 = 119.

² A. 33 = B. 33; 36 = 36; 52 = 62; 68 = 80; 89 = 108; 117 = 129; 136 = 150; 144 = 212; 242 = 316; 341 = 363.

³ A. 73 = B. 189; 98 = 204.

⁴ A. 94 = B. 198; 166 = 234; 533 = 542.

⁵ A. 39 = B. 39; 138 = 152; 143 = 211; 164 = 231; 234 = 308; 247 = 321; 317 = 341; 364 = 380; 544 = 578.

an additional criterion of no small value for determining which is, of the two versions, the revision and which the original. For nothing could better illustrate the essential difference between the spontaneity of first-hand composition and the restraint exercised in revision by what stands already written than just the phenomena in question. So long as thought and feeling are fluid, words come half unconsciously, and rhyme answers naturally to rhyme; the thought is first, the words second. In revision, on the other hand, precisely the reverse is the case. The word is *there*; the mould is already cast; the very lines are largely predetermined.¹ It is not so much his present thought as it is his previous expression which constitutes now for the poet the dominant factor, and from this very element of calculation involved, which Chaucer's treatment of the rhyme-words so strikingly illustrates, it follows that a revision will be apt to possess, other things being equal, more intellectual, fewer sensuous or emotional qualities than its original.²

¹ Chaucer's problem, as he set it, was very like that which confronts the modern writer who wishes to revise his work after page-proof has been reached. The flexibility even of galley-proof is no longer there; one is forced to cut one's phrase—still more one's thought—to the measure of the space already occupied.

² Compare, for an excellent illustration, the elimination from the *Palace of Art*, on revision, of the stanzas dealing with the sensuous delights of the soul. And, indeed, the relation of Tennyson's revised *Palace of Art* in the volume of 1842 to the original of 1833 has some rather illuminating points of contact with the relation of A. to B. Tennyson's growing sense of artistic unity found expression in the transposition of large groups of stanzas in order to make the ground-plan of his palace more consistent, just as Chaucer transposed large groups of couplets seemingly for greater temporal unity. The same sterner sense of the subordination of beauty of detail to the demands of the artistic whole that seems to have underlain the excision from A. of the lovely *Filostrato* lines and the condensation of the panegyric on the daisy, one finds in the omission from the *Palace of Art* of the beautiful stanza (among many others) on the "deep unsounded skies Shuddering with silent stars." And curiously enough, while in its first three-fourths the *Palace of Art* has undergone perhaps more extensive

And that precisely this element of calculation rather than *abandon* does characterize A. as contrasted with B., has been already sufficiently emphasized. But, in the second place and more particularly, this almost excessively scrupulous guarding of the rhymes as they stand seems to be peculiarly consistent with what we should expect of the older rather than the younger artist—with such a mood, for instance, as gained expression when Chaucer, in another poem, found it

. . . . a greet penaunce,
Sith rym in English hath swich scarsitee,
 To folowe word by word the curiositee
 Of Graunson, flour of hem that make in France.¹

That is precisely the attitude which finds concrete illustration in the handling of the rhyme-words in the Prologue, and so far forth the facts here noted corroborate the other evidence for the later date of the revision.

Finally, there remains the fact of the single manuscript of A. as contrasted with the dozen or more manuscripts of B.—a consideration which has been urged as a convincing argument for the priority of A. But to say the very least, the bearing of the existence of but the single manuscript is exceedingly ambiguous. Unquestionably one explanation might be that the supposed second version almost immediately superseded the first, of which no more copies, accordingly, were made. One has to be on one's guard, however, even here, against a particularly insidious form of the ambiguous

revision than any other poem of its length in the language, its last twenty stanzas—save for the omission of one, and four slight verbal changes in three others—remain untouched. Perhaps on the whole no more convincing evidence of any sort could be offered that the qualities of revised work, particularly after the lapse of a few years, are not those of spontaneity but of restraint, not those of lavishness but of economy, not those of "sweet disorder" but of conscious plan, than a detailed comparison of Tennyson's volume of 1842 with that of 1833, for the poems common to both.

¹ *Compleynt of Venus*, ll. 79-82.

middle. For "author's revision" carries with it in these latter days implications unheard of in the fourteenth century—implications which none the less slip, to the darkening of counsel, into one's reasoning in the premises. "Author's revision" now implies the relegation of earlier editions to the shelves of the second-hand book-shops, either finally or until the times of their restitution as rarities. But a fourteenth century MS., once launched on its career, had no such fate to apprehend. Such a supplanting of a first edition by a revision as modern conditions of printing and publication render inevitable, was in the nature of the case precluded where the "first edition" was a manuscript, which might proceed to multiply itself, without let or hindrance from other manuscripts, to the end of the chapter. But even granting the contention, it remains by no means the only possible explanation of the one MS. of A. On the other hand, the facts are quite as adequately accounted for if one suppose that the first version had the start of the revision by seven or eight years, and won, as it readily might, so firm a hold on the popular affection that the revision (particularly if undertaken for some such special reason as has been suggested)¹ failed, naturally enough, to displace the more familiar form. The cases are of course only partly parallel, but in the well-known popular attitude towards the Revised Version of the English Bible one may see an illustration of the more or less unreasoning tendency to hold by an old and well-loved literary form against a new, charm it never so wisely. The very fact that the MS. of A. is unique, accordingly, is certainly susceptible of interpretation as an argument for the lapse of several years between its composition and that of the earlier form.²

¹ See p. 781.

² Bilderbeck assigns B., which he of course regards as the revised version, to the year 1390. Chaucer's gratitude to the Queen, as expressed in the

III.

It seems possible to carry the investigation a step farther. Regarding the chronology of certain of the works mentioned in the Prologue the suggestions to follow—which, far from being the result of any preconceived theory, are on the other hand the outgrowth of successive inferences from observations whose significance was not at first perceived—are

Prologue, is for his appointment, July 12, 1389, as Clerk of the King's Works (p. 101); the love-making of the birds (which Bilderbeck connects with his elaborate interpretation of the details of the allegory in the *Parlement of Foules*: see his edition of *Chaucer's Minor Poems*, London, 1895, pp. 77-78) symbolizes "the healing of differences among the political parties of the period under reference" (p. 102); the lines on pity's "stronge gentil myght" laud "the moderation and forgiving spirit which characterized the new policy of the King (*ib.*); the "note of admonition" in the lecture on the duties of a king "gives place to a note of admiration in the [revised Prologue], which reads like a compliment to a king whose acts and policy are in strict accordance with the ideal of kingship presented by the poet" (p. 103); the lilies are removed from the god of Love's garland on account of the three years' truce with France (*ib.*); the references to Chaucer's own age go out on a gentle hint from Gower (pp. 105-6)—and the poem becomes a veritable cryptogram. Moreover, Bilderbeck's selection of 1390 is manifestly influenced in another respect by his strong *penchant* for allegorizing, which extends even to numbers. There are nineteen ladies, for instance, following the god of Love and Alcestis, because in 1385 Queen Anne was nineteen years old (pp. 90, 99); and Chaucer's "statement that the month of May always draws him . . . to observe the *resurrection* of the daisy . . . may be a symbolical way of describing something of the nature of an annual birthday tribute to the queen" (p. 90). As for this tribute we must note that "from 1385 to 1394 we have a period of *ten* years. There are *ten* good women whose stories are given in *nine* legends" (p. 89). Ergo, while "the coincidence in number may be accidental, it is at least consistent with the hypothesis" that the annual tribute of a legend continued up to the Queen's death! (It may be remarked in passing that as "Chaucer's plan or commission contemplated the incorporation of only *nineteen* legends" (p. 92), one each year, and as the Queen was nineteen years old when the series began, each annual tribute would constitute a graceful reminder of the approach of her fortieth year). Moreover, Bilderbeck finds "evidence of a revision of the Legends up to and including the *Legend of Ariadne*, which is the *sixth*

offered with the utmost caution. At the same time they seem to afford on the whole a distinctly more reasonable working-hypothesis for the chronology of the so-called Middle Period than some of the more purely *a priori* theories that hold the field, and if they should by any chance lead to a really fruitful reconsideration of the subject, their individual fate will be a matter of small moment.

In Chaucer's *Legend of Ariadne* are certain curious details for which, so far as I know, no explanation has ever been offered. They are not found in any of the other known versions of the story.¹ On the basis of the agreement between Chaucer's and Gower's accounts in two otherwise peculiar features,² Professor Macaulay has suggested that

in order" (p. 89). "Now, the period from May, 1385, to May, 1390, includes six months of May" (p. 108). Therefore, if one legend were written each year and six are found to be revised, the revision of the Legends, and presumably of the Prologue, must have taken place in the sixth year, namely, 1390. But unfortunately Bilderbeck forgets entirely what he had previously pointed out—the fact that ten good women have between them only nine legends! The *Legend of Hypsipyle and Medea* (No. IV), accordingly, must do duty for both 1388 and 1389 (Bilderbeck actually assigns the *Legend of Dido*, as the third in order, to 1387; see p. 90), the *Legend of Lucretia* (No. V) would fall in 1390, and the *Legend of Ariadne* (No. VI), and the revision, in 1391! The theory thus furnishes its own *reductio ad absurdum*. "La préoccupation chronologique," says Legouis with justice, though in another connection, "devient peu à peu idée fixe. Elle se fait tyrannique et arrive à gauchir le sentiment esthétique en le sollicitant vers ses fins propres. L'appréciation de l'œuvre n'y est jamais tout à fait pure et désintéressée. . . . Il n'est peut-être pas nécessaire que la vie de Chaucer soit conjecturée, il est essentiel que son œuvre soit lue avec justesse et avec goût" (*op. cit.*, pp. 19–20).

¹ See Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, III, xxxix, 333, for references to the sources of the story in Ovid, Plutarch, Boccaccio, Hyginus, and Virgil. Cf. Bech, *Anglia*, v, 337–42.

² "The idea that the son of Minos went to Athens to study philosophy, [and] the incident of the ball of pitch given by Ariadne to Theseus to be used against the Minotaur" (*Works of John Gower*, ed. Macaulay, III, 503); cf. also Bech, *Anglia*, v, 339–41. For Gower's version of the story see *Confessio Amantis*, v, ll. 5231 ff. (ed. Macaulay, III, 89 ff.)

while for the rest the stories of Chaucer and Gower are quite independent, "in regard to these matters we must assume a common source;" but of the details now to be mentioned there is no trace whatever in Gower. They involve, in a word, the way in which Chaucer has conceived the imprisonment of Theseus and the entrance of Ariadne into the plot, and particularly the proposition of Theseus to become after his release Ariadne's page. More specifically, the points in question are as follows. The prison of Theseus is a tower, which is "joyning in the walle to a foreyne" belonging to the two daughters of King Minos, who dwell in their chambers above. The two young women hear Theseus complaining as they stand on the wall in the moonlight, and have compassion on the prisoner.¹ When, their plan for his escape having been formulated, they disclose it to Theseus and the jailor, Theseus proposes to forsake his heritage at home and to become Ariadne's page, working for his sustenance.² In order that neither Minos nor any one else "shal

- ¹ The tour, ther as this Theseus is throwe
Doun in the botom derke and wonder lowe,
Was joyning in the walle to a foreyne ;
And hit was longing to the doghtren tweyne
Of King Minos, that in hir chambres grete
Dwelten above, toward the maister-strete,
In mochel mirthe, in joye and in solas.
Not I nat how, hit happed ther, per cas,
As Theseus compleyned him by nighte,
The kinges doghter, Adrian that highte,
And eek her suster Phedra, herden al
His compleyning, as they stode on the wal
And lokeden upon the bryghte mone ;
Hem leste nat to go to bedde sone.
And of his wo they had compassioun ;
A kinges sone to ben in swich prisoun
And be devoured, thoughte hem gret pitee.

(*Leg.* 1960-1976.)

- ² Fro yow, whyl that me lasteth lyf or breeth,
I wol nat twinne, after this aventure,
But in your servise thus I wol endure,

[him] conne espye," he declares he will disguise himself in lowly wise :

So slyly and so wel I shal me gye,
And me so wel disfigure and so lowe,
That in this world ther shal no man me knowe.¹

The proposition is of course not carried out, and the remainder of the story follows more closely the classical sources.

So soon, now, as one isolates these details which Chaucer, and apparently Chaucer alone, has added to give more body to the somewhat meagre outlines of the classical story, one sees that they very strikingly recall certain features of the *Teseide* and the *Knight's Tale*. The prison in the *Legend* is "joyning in the walle to a foreyne" (1962); in the *Teseide*, Palamon and Arcite are "in prigione Allato allato al giardino amoroso;"² in the *Knight's Tale* the dungeon "was evene

That, as a wrecche unknowe, I wol yow serve
For ever-mo, til that myn herte sterve.
Forsake I wol at hoom myn heritage,
And, as I seide, ben of your court a page,
If that ye vouche-sauf that, in this place,
Ye graunte me to han so gret a grace
That I may han nat but my mete and drinke;
And for my sustenance yit wol I swinke.

(*Leg.* 2031-2041.)

¹ *Leg.* 2045 ff. : cf. 2060-65 :

And, if I profre yow in low manere
To ben your page and serven yow right here,
But I yow serve as lowly in that place,
I prey to Mars to yive me swiche a grace
That shames deeth on me ther mote falle,
And deeth and povert to my frendes alle.

Cf. also ll. 2080-2082.

² *Teseide*, III, 11. For the relation of the garden, and so of the dungeon, to Emily's room, see III, 8 :

Ogni mattina venuta ad un'ora
In un giardin se n'entrava soletta,
Ch'allato alla sua camera dimora
Faceva, etc.

joynant to the gardin-wal" (A. 1060). In both the *Legend* and the *Knight's Tale* the prison is in a tower;¹ in the *Teseide*, however, it is a room in the palace.² In the *Legend*, "as Theseus compleyned him," Ariadne and Phaedra "herden al His compleyning, as they stode on the wal" (1968 ff.); in the *Teseide* "Palamon tutto stordito Griddò: omè! . . . A quell' omè la giovenetta bella Si volse;"³ the detail is entirely changed in the *Knight's Tale*. In the *Legend*, "of his wo they had compassioun" (1974); in the *Teseide*, "nè fu nel girsen via senza pensiero Di quell' omè."⁴ In the *Legend* Theseus proposes to be Ariadne's page; in the *Teseide* Arcite is disguised "in maniera di pover valletto . . . a mode che un vil garzone,"⁵ and becomes the servant of Theseus, unrecognized by him but known to Emily;⁶ in the *Knight's Tale*, "A yeer or two he was in this servyse, Page of the chambre of Emelye the brighte" (1426-27). In the *Legend* Theseus declares:

And for my sustenance yit wol I swinke;

¹ "The tour, ther as this Theseus is throwe" (*Leg.* 1960); "The grete tour. . . . (Ther-as the knightes weren in prisoun)," A. 1056-58.

² Perchè di sangue reale eran nati,
E felli dentro al palagio abitare,
E così in una camera tenere (II, 99).

The three accounts differ entirely in the elevation of the prison. In the *Legend* Theseus is thrown "Down in the botom derke and wonder lowe" (1961); in the *Teseide* the prisoners' room seems to be on the garden level, for when Emily hears Palamon's cry, "Si volse destra in su la poppa manca;" in the *Knight's Tale* Palamon "romed in a chambre on heigh, in which he al the noble citee seigh" (A. 1065-66).

³ *Tes.*, III, 17-18.

⁴ *Tes.*, III, 19. In all three accounts the jailor appears, but in the *Legend* it is by his aid that Theseus escapes (1987-90, 2021, 2026, 2051-53, 2141, 2150, 2153); while in both the *Teseide* and the *Knight's Tale* he is drugged, and the escape is made by the aid of a friend (*Tes.*, V, 24-25; A. 1468-74).

⁵ *Tes.*, IV, 22.

⁶ *Ib.*, IV, 40 ff.

in the *Teseide* Arcite is spoken of as

Diversamente l'opere menando
Quando per esso e quando per altrui;¹

in the *Knight's Tale*,

Wel coude he hewen wode and water bere . . .
And therto was he strong and big of bones
To doon that any wight can him devise.²

In the *Legend* Theseus says:

so slyly and so wel I shall me gye
And me so wel *disfigure* and so *lowe*,
That in this world ther shal no man me knowe;

in the *Teseide* Arcite through his grief

. . . . sì era del tutto *trasmutato*
Che nullo non l'avia raffigurato:³

in the *Knight's Tale* it is the fact that "his face was so *disfigured* of maladye" (A. 1403-04) which suggested to Arcite that "if that he bar him *lowe*" (1405) he might live in Athens unknown. Finally, it may be noted that Theseus in the *Legend* declares that he has been Ariadne's servant seven years "thogh ye wiste hit nat" (2116); while in the *Knight's Tale* the imprisonment of Palamon lasts seven years (A. 1452, cf. 1462). The time of Arcite's service in the *Teseide* is not stated.⁴

What, now, is the significance of these facts? In the first place, it seems clear that in his elaboration of the story of Ariadne Chaucer took certain of his suggestions from the *Teseide*. The parallels would be striking enough even if one did not know that Chaucer was acquainted with Boccaccio's poem; with that knowledge the evidence seems conclusive. In the

¹ *Ib.*, iv, 31.

² A. 1422-25; cf. 1415 ff.

³ *Tes.*, iv, 28.

⁴ He is with Menelao "vicin d'un anno" (iv, 20), but for his service at Egina (iv, 21-39) and with Theseus (iv, 40 ff.) no definite notes of time seem to be given.

story of Ariadne as he had it no hint was given of the way in which Ariadne and Theseus were brought into communication with each other; the situation in the *Teseide*, including the nearness of the prison to Emily's garden and chamber and Emily's overhearing of the prisoner's lament, provided an adequate device for filling this very serious gap in the action. In like manner, Arcite's service in the house with Emily offered a suggestion of no less value towards giving much needed body to the characterization of Theseus, while at the same time materially heightening the effect of his perfidy. That one may recognize, then, the influence of the *Teseide* in the *Legend of Ariadne* there seems to be little room for doubt.¹

¹There is a very curious blunder in the poem which seems to corroborate the view of the influence of the *Teseide*. All the MSS. except two—Addit. 9832, Brit. Mus., and R. 3. 19, Trin., Camb.—read at the beginning of l. 1966 "Of Athenes"—i. e.:

Dwelten above, toward the maister-strete
Of Athenes—

and the text in the *Globe Chaucer* so stands, with the note: "probably Chaucer's own slip." The reading of the *Oxford Chaucer*—"In mochel mirth"—is Professor Skeat's "bold alteration," as he himself calls it (III, 335), "suggested by ms. T., and supported by ms. Addit. 9832, which has 'in moche myrth.'" But it is interesting to note that the prison in the *Teseide* which Chaucer seems to have had in mind in his description *was* in Athens, so that the reason of the slip may have been his overlooking, for the moment, the fact that in the story he was really telling the scene had been transferred to Crete.

It is perhaps worth while to note, too, the connection, in the *Legend*, of Mars with a vow conditioned on victory:

By Mars, that is the cheef of my bileve,
So that I mighte liven and nat faile
To-morwe for t'acheve my bataile,
I nolde never fro this place flee, etc.

(Leg. 2109-12: cf. 2063.)

Compare Arcite's prayer to Mars (A. 2373 ff.), esp. 2402, 2405, 2407:

Than help me, lord, to-morwe in my bataille . . .
And do that I to-morwe have victorie . . .
Thy sovereign temple wol I most honouren, etc.

But where in the complicated history of the influence of the *Teseide* on Chaucer's work is just this instance to be placed? In particular, may we determine whether it preceded or followed the first telling of the *Knight's Tale*?¹ There seems to be a pretty definite answer possible. If the *Ariadne* followed the *Knight's Tale*, what we have is a decidedly inferior and rather sketchy replica of two motives already fully and artistically worked out.² That is, to say the least, inherently improbable. More specifically, while the substitution of the "foreyne" of the *Legend*³ for the lovely picture of the garden in Boccaccio is on any theory puzzling enough (though as the crude working out of a suggestion from a story not yet made the poet's own, it is at least intelligible), the view that just that substitution of all others should be deliberately made for Chaucer's own exqui-

Note also *Leg.* 2100 :

Doon her be wedded at your hoom-coming ;

and cf. A. 883-84 :

And of the feste that was at hir weddinge,
And of the tempest at hir hoom-cominge.

Compare also *Leg.* 1912 ; A. 865.

¹ Ten Brink's theory of an original *Palamon and Arcite* in seven-line stanzas has been, I think, entirely refuted by Dr. F. J. Mather, Jr. (*An English Miscellany*, presented to Dr. Furnivall (1901), pp. 301-13 ; cf. Dr. Mather's edition of *The Prologue and the Knight's Tale*, xvii), and by Dr. J. S. P. Tatlock (in a discussion soon to be published). Cf. also the present paper, p. 793, n. 5. That the *Knight's Tale* as it stands represents substantially the original "love of Palamon and Arcyte" (slightly modified here and there, it may be, to adapt it to the character of the Knight) seems by far the most probable hypothesis.

² Ten Brink assures us (*Studien*, p. 63) that the *Palamon* in stanzas was closer to the original and fuller than the present *Knight's Tale*, so that even on his hypothesis the inference of the text holds.

³ The N. E. D. is probably correct in accepting here the usual sense of *chambre foreine* (s. v. *foreign*, B., 2). Much as one wishes to agree with Professor Skeat (III, 335) and Mätzner against the meaning 'privy,' the usage seems all to point the other way. Cf. also Bech, *Anglia*, v, 342.

site rendering of the picture in the *Knight's Tale* is almost inconceivable. And finally, that after he had created the very noble and stately figure of Theseus in the *Knight's Tale* Chaucer should, once more deliberately, superimpose upon it in his reader's minds the despicable traitor of the *Legend of Ariadne*,¹ only the most convincing external evidence could lead one to believe. On the other hand, that the crude and not particularly meritorious sketch should precede the more finished and elaborate development is merely in the natural order of things.²

If this inference of the priority of the *Ariadne* to the first telling of the *Knight's Tale* be valid, it carries with it several interesting and somewhat important conclusions. For one thing, it follows that at least one of the individual *Legends* was composed before the Prologue. For the *Palamon and Aroïse* is distinctly stated to have preceded the Prologue (ll. 420-21), and we have just seen that the *Ariadne* gives evi-

¹ Part (indeed the main part, it would seem) of Chaucer's purpose in writing the *Legend of Ariadne* he declares to be

... to clepe agein unto memorie
Of Theseus the grete untrouthe of love . . .
Be reed for shame ! now I thy lyf beginne

(1889-90, 1893).

² It is noteworthy that Boccaccio's device of making Emily overhear Palamon's groans, and so become aware of the prisoner's presence—the device so essential to Chaucer's treatment of the situation in the *Ariadne*—is altogether omitted from the *Knight's Tale*. For the change Tyrwhitt's reason still seems to be sufficient: "As no consequence is to follow from their being seen by Emilia at this time, it is better, I think, to suppose, as Chaucer has done, that they are not seen by her" (*The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, 1775, IV, 136 n.). The omission, accordingly, is perhaps independent of the fact that the device seems to have been already used, although the agreement of the *Ariadne* and the *Knight's Tale* as against the *Teseide* in the explicit mention of the *tower* and in the reference to the *seven years* seems to indicate that (as indeed with Chaucer would be almost inevitable) the earlier handling of the material was not absent from his mind when the *Knight's Tale* was written.

dence of having preceded the *Palamon*.¹ Moreover, it also follows at once that the Prologue was not Chaucer's first essay in the use of the decasyllabic couplet.² And indeed, so soon as one entertains these two conclusions, they seem strongly to justify themselves on other grounds. Considering the second point first, it is certainly rather surprising that the initial experiment in the use of a new metre should be so astonishingly successful as the Prologue—particularly when in several, at least, of the *Legends* supposed to follow it the metre is handled with no such mastery. It is perhaps impossible, at least until still more shall have been done towards the establishment of Chaucer's text, to apply to his poems rigidly formal metrical tests from which the personal equation may be sufficiently eliminated to render the results at all trustworthy,³ so that the ear must probably for some

¹To the evidence already adduced for the early date of the *Ariadne* should be added its curious inconsistencies. The tribute to Minos is twice said to be an *annual* one (ll. 1926, 1941), while between the two statements occurs another (l. 1932) to the effect that it is every *third* year. Theseus in l. 2075 is said to be "but of a twenty yeer and three;" in ll. 2099-2100 Ariadne requests that he have Phaedra married to *his son* on their arrival! Theseus declares (though how he could have previously known her is not told) that he has been Ariadne's servant seven years in his own country—to which, however, it may of course be replied that a lover is not to be held rigidly to the truth in such a pass. Ariadne is greatly delighted for her sister and herself that "Now be we duchesses, bothe I and ye" (l. 2127), as if they were not princesses already. And it may be added that it is really Phaedra and not the heroine who does all the planning for Theseus's escape, Ariadne simply asserting, in seven lines, that he is to be helped, while Phaedra, in forty lines, furnishes the details. The discrepancy involved in l. 1966 has been already referred to (p. 808, n. 1).

²That would also follow upon the rejection of the theory that the original *Palamon* was in seven-line stanzas.

³Dr. Mather's belief (*An English Miscellany*, p. 312, n. 1) that, should metrical statistics be collected for all of Chaucer's poems in the heroic couplet, "it is possible that results as valuable as those obtained from the analytical study of Shakespeare's blank verse might be reached," one hopes may be prophetic. And within certain limits results are perhaps even now

time be, as indeed in any case it ought to be, the court of last resort. And if one read aloud from the Prologue Chaucer's account, for example, of his preparations for the night in the arbor¹ (eliminating from one's estimate so far as may be the charm of the diction considered by itself) and then at once read from the *Ariadne* the account of Theseus's voyage to the island,² one feels, I think, independently of the subject matter, all the difference between the flexibility and inevitableness of a medium of expression perfectly mastered, and the stiffness and intrusiveness of a measure of which the user is still distinctly conscious. The flow, the movement, of the thought in the passage from the Prologue is as absolutely untrammelled, as liquid (if one may phrase it so) as if the decasyllabic couplet had been from the beginning of time the predestined rhythm of just that thought. The poet is *thinking in his metre*, as one thinks in a language one has at last really learned. The passage in the *Ariadne*, on the other hand, has nothing inevitable about it; the thought is cut according to the metre; it does not flow, it jerks.³ The thought and the metre, in other words, are still two things; the one is undergoing adjustment to the other, as one's expression is adapted to the exigencies of one's vocabulary in a partially mastered foreign tongue. Independently of all other con-

attainable. Such attempts, however, as I have myself made in this direction in the study of the *Legend* have gone far to convince me, on comparing their conclusions with the results of similar attempts by one or two others, that a more definite working basis than any that at present exists is necessary before the data themselves can be relied on.

¹ B. 197 ff.

² *Leg.* 2144 ff. The two passages were chosen at random—except that both were to be narrative.

³ One is often painfully conscious of the line-lengths as one reads, as one is conscious of the bumping of the ties when one's train is off the track. In the passage from the Prologue one keeps serenely on the rails.

siderations contingent upon subject matter and the like, it is little short of incredible that Chaucer should have handled his instrument as he does in the *Ariadne* after he had acquired the mastery of it which the Prologue shows. Technique of that sort is scarcely a thing that can be put on and off at will. Moreover, the passage in the Prologue has Chaucer's unapproachable and (happily) unanalyzable *melody* to a supreme degree; the oftener one reads it the more magical it seems. In the *Ariadne*, however correctly the metres may scan, they never *sing*—at least for more than a line or two at a time. But melody, even Chaucer's, is not altogether independent of technique, and it is a fair presumption that the *Ariadne* is unmelodious because the technical difficulties of a somewhat unfamiliar metre had not yet been surmounted, and that the Prologue has Chaucer's "divine fluidity of movement" because meantime in that very metre practice of his art had shared with great creating nature. On the side of freedom and of melody, then, one finds distinct corroboration of the conclusion drawn from a consideration of the sources.

In still another respect the difference between the *Ariadne* and the Prologue is hardly less marked. In the *Ariadne* Chaucer has not yet learned to give *variety* to his line. In the paragraph (ll. 2136–2178) which has been referred to already occur, within forty-two lines, the following :

And took his wyf, and eek her suster free (2152)
 And gat him ther a newe barge anon (2160)
 And taketh his leve, and hoomward saileth he (2162)
 And fond his fader drenched in the see (2178)
 And forth un-to this Minotaur he geeth (2145)
 And out he cometh by the clewe again (2148)
 And by the teching of this Adriane (2146)
 And by the gayler geten hath a barge (2150)
 And of his wyves tresor gan hit charge (2151)
 And of his contree-folk a ful greet woon (2161)
 And in his armes hath this Adriane (2158)

And in an yle, amid the wilde see (2163)
 And in that yle half a day he lette (2167)
 And to the contre of Ennopye him dighte (2155)
 And to his contree-ward he sailleth blyve (2176)
 And every point performed was in dede (2138)
 And Theseus is lad unto his deeth (2144)
 And eek the gayler, and with hem alle three (2153)
 And seide, that on the lond he moste him reste (2168)
 And, for to tellen shortly in this cas (2170)
 And shortly of this matere for to make (2136).

Not only do exactly half of the lines in the paragraph begin with *and*,¹ but the same fall of the pause recurs incessantly. There is almost nothing of the wonderful skill in the placing of the caesura, so manifest in the verse of the Prologue and the *Knight's Tale*, which weaves upon the uniform background of the recurrent line-lengths the endlessly shifting pattern of the sentence-cadences. In another sense from that presumably intended, in the *Ariadne* Chaucer is certainly not yet able to "make the metres . . . as [him] leste,"² and one's sense of the presence of the apprentice hand is once more heightened.

It seems to be clear, then, that at least one of the *Legends* preceded the first version of the Prologue. Is there any evidence that this applies to others than the *Ariadne*? It is to be noted that the *Phyllis* seems to stand in particularly close

¹The number of lines so beginning in the entire *Legend of Ariadne* is 91—i. e., 1 in every 3.7.

²The line as it actually stands at the close of the Prologue—"Make the metres of hem as the leste" (B. 562)—has usually been taken as a reference of Chaucer's to the new metre of the *Legend*. If so, the present view leaves the allusion untouched, for even though some or all of the *Legends* in fact antedated the Prologue, the latter by a conventional fiction would of course refer to them as still to come. At the same time it seems very doubtful whether "make the metres" really means any more than "ryme" of l. 570, so that the real emphasis falls on "as the leste," and the sense of the passage is merely: Tell their stories in metre, but otherwise as you like—save they must not be too long drawn out.

relation to the *Ariadne*. As a matter of fact, the former is little else than a sequel to the latter, and refers back to it constantly¹ in such a way as seems to show that the *Ariadne* was at the time fresh in mind. Moreover, the conception of Theseus in the *Phyllis* is no more likely than that of the *Ariadne* itself to have followed the *Knight's Tale*, and neither in metrical nor in other merits does the one rank higher than its companion piece. That the *Phyllis* and the *Ariadne* belong very close together probably no one, from a comparison of the two poems, would ever doubt. But in the *Phyllis* it is distinctly implied that much time had already been spent on the *Legend*:

*But for I am agroted heer-biforn
To wryte of hem that been in love forsworn,
And eek to haste me in my legende,
Which to performe god me grace sende,
Therfor I passe shortly in this wyse.*²

Indeed, against the common view that when the *Phyllis* was written the greater number of the *Legends* as they stand had been composed there seems to lie no valid objection. But if the inferences of this discussion so far have been sound, it follows that the *Ariadne* and with little doubt the *Phyllis*, preceded the Prologue, and since the *Phyllis* seems to carry with it perhaps the majority of the other *Legends*,

¹ See, for example, ll. 2399-2400, 2446-51, 2459-61, 2464, 2543-49. The two stories are also directly associated at the close of the first book of the *House of Fame*, ll. 388-426.

² Ll. 2454-57; cf. also ll. 2490-91:

Me list nat vouche-sauf on him to swinke,
Ne spende on him a penne ful of inke;

and ll. 2513 ff.:

But al her lettre wryten I ne may
By ordre, for hit were to me a charge, etc.

it further follows that the Prologue was written after most, perhaps after all, of the narratives it introduces.¹

That, at all events, is the unforeseen conclusion to which a study of the facts with no such end in view has led. What farther can be said in its favor? The main thing, perhaps, is that it seems after all to be in perfect accord with the antecedent probabilities of the case. For manifestly Prologues, like Prefaces, are in general more likely to be written after than before the work they introduce, and unless some specific reason to the contrary should appear in the present instance, we are scarcely justified in maintaining an exception. And indeed, so soon as one tries to see why the view that the Prologue preceded the *Legends* has taken, as it certainly has,² so firm hold upon all of us, one finds an interesting situation. For, squarely faced, does not the whole theory depend upon a strangely literal-minded, not to say naïve, interpretation of the charming fiction of the Prologue itself? Both Alcestris and the god of Love speak in the Prologue of the actual *Legends* as still to be written; ergo, such must have been the case! But to the *reader* of the Prologue the *Legends* are necessarily still to come, and may we not suppose that Chaucer—whatever must be said of his interpreters—was endowed with sufficient imaginative power to conceive a Prologue, whenever written, as really what it purports to

¹That one or two of the better told stories may have been added after the Prologue was composed, is of course a possibility.

²See, for instance, ten Brink: In demselben und im folgenden jahre [1385, his date for the Prologue] mag Chaucer die uns erhaltenen oder verloren gegangenen erzählungen von guten frauen gedichtet haben (*Studien*, p. 149); and Skeat: "I suppose that Chaucer went on with one tale of the series after another during the summer and latter part of the same year [1385, the date assigned both forms of the Prologue] till he grew tired of the task, and at last gave it up in the middle of a sentence" (*Oxford Chaucer*, III, xxii). See also Bilderbeck's view, referred to above, pp. 801-03.

be, and to throw himself back to its point of view? Granted the delightful fiction of their genesis at all, how else conceivably could the *Legends* be referred to than as still to be composed? In other words, does not our common assumption that the individual *Legends* must have followed the Prologue depend once more on an instinctive and unreasoning acquiescence in Chaucer's incredible verisimilitude? That we can allow the statements of the Prologue itself any weight whatever in the matter is in the very nature of the case impossible.

Assume, now, for the moment, that the idea of the *Legend* had been conceived sometime before the Prologue was written, and that most, perhaps all, of the individual narratives had already been written. That will account at once for the almost uniform inferiority of the greater number of them, metrically and otherwise, to the Prologue. Assume further that Chaucer's weariness with the plan, manifest in certain of the *Legends* themselves, had led him to lay it aside for a time, and that later, through the reception accorded the *Troilus* (to be considered in a moment), an occasion had arisen for clever and brilliant utilization of the older material. Even apart from the actual evidence for the earlier date of the *Legends*, such a theory seems to involve fewer difficulties than that which has to account for the manifest inferiority of supposedly later to earlier work—of the *Legends* not only to the Prologue but to the *Knight's Tale* and the *Troilus*—and that, too, in the period of the poet's prime.¹

¹ It will at once be objected that the Prologue itself implies a greater number of *Legends* than are actually extant, so that its allusions to the *Legends* as still to be composed are at least not wholly the poet's pleasing fiction. It may be granted that Chaucer possibly intended, even when he wrote the Prologue, to continue at some later day the execution of his plan. The present argument deals and can deal only with the stories which we have. But have not, in general, Chaucer's statements regarding the details of the continuation of the *Legend* been taken far too seriously?

There are, however, other considerations which must be taken into account before a final estimate is made.

Much has been made of the lists of names in the *balade* and the Man of Law's head-link. But so soon as one really examines the facts, it seems obvious that Chaucer is speaking in the most general terms. I subjoin the lists of women in (a) the *House of Fame*, I, 380-426; (b) the titles of the *Legends* actually written; (c) the *balade* of the Prologue; and (d) the Man of Law's head-link. One might add at least four names, the rest being rather remote, from the *Franklin's Tale* (F. 1405-8, 1442-8), but the connection is not so close. The lists are as follows:

- (a) Dido, Phyllis, Briseida, Oënone, Isiphile and Medea, Dyanira, Ariadne (8).
- (b) Cleopatra, Thisbe, Dido, Hypsipyle and Medea, Lucretia, Ariadne, Philomela, Phyllis, Hypermnestra, [Alceste] (11).
- (c) [Absalon], Ester, [Jonathas], Penelopee, Marcia Catoun, Isoude, Eleyne, Lavyne, Lucesse, Polixene, Cleopatre, Tisbe, Herro, Dido, Laudomia, Phyllis, Canace, Ysiphile, Ypermistre, Adriane, Alceste (19).
- (d) Lucesse, Tisbee, Dido, Phyllis, Dianire, Hermion, Adriane, Isiphilee, Erro, Eleyne, Brixseyda, Ladomëa, Medëa, Ypermistra, Penelopee, Alceste, [Canacee] (17).

Of these, *eight* names occur in but *one* of the lists: Oënone (a), Philomela (b), Ester (c), Marcia Catoun (c), Isoude (c), Lavyne (c), Polixene (c), Hermion (d); *eight* occur in *two* lists: Briseida (ad), Dyanira (ad), Cleopatra (bc), Eleyne (cd), Herro (cd), Canacee (c[d]), Penelopee (cd), Ladomea (cd); *four* occur in *three* lists: Tisbe (bcd), Hypermestre (bcd), Alceste ([b]cd), Lucesse (bcd); only *five* (5) occur in all *four* lists: Dido (abcd), Phyllis (abcd), Isiphile and Medea (abc[-Medea]d), Ariadne (abcd).

One may put the case another way:

- (1) Of one *Legend* the heroine (*Philomela*) is in none of the other lists.
- (2) Five names in the *balade* (*Ester*, *Marcia Catoun*, *Isoude*, *Lavyne*, *Polixene*) do not occur in the other lists.
- (3) The heroines of two of the *Legends* (*Philomela* and *Medea*) are not included in the *balade*.
- (4) Six names in the *balade* are not in the head-link (i. e., those of (2) and *Cleopatra*).
- (5) Three names in the head-link are not in the *balade* (*Hermion*, *Briseida*, *Dyanira*).
- (6) The heroines of two of the *Legends* are not in the head-link (*Philomela*, *Cleopatra*).

IV.

The facts pointed out with regard to the *Ariadne* make possible still another inference. The *Ariadne*, it has been shown, seems certainly to have preceded the *Palamon and Arcite*. But the *Hous of Fame* clearly antedated the *Ariadne*. That, of course, no one has hitherto dreamed of denying, since the *Legend of Ariadne* has been assumed to follow the Prologue, which the *Hous of Fame* in turn admittedly preceded. But on any hypothesis the conclusion seems clearly to hold, since to suppose that Chaucer would insert in the *Hous of Fame* the sketch of Ariadne's story found at the close of Book I¹ after he had already elaborated it in the *Legend* is to the last degree improbable.² If, however, the *Hous of Fame* preceded the *Ariadne*, on the hypothesis above it also preceded the *Palamon*—a conclusion which may turn out to be more significant.

Leaving that, however, for the moment, it may be well to consider at this point the relation between the *Troilus* and the Prologue.³ Starting from the side of the *Troilus*, ten

- (7) Seven [eight] names in the head-link have no *Legends* (*Hermion*, *Briseida*, *Dyanira*, *Eleyne*, *Herro*, *Penelopee*, *Ladomea*, [Canacee]; I have included *Alceste* among the *Legends*).
- (8) Ten names in the *balade* have no *Legends* (i. e., those of (2) and *Herro*, *Canacee*, *Penelopee*, *Ladomea*, *Eleyne*).

The confusion is inextricable, and it seems hard to believe that Chaucer ever intended to do more than give indefinite lists of more or less typical names, such as one finds by the score in Deschamps, Froissart, and their contemporaries. Since the above note was written, a similar conviction has been expressed by Dr. French, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹ Ll. 405-426.

² The same argument applies to the story of Phyllis (H. F., I, 388-396) and to a less degree to that of Dido (H. F., I, 239-382).

³ On account of Professor Tatlock's very full and able treatment of the various theories concerned with the chronology of Chaucer's middle period in the forthcoming work already referred to, I have not felt myself at liberty to

Brink pointed out most explicitly the probability of close chronological connection between the two. After citing particularly *Troilus*, v, stanzas 254, 219, he concludes: "Der zusammenhang mit dem prolog der legende liegt so klar am tage, dass es mir unmöglich scheint, einen längeren zeitraum zwischen der vollendung des Troylus und der abfassung jenes prologs anzunehmen."¹ With this view Professor Skeat, on the basis of the same stanzas, concurs: "That it [the Prologue] was written at no great interval after Troilus appears from the fact that even while writing Troilus, Chaucer had already been meditating upon the goodness of Alcestis, of which the Prologue to the *Legend* says so much."² To the stanzas referred to by ten Brink and Skeat should be added another,³ no less suggestive, namely, v, 255:

Ne I sey not this al-only for these men,
 But most for wommen that bitraysted be
 Through false folk; god yeve hem sorwe, amen!
 That with hir grete wit and subtiltee
 Bitrayse yow! and this comveveth me
 To speke, and in effect yow alle I preye,
 Beth war of men, and herkeneth what I seye!

For what this stanza does is to enunciate with great clearness the specific theme of the *Legend*, as it is expressed not only in the Prologue, but in a number of the individual narratives:

And telle of false men that hem bitrayen;⁴
 But thus this false lover can begyle
 His trewe love. The devil him quyte his whyte!⁵

enter, in many cases, into so full a discussion as I should otherwise have deemed necessary of the views of different investigators. Such views have, I believe, been none the less taken into account.

¹ *Studien*, p. 120.

² *Oxford Chaucer*, III, xviii.

³ To the significance of this stanza Professor Kittredge first called my attention.

⁴ Prologue, B. 486 = A. 476.

⁵ *Leg.*, 2226-27.

With swiche an art and swiche sotelte
 As thou thy-selven hast begyled me.¹
Be war, ye women, of your sotil fo . . .
 And trusteth, as in love, no man but me.²
*Ye may be war of men, yif that yow liste.*³

That the idea of the *Legend* in general and of the Prologue in particular, so far as it concerned Alcestis, was very definitely in Chaucer's mind at the close of his work on the *Troilus* seems, then, indisputable—a fact which, in the absence of conclusive evidence to the contrary, certainly points to a close temporal relation between the two.

The possibility of such opposing evidence will be considered in a moment; meantime it should be noted that if one approach the problem from the side of the Prologue, the probability of close chronological connection with the *Troilus* seems even greater. For sufficient emphasis has scarcely been placed, perhaps, on the fact that the immediate occasion of the Prologue was manifestly the stir caused by the publication of the *Troilus*, with which Chaucer also links his translation of the *Romaunt of the Rose*.⁴ The situation which the Prologue implies must of course not be taken over seriously. That there was abundant talk and no small lifting of eyebrows in court circles one may be sure; how could it be otherwise when a full-fledged modern "problem novel" gradually unfolded before astonished mediæval eyes? But what Chaucer seems to have seen in the gossip of the court—reacting somewhat as undoubtedly he was himself against the sombre note in which his "litel tragedie" had closed—

¹ *Leg.*, 2546-47.

² *Leg.*, 2559, 2561.

³ *Leg.* 2387.

⁴ I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for the query whether Deschamps's insistence on this particular work of Chaucer's may not have had something to do with its being mentioned so prominently in the Prologue (although its association with the *Troilus* would of course be natural enough in any case). This gives another point of contact between the Prologue and Deschamps.

was the opportunity for a brilliant and effective occasional poem, and also the psychological moment for launching his collection of stories of women "trewe as steel." Suppose the *Troilus* to have been still the talk of the court, and one can picture the zest with which the clever turn given in the Prologue to the passing comment would be welcomed. Suppose on the other hand the *Troilus* to have been written long before, and all the touch and go, all the exquisite aptness, of the retort is gone.¹ Either the Prologue and the *Troilus*, then, lie close together, or Chaucer, we must believe, for once arrived very late upon the scene. The alternative seems scarcely a real one.

The impression of a close relation between the *Troilus* and the Prologue, moreover, is materially heightened by the fact pointed out in the earlier part of this discussion,² that in the B-version of the Prologue Chaucer makes use of three of the opening stanzas of the *Filostrato*, which he had rejected in the composition of the *Troilus*. I have attempted, in the passage referred to, to show that the earlier rejection of the stanzas from the *Troilus* was due to causes wholly independent of the merits of the lines themselves, while their inclusion in the Prologue demonstrates the appeal their beauty must have made even at the time when for other reasons they were passed over. And it is at least a fair inference that the *Filostrato* had not long ceased to occupy Chaucer's mind when this singularly apt transfer of lines too good to lose was made. The references in the *Troilus* to Alcestis and to the theme of the *Legend*; the fashion in

¹ The god of Love himself knew better :

For who-so yeveth a yift, or doth a grace,
Do hit by tyme, his thank is wel the more.

Bis dat qui cito dat !

² *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 618-626.

which the *Troilus* itself is made the occasion for the Prologue and the *Legend*; the use in the Prologue of the stanzas from the *Filostrato*, all serve, accordingly, to create a strong presumption in favor of a date for the *Troilus* not far from that of the first form of the Prologue.

There is, however, what seems at first sight to be, in the mention of *Troilus* and "la belle Creseide" in Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*, discussed in a very important article by Professor Tatlock in the first volume of *Modern Philology*,¹ a fatal objection to any view which closely connects in time the *Troilus* and the Prologue. "Obviously," Professor Tatlock believes, "the reference cannot be to the *Filostrato*;" Chaucer's poem is "the only English work before the end of the century which treats the story at all"; and "Gower spells the heroine's name with a C, though it is *Greseida* in Boccaccio and *Briseida* (or *Briseide*) in Benoît de S. Maur and Guido delle Colonne. . . . So early a passage," he concludes, "as that which mentions the *Troilus*, ll. 5245-56, can hardly have been written later than 1376. Therefore, unless it can be proved either that Gower's reference is not to Chaucer's poem, or that this portion of the *Mirour* was written later than is supposed, we must accept 1376 as the latest possible date for Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*."²

Despite one's respect for Professor Tatlock's judgment, one is still compelled rigidly to examine the conclusions he has so convincingly stated. And first of all, why is it obvious that Gower's reference cannot be to the *Filostrato*? Waiving for a moment the question of the initial letter of the heroine's name, even though one grant that Chaucer was the only Englishman then likely to possess a copy of Boccaccio's poem (a large concession, be it said in passing) the fact

¹ I, 317 ff. The passage from the *Mirour* is quoted in full on p. 831 of the present article.

² *Ib.*, pp. 323-24.

remains that the reference in question happens to be made by precisely the one other Englishman most likely to know about that (possibly unique) copy. For this premise of Professor Tatlock's seems not only in general to overlook the probability that Chaucer would speak of his new finds to his friends, but in this particular instance to assume that precisely the friend and brother-poet to whom the completed *Troilus* was dedicated learned then for the first time to know "la geste de Troilus et de la belle Creseide." One seems bound, on the other hand, to take distinctly into account the possibility that John Gower, and others as well, might very readily have known the *Filostrato*, or at all events its story, before Chaucer put pen to paper for his *Troilus*.¹ Moreover, is it not after all entirely beside the point to assume with Tatlock that the poem to which Gower refers "is most probably in English, for though Gower's poem is in French, he had England chiefly in mind"? But what England? Gower's own French and Latin poems were presumably also written for Englishmen, and his countrymen who could read them could certainly also read—to go no farther—the French of Benoît and the Latin of Guido. Tatlock's assumption, indeed, seems to overlook the obvious fact that Gower was

¹Such seems also to be Professor Macaulay's opinion. For Tatlock (p. 322, n. 3), in crediting to Hamilton (*Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne*, p. 136) the discovery of the reference, has apparently overlooked the fact that Macaulay himself had made use of it in his edition of Gower: "This [i. e., the *Mirour*] was the work upon which Gower's reputation rested when Chaucer submitted *Troilus* to his judgment, and though he may have been indulging his sense of humour in making Gower one of the correctors of his version of that—

'geste
De Troÿlus et de la belle
Creseide,'

which the moralist had thought only good enough for the indolent worshipper to dream of in church," etc. (*Works of Gower*, I, xii, xiii).

but one of hundreds of tri-lingual Englishmen, to whom allusions at least to French and Latin writings would be perfectly intelligible. If one accept it, by the same token "danz Catoun" of Somnolent's very next stanza (l. 5266) was also "probably in English"—to say nothing of Seneca, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Bernard, Ambrose, Tullius, Boethius, Cassiodorus, Isidore, Horace, Martial, Ovid, Fulgentius, Chrysostom, Cyprian, and others not a few, specifically named in the *Mirour*.¹ There seems to be nothing in the reference itself which warrants any definite assertion whatever as to the language of the "geste" Gower had in mind.² Nor does the contention, resting presumably on the words "la geste" of the original, that "Gower's reference has little point unless it is to a well-known poem of considerable length on the subject of Troilus and Criseyde only" seem to bear close inspection. As for the "well-known," one can but think of the allusion to "al the love of Palamon and Arcite Of Thebes, *thogh the story is known lyte*," and of Froissart's reference in the *Paradys d'Amours* to the characters in his own *Meliador*.³ Nor can the statement be made too emphatic that the indubitable fact that Troilus actually heads the list of lovers in Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours* before 1369,⁴ goes far to break the force of every argument whatsoever drawn from the supposed unfamiliarity of the Troilus-Criseyda story before Chaucer's

¹ See *Works*, ed. Macaulay, I, lvii-lviii.

² This consideration breaks the force of Tatlock's statement that Chaucer's *Troilus* "is the only English work before the end of the century which treats the story at all." As for the accuracy of the statement itself, one should bear in mind the possibilities in the case of the *Laud Troy-book*, as stated by Miss Kemp (*Eng. Stud.*, XXIX, 3-6) and discussed by Wülfing (*ib.*, 377-78, cf. 396).

³ See Kittredge, *Englische Studien*, XXVI, 330-31.

⁴ *Paradys d'Amours*, l. 974; see Tatlock, *op. cit.*, 323, note; cf. *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 648.

time. And as regards the restriction of Gower's reference to a poem of considerable length on the subject of Troilus and Creseida only, precisely the same logic would lead us to conclude, for example, that Froissart's references to his "trettiés amoureux de Pynotëus et de Neptisphele,"¹ or his "*livret de Pynotëus et de Neptisphele*" as he more frequently calls it,² were to an independent poem of considerable length on the subject of Pynotëus and Neptisphele only, whereas the story is in fact but an episode in *La Prison Amoureuse* itself.³ That the point of Gower's allusion depends in the least on the manner in which the story referred to was told, it is very difficult to see.⁴

Tatlock's argument, then, that Gower's reference is to Chaucer's *Troilus*, rests in the last analysis on a single letter, the initial *C* of the heroine's name, and despite the seeming triviality of the detail the logic is at first blush amazingly convincing. But it in turn rests, as a matter of fact, on certain assumptions of doubtful validity. One such assumption is that Chaucer himself was the innovator in the change from *B* or *G* to *C*. On the other hand there is undoubtedly a possibility for which Tatlock's own reference⁵ to the facts gives ample evidence. "On sait," says Morf in his review⁶ of Gorra's *Testi inediti di storia Trojana*, "que Boccace dans le *Filistrato* appelle l'heroine *Griseida* et non

¹ *Oeuvres*, ed. Scheler, I, 286.

² *Ib.*, I, 287, 323, 327, 340.

³ Ll. 1316-1995. Froissart's reference is, indeed, doubly suggestive, for it seems to obviate entirely any necessity of assuming that the Man of Law's statement, "In youthe he made of Ceys and Alcion" (B. 57), refers to an originally separate work of Chaucer's rather than to the existing episode in the *Book of the Duchesse*.

⁴ The bearing of this is manifest upon Tatlock's reference to the *Troilus* as the only work known in the fourteenth century except the *Filistrato*, "in which the story of Troilus forms anything but an episode."

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 323, n. 1.

⁶ *Romania*, XXI, 101, n. 1, referred to by Tatlock.

Briseida, et c'est sans doute l'influence de son poème qui a amené quelque copiste des versions de Guido à introduire *Criseida*, *Griseida*, dans leurs texts (ainsi dans les MSS. Palat. 154 (1374) et 89-44 (xv^e siècle) de A et le ms. Gadd.—45 (xv^e siècle) de C)." As early as 1374, then, at least one ms. of Guido had been influenced by Boccaccio in this very detail.¹ Not only so, but there is unimpeachable evidence that very little later than Chaucer's time Boccaccio's *G* had become *C* in the independent French rendering of the *Filostrato* itself. The translation of Pierre de Beauvau was made at the extreme end of the fourteenth century or during the first years of the fifteenth.² Of this translation there are in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris six MSS., all but one of which have *Creseide*, the sixth having *Briseida*.³ One of the five MSS. with initial *C* can be dated, by the arms it bears, between 1407 and 1409; the others have no date, but are assigned to the fifteenth century.⁴ That is to say, before Chaucer wrote, the form in *C* was not only certainly known, but may well enough have been familiar through MSS. of Guido influenced as above.⁵ It may even have existed independently in the MSS. of the *Filostrato* itself, under the influence of the well-known name of the other

¹ Tatlock seems to have overlooked ms. Palat. 154 in Morf's statement, for he refers only to the *G* and *C* "in some fifteenth century MSS. of Guido" (*loc. cit.*).

² Moland et d'Héricault, *Nouvelles françaises du XIV^e siècle*, pp. ci-ciii, cf. 121. Tatlock's reference to it as a "late French romance" is perhaps slightly misleading—though in the previous note he gives its date as above.

³ *Ib.*, pp. cxxxiv-v.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. cxxxiv.

⁵ Moreover, "Armannino a précédé Boccace en appelant la fille de Calcas *Criseida*" (Morf, *loc. cit.*). "Mais," Morf goes on, "il n'a guère été le modèle de Boccace parce qu'il ne parle pas des amours de *Criseida* et de *Troilus*." The fact, however—to which Tatlock also refers—does show still further the danger of basing any chronological argument upon the form of the name.

Cryseide, the daughter of Cryses—the very analogy which, with a possible side-glance at the etymology of the name,¹ seems to have led Boccaccio himself to make the change from *B* to *G*. For that the analogy was likely to be carried one step farther, the actual *C* of the French translator, or of his copyist, makes clear.²

There is, however, another tacit assumption involved in the conclusion under examination—the assumption, namely, that the ms. of the *Mirour* in its testimony regarding the crucial letter stands without doubt for Gower's reading and not the scribe's. Now unless it can be proved that the ms. itself is of even date with the poem it contains, there is the distinct possibility that an original *B* or *G* may have been changed in transcription by a slightly later scribe under the influence of Chaucer's work. That such things happened, we know from the influence of the *Filostrato* on the mss. of Guido above referred to, and from a curiously apposite instance in England itself. For in two passages in the ms. of the Laud *Troy-book* an original *Brixaida* has been changed by another hand to *Cresseida*.³ Just that has not happened in the case of Gower's ms., for through the very great courtesy of Mr. Jenkinson, Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, I have the assurance, on his own verification, that the word is "*Creseida* without trace of erasure

¹ See Herzberg, *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vi, 197: "Boccaccio wollte die *Chriseis* als die *Goldige* gedeutet wissen." It must be remembered that Gower himself—and we may be sure Chaucer—knew of the "faire maiden" who "cleped is Criseide, douhter of *Crisis* (*Conf. Amantis*, v, 6443–44; cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 121: Chryseidam Apollinis sacerdotis filiam), as distinguished from Criseida the daughter of Calchas.

² One may put the matter thus: Supposing Chaucer's *Troilus* never to have existed, would such a reference as Gower's, on the basis of known relations of the other versions of the story, have seriously puzzled any one for a moment?

³ *Eng. Stud.*, xxix, 5, 377.

or alteration." But any copyist after Chaucer's poem was known might readily in the first instance have written *Creseida*. It is true that the man who knows most about the ms., its editor, Professor Macaulay, writes: "I have little doubt that this copy was written under the direction of the author";¹ and his belief must carry very great weight. But where a difference of merely eight or ten years in the date of a ms. might so simply account for the phenomenon in question, the utmost caution must be exercised in drawing large conclusions from the data. And while the considerations here offered do not prove "that Gower's reference is not to Chaucer's poem," they manifestly do throw grave doubts upon the inference that the allusion is to the *Troilus*.

But granting, for the argument, that such is the meaning of the reference, the "geste" which Sompnolent dreamed that he heard sung when he had reached the bottom of the cask was even thus scarcely likely to be the story as Chaucer finally told it, where the stress lay heaviest on the tragedy, "how Crisseide Troilus forsook,"² and where "yonge freshe folkes, he or she" were warned to repair home "from worldly vanitee"; but rather the story whose vivid climax was the lovers' meeting. That is to say, Gower's reference itself seems to apply (if not to Guido, or to the story as Boccaccio told it) to the *Troilus* only as it stood before the fourth and fifth books with their tragic emphasis had been reached. With the completed *Troilus* it is entirely out of keeping. And is it indeed easy to believe in any case—as one recalls the strangely heightened mood which for once,

¹ *Works of Gower*, I, lxix. For that matter, if (to put a case) the ms. was written under Gower's direction after the publication of Chaucer's *Troilus*, an original *G* may have been changed to *C* by Gower's own orders—a suggestion for which I am indebted to Professor Kittredge.

² *Troilus*, IV, 15, repeated identically in *Leg.*, A. 265, as the theme of the *Troilus*.

in the closing stanzas, seems to break through all conventions—that the “moral Gower,” to whom in these stanzas the poem was directed, should *thus* respond to the appeal to himself and Strode (accompanied as it was by a prayer to “that sothfast Crist, that starf on rode”)

To vouchen sauf, ther nede is, to corecte,
Of your benignitees and zeles gode?

If that dedication, couched as it was, made no impression upon Gower, then Gower was not the man we think we know; if it did appeal to him, the embodiment thereafter of the story in a sluggard's drunken dream is scarcely conceivable. If the reference, then, is to Chaucer's handling of the story at all, it seems to show nothing more than that at the time when it was made the Creseyde story had begun to engage the attention of Chaucer and his friends.

But when *was* the reference made? Tatlock thinks hardly later than 1376. That, however, is to contract the limits a good deal more closely than Macaulay himself, who cautiously says of the *Mirour*: “On the whole we shall not be far wrong if we assign the composition of the book to the years 1376–1379”;¹ while Tatlock admits an addition as late as 1378.² Where there is one addition there may be others, and there seems to be no valid reason why Sompnolent's stanza should not have been written at any time up to 1379. On the contrary, some countenance seems to be given the suggestion of a possible insertion of the very stanza in question by the fact that its account of Sompnolent's prayers *au matin* is not altogether consistent with an earlier passage in the same description wherein it is stated that Sompnolent *au matin* leaves the labor of his prayer to nun and friar:

¹ *Works of Gower*, I, xliii.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 324, n. 3; cf. Macaulay, *op. cit.*, p. xlii.

Car lors se couche a lée chiere,
 Ne ja pour soun de la clochiere
 Au matin se descouchera :
Ainz le labour de sa priere
Laist sur la Nonne et sur le frere ;
 Asses est q'il ent soungera.¹

Moreover, there is, as it happens, a puzzling parallel which seems to give still further color to the suggestion that the reference under discussion may not have belonged to the poem from the first. It may be well to recall specifically the stanza in the *Mirour* :

Au Sompnolent trop fait moleste,
 Quant matin doit en haulte feste
 Ou a moustier ou a chapelle
 Venir ; mais ja du riens s'apreste
 A dieu prier, ainz bass la teste
 Mettra tout suef sur l'eschamelle,
 Et dort, et songe en sa cervelle
 Qu'il est au bout de la tonelle,
 U qu'il oït chanter la geste
 De Troylus et de la belle
 Creseide, et ensi se concelle
 A dieu d'y faire sa requeste.²

In the B-text of *Piers the Plowman* occur the following lines :

Thanne come Sleuthe al bislabered · with two slymy eȝen :
 'I most sitte,' seyde the segge · 'or elles shulde I nappe ;
 I may nouȝte stonde ne stoupe · *ne with-oute a stole knele.*
 Were I brouȝte abedde · but if my taille-ende it made,
 Sholde no ryngyng do me ryse · ar I were rype to dyne.'
 He bygan *benedicite* with a bolke · and his brest knocked,
 And roxed and rored · and rutte atte laste.
 'What ! awake, renke !' quod Repentance ; 'and rape the to shrifte.'
 'If I shulde deye bi this day · me liste nouȝte to loke ;
I can nouȝte perfily my pater-noster · as the prest it syngeth,
But I can rymes of Robyn Hood · and Randolf erle of Chestre,
 Ac neither of owre lorde ne of owre lady · the leste that euere was made.³

¹ Ll. 5179-84.

² Ll. 5245-56.

³ Passus v, 392-403 ; C-text, Passus viii, 1-12 ; not in A-text ; see ed. Skeat, i, 166. I am indebted for this reference to a lecture of Professor Kittredge's.

The parallel between the two passages may of course be accidental; it is striking enough, however, to carry with it at least the possibility that one influenced the other. If that be true, there can be little doubt which was the borrower. It is scarcely probable that the *Mirour*, whose limited circulation is indicated by the fact that but one MS. is known, influenced William Langland; that, on the other hand, Langland's immensely popular poem, of which Professor Skeat enumerates forty-five MSS., should have been known to Gower there is every probability. And that for the folk-rhymes in the head of Sleuthe there should be substituted the bookish *geste* of Sompnolent's dream is what, from Gower, we should naturally expect. But the date of the beginning of the B-text of the *Vision* is the earlier part of 1377.¹ Even apart, then, from the considerations already urged regarding the force of the allusion, we can scarcely be certain that Gower's reference to Troilus and Creseyde much, if at all, preceded 1379, nor, indeed, can we be positive that it greatly antedated 1381.² So long, accordingly, as there is no valid reason for supposing that Gower was referring to an English poem, or to one which dealt exclusively with Troilus and Creseyde; so long, too, as at least one MS. of Guido antedating 1376—and others later—has the initial *C*, as has also the still earlier Armannino and the very slightly later MS. 112 (with the majority of the other MSS.) of the French translation of the *Filostrato*; so long as scribal influence, even a trifle later, by the *Troilus* remains a possibility, we seem scarcely justified in concluding "that the probabilities are overwhelmingly in favor of the view that

¹ Ed. Skeat, II, p. xii, cf. xi-xiv.

² "On the whole we may conclude without hesitation that the book was completed before the summer of the year 1381" (Macaulay, *op. cit.*, I, p. xlii), though, as Macaulay continues, "there are some other considerations which will probably lead us to throw the date back a little further than this."

Gower is referring to Chaucer's poem." Moreover, so long as even a possibility remains of the addition of the stanza in question up to 1379 or possibly 1381, it seems scarcely wise, on the strength of the allusion, to "accept 1376 as the latest possible date for Chaucer's *Troilus* and *Criseyde*." I confess to great disappointment at having to give up, for myself, what seemed at first (and to others may still seem) a bit of solid rock in the general chaos. But there are too many other possible explanations of the reference in question to allow one safely to use it as a cornerstone in Chaucer chronology. That Gower may have known, possibly through Chaucer, the story of the *Filostrato* at some time before 1379-81 seems all that it is safe to say; and even so, Guido still remains a possibility.

We seem to be thrown back, then, upon that "*a priori* argument against an early date for the *Troilus*" which Professor Tatlock admits "must remain, not only weightier than any of the other arguments, but one which can be counterbalanced only by a strong piece of unequivocal evidence"¹—the argument, that is, from "the length, excellence and maturity of the *Troilus*," and the difficulty of believing "that it was finished within three or four years of Chaucer's first visit to Italy and his first acquaintance with the works of Boccaccio."² I had earlier hoped to consider in some detail the evidence offered by the *Troilus* itself of a maturity in certain respects little (if at all) short of that evinced by the more representative *Canterbury Tales*, but such a study will have to be postponed.³ It must suffice at present to call attention to a very few significant facts which seem to indicate that from

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ I hope at some time to be able to go on with a study, already begun, of the *Troilus* in its relation to the *Filostrato* (and, as far as possible, to Benoit and Guido), with special reference to just this question of Chaucer's artistic methods as shown in his management of his materials.

the *Troilus* Chaucer probably passed with but short interval to the supreme exercise of his powers in the *Canterbury Tales* themselves.

In the first place, the paramount interest of the *Troilus*, as in absolutely none of Chaucer's other work except the greatest of the *Canterbury Tales*, is in men and women. One may, perhaps, go a little farther. For even among Chaucer's men and women one feels at least two great groups. Those of the one belong first to the Middle Ages; those of the other first and always to Geoffrey Chaucer. One need only recall together the Duchess Blanche, the women of the *Legends*, Cecilia, Virginia, Constance, Griselda, even Emily and Palamon and Arcite themselves to feel between them all a certain unmistakable kinship. In order really to know any of them one must think mediæval thoughts and see life under unfamiliar prepossessions and conventions, and even so their world remains a somewhat alien one. They are unmistakably the work of a great poet, but one thinks of him first and last as a great mediæval poet.¹ As soon, however, as one recalls Nicholas and Alison, Daun John and the merchant's wife, the affable Devil and the Somnour of the *Frere's Tale*, the Friar and Thomas of the Somnour's retort, the "chanoun of religioun" and his dupe, the Wife of Bath and Harry Bailly, one is on totally different ground. It is wholly fortuitous that they date from the fourteenth century; their engaging rascality and infinite *bonhomie* demand for their appreciation no introduction to a mediæval point of view. Save for the accident of language, they are contemporaries of Falstaff and Sir Toby and Autolycus, or of their remoter kin in Fielding and Thackeray. That some such broad distinction, phrase it how one will, holds good among

¹ This does not in the least overlook the infinite variety of the life of the Middle Ages. But underlying that variety there are none the less certain common characteristics which one thinks of as *par excellence* "mediæval."

Chaucer's characters, no one will be likely to deny. But just this attainment of an attitude which is a solvent for whatever is merely accidental and of the poet's times is one of the surest marks of the maturity of such *Tales* as the Shipman's, the Somnour's, the Frere's, the Miller's, and the rest whose characters have just been named. And the significant thing for the present discussion is that Pandare's affiliations are wholly with this latter group, Creseyde's also to a large degree, and even Troilus's to a less extent.¹ That is to say, we are never in the *Troilus* long away from people scarcely less real than those who later played the little drama on the road to Canterbury.²

But even more, perhaps, than in the paramount place it gives, not to types, but to living people, the *Troilus* claims kin with the greater *Canterbury Tales* in a certain paradoxical attitude towards the very life in which it manifests so keen an interest. For in the maturer *Tales*, despite all (and even that too little) that has been said of Chaucer's breadth of sympathy, his "knowledge of human nature which comes of sympathetic insight," is it not after all something very different which is their more distinctive note—a certain *detachment*, not easily defined, but clearly felt; a curious sense of the presence, behind all the actors, of an entirely unsolicitous spectator of the play? It is rarely absent when the Wife of Bath, the Nun's Priest, the Pardoner, the Miller, the Canon's Yeomen are on the stage; it becomes absolutely quintessential in the *Envoy to Scogan*. And in the *Troilus*, whenever Pandare speaks, one is no less curiously aware of something in the background—like Meredith's

¹That happens to be also the order of their divergence from Boccaccio.

²The fact—if I may adapt a suggestion of Professor Kittredge's—that the characters of the *Troilus* are drawn at full length, as in a work of (let us say) Thackeray's, while the others are treated with the superb compression of Kipling's short stories, should not blind one to their parallel realism.

Comic Spirit, with its "slim feasting smile"—which is playing the game with Pandare no less urbanely and ironically than he with Troilus or Creseyde. I am conscious of the danger of arguing from what may be regarded as an impression; but it is precisely this feeling of detachment, of disinterestedness, of supreme lightness of touch in the characterization of Pandare (and this is mainly Chaucer's, not Boccaccio's) which seems to me to point most clearly to a ripeness little short of that of the crowning period itself. It is the embodiment of a point of view which one thinks of as coming, however native the bent that way, with years; and the embodiment itself has the utter freedom from effort which goes with a mastered art.¹

This sovereign ease itself, moreover, is perhaps seen most clearly in connection with another characteristic of the *Troilus* which it has in common with the admittedly later *Tales*—its marvellous mastery of *dialogue*. I shall quote but one typical example, a few of the stanzas describing the first visit of Pandare at Creseyde's house:

Whan he was come un-to his neces place,
 'Wher is my lady?' to hir folk seyde he;
 And they him tolde; and he forth in gan pace,
 And fond, two othere ladyes sete and she
 With-inne a paved parlour; and they three
 Herden a mayden reden hem the geste
 Of the Sege of Thebes, whyl hem leste.

¹ Pandare's unfailing urbanity, too, his infinite *savoir faire*, his Mephistophelean plausibility are possibly equalled, scarcely surpassed, in the graceless intriguers of the later *Tales*. Moreover, one finds in Pandare, as in them, the same gift of being all things to all men. Few details seem better to show Chaucer's immense superiority in characterization to Boccaccio than his subtle differentiation between the Pandare who talks with Creseyde, and the Pandare who deals with Troilus. It is really far subtler (for the canvas is larger) than the changes of tactics of which Daun John or the Somnour's Frere are past masters, and it certainly adds its quota to one's feeling of the maturity of power that underlies the *Troilus*.

Quod Pandarus, 'ma dame, god yow see,
 With al your book and al the companye !'
 'Ey, uncle myn, welcome y-wis,' quod she,
 And up she roos, and by the hond in hye
 She took him faste, and seyde, 'this night thryve,
 To goode mote it turne, of yow I mette !'
 And with that word she doun on bench him sette.

'Ye, nece, ye shal fare wel the bet,
 If god wole, al this yeer,' quod Pandarus ;
 'But I am sorry that I have yow let
 To herkennen of your book ye preysen thus ;
 For goddes love, what seith it? tel it us.
 Is it of love? O, som good ye me lere !'
 'Uncle,' quod she, 'your maistresse is not here !'

With that they gonnen laughe, and tho she seyde,
 'This romance is of Thebes, that we rede.' . . .

'As ever thryve I,' quod this Pandarus,
 'Yet coude I telle a thing to doon you pleye.'
 'Now uncle dere,' quod she, 'tel it us
 For goddes love ; is than th'assege awaye?
 I am of Grekes so ferd that I deye.'
 'Nay, nay,' quod he, 'as ever mote I thryve !
 It is a thing wel bet than swiche fyve.'

'Ye, holy god !' quod she, 'what thing is that?
 What? bet than swiche fyve? ey, nay, y-wis !
 For al this world ne can I reden what
 It sholde been ; som jape, I trowe, is this ;
 And but your-selven telle us what it is,
 My wit is for to arede it al to lene ;
 As help me god, I noot nat what ye mene.'

'And I your borow, ne never shal, for me,
 This thing be told to yow, as mote I thryve !'
 'And why so, uncle myn? why so?' quod she.
 'By god,' quod he, 'that wole I telle as blyve ;
 For prouder womman were ther noon on-lyve,
 And ye it wiste, in al the toun of Troye ;
 I jape nought, as ever have I joye !'¹

It would be hard to find even in the *Canterbury Tales* a more superb handling of dialogue than that. The trouble

¹ Bk. II, ll. 78-100, 120-140.

is, it is so absolutely natural that one forgets entirely the technique that lies behind it. To keep all the touch and go of actual talk, all its interjections, its half-questions, its repetitions, its endless *nuances* that connote everything and denote nothing—to keep all that without becoming trivial on the one hand or stilted on the other, is itself no small achievement, as its rarity attests.¹ To do it in verse whose predetermined movement never for an instant intrudes itself upon the seeming *impromptu*, the quick fence and parry of the dialogue, is something which even Chaucer perhaps succeeded in doing only in the *Troilus* and in certain of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Moreover, the sheer *narrative power* of the *Troilus* seems scarcely to have been adequately recognized. Here again one is perhaps in danger of forgetting that the laws of the novel are not those of the short story; certainly, to apply to the one *genre* the categories of the other is scarcely logical. It is impossible at this point to develop what I believe to be demonstrable: namely, that in the handling of a large and complex mass of material Chaucer shows hardly less constructive power than in the shorter *Tales*. Nor can another

¹ Chaucer's use, to take a single point, of conversational repetition (as, for instance, in lines 122, 127-8, 136) is consummately realistic, and yet escapes entirely the touch of caricature which one feels in certain modern attempts, notably Maeterlinck's earlier ones, to lend similar verisimilitude to dramatic dialogue. Moreover, to an astonishing, for myself to an unequalled, degree, the rapid dialogue of the *Troilus*, particularly when Pandare is speaking, possesses actual vocalizing and visualizing power. That is, it carries with it, to the mental ear and eye, its own tones and inflections, even its own subtle play of gesture. The effect seems due, in part at least, to the presence of so large a number of the purely connotative words and phrases just referred to, which in actual speech are little more than vehicles for certain familiar tones and cadences, with their attendant shrugs, or lifted eyebrows, or whatever fugitive gesture it may be. The art with which in the rapid dialogue of the *Troilus* these most evanescent qualities of speech are caught and kept, and that in verse, is unapproachable.

point be more than referred to—the fact that in very many of the individual scenes whose sequence constitutes the action of the *Troilus* there is shown the same unrivalled touch of the *raconteur* which found its final expression in the short *Tales* in the decasyllabic couplet.¹ Both elements—the power of larger dramatic construction, and the supreme narrative quality of certain of the individual scenes—may be here merely illustrated by one or two of the modifications which Chaucer has made in Boccaccio's handling of the story. The long episode of the meeting at the house of Deiphebus, for instance, which ends the second book of the *Troilus* and begins the third, is Chaucer's own invention. What does it do? In addition to the part it plays in the conquest of Creseyde, it foreshadows with consummate art two of the great scenes in the later development of the story. The dinner, where Creseyde sits and listens to Helen and the others of the company praising Troilus,

And every word gan for to notifie;
For which with sobre chere hir herte lough²—

this situation is made the counterpart of the later scene where, after the blow has fallen, Creseyde sits, once more thinking of Troilus, among the “route of women” who talk of “womanische thinges,”

So that she felte almost her herte dye
For wo, and wery of that companye.³

And much of the poignancy of our remembrance “fro heven

¹Professor Price has pointed out in a most suggestive study in Chaucer's method of narrative construction (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XI, 307-22) that Chaucer “has arranged all the action [of the *Troilus*] into a sequence of fifty scenes.” However one may modify the mere number of scenes, the observation is a very valuable one. A much more elaborate study of the construction of the *Troilus* is made in Rudolf Fischer's *Zu dem Kunstformen des Mittelalterlichen Epos* (*Wiener Beiträge*, IX, 1899).

² *Troilus*, II, 1591-92.

³ *Ib.*, IV, 706-07.

unto which helle She fallen was" lies in the subtle echo of the earlier in the later scene. Above all, the whole situation¹ in which Pandare "ladde [Creseyde] by the lappe"² to the bed where Troilus lay, is with marvelous skill made to foreshadow the great scene where the parts are reversed, and "Troilus he brought in by the lappe" to Creseyde.³ This time the echo is even more distinct, and few things could more subtly heighten the insistent sense of an ironical fate that from this point becomes the dominant note of the poem.⁴ That (and it is but one out of many instances) is dramatic as well as narrative power—the dramatic power which, in something like the same large compass, one finds again in the comedy of the framework of the *Canterbury Tales*.⁵

All this evidence—and it is perhaps not altogether subjective—tends to justify the conviction long ago expressed by ten Brink, that, "die wahrheit zu sagen, der dichter des Troilus ist von dem dichter der *Canterbury Tales* nicht gar weit mehr entfernt."⁶ When one adds to it the further evi-

¹ At the opening of the third book.

² *Troilus*, III, 59.

³ *Ib.*, IV, 742.

⁴ In a different way this same sense for dramatic contrasts is shown in the antithesis, worked out with consummate skill, between the action of the first book and that of the first part of the second. In the first, the interest centres about Pandare's characteristic attempts to extract from the unwilling Troilus the confession of his lady's name; in the second, it is centred in Pandare's shifts and turns, depicted with irresistible humor, to conceal from Creseyde, while playing incessantly upon her curiosity, her supposed lover's name. The heightening of the situation in the case of Troilus and the creation of it in the case of Creseyde are Chaucer's modifications of Boccaccio. For the wonderful and subtly drawn scene at the beginning of Bk. II (stanzas 1-37) is Chaucer's expansion of a mere hint in a single stanza (*Filostrato*, II, st. 35) of Boccaccio.

⁵ Pandare is really to the characters of the *Troilus* something of what—*mutatis mutandis* very thoroughly!—Harry Bailly is to the *dramatis personae* of the setting of the *Tales*.

⁶ *Studien*, p. 77; cf. *Englische Studien*, XVII, 8: "Der Troilus zeugt von grosser künstlerischer reife und virtuosität und bildet nächst den besten

dence afforded by the cross-references between the *Troilus* and the Prologue to the *Legend*, and particularly by the presence in the Prologue of a passage from the *Filostrato*, and when one considers the extremely equivocal character of the supposed testimony from Gower to an early date, the conviction that the *Troilus* must be linked very closely in time with the Prologue becomes almost irresistible.

The conclusions so far reached, accordingly, are that most, perhaps all, of the individual *Legends* preceded the Prologue; that the *House of Fame* antedated the *Ariadne* and hence the *Palamon*; and that the *Troilus* is close to the Prologue. The essential point now to determine, if possible, is the relation of the *Troilus* to the *Palamon*, which carries with it also the relation of the *Troilus* to the *House of Fame*.

V.

In considering the relation of the *Troilus* to the *Palamon*, the first thing to be noted is that there is evidence which points with some definiteness to a date for the *Palamon* in the very early eighties. Dr. Mather has established a strong probability, in the essay already referred to,¹ that the *Palamon* was begun in 1381, nor does any objection to a date very early in the decade seem to have been pointed out. If the explanation I have elsewhere² ventured for the reference to "the tempest at hir hoom-cominge" be correct, it serves independently to corroborate Dr. Mather's view. But if such a date for the *Palamon* be accepted, it involves at once,

partien der Canterbury Tales zweifellos das bedeutendste werk, das überhaupt aus Chaucer's feder geflossen ist. Schon aus diesen gründen wird man ihm einen platz gegen den schluss der zweiten periode anweisen müssen."

¹*An English Miscellany*, p. 310.

²*Mod. Lang. Notes*, Dec., 1904, pp. 240-43.

if the conclusions just drawn in the case of the *Troilus* be sound, the priority of the *Palamon* to the *Troilus*. For clearly, if the Prologue to the *Legend* be dated not earlier than 1386 and the *Troilus* closely preceded it, a poem dated about 1381-82 can scarcely have followed the *Troilus*. And, indeed, there is a curious bit of independent evidence, to which attention apparently has not been called before, which seems distinctly to bear out the inference that the *Troilus* was the later of the two great treatments of the Italian material. The main action of both the *Troilus* and the *Knight's Tale* begins with the night of the third of May. In the *Troilus* it happened "on Mayes day the thridde" that upon ~~Troilus~~ fell

... a tene

Pandare

In love, for which in wo to bedde he wente,
And made, er it was day, ful many a wente.¹

And thereupon, remembering his errand in *Troilus's* behalf, he starts in the morning on his mission to Creseyde, and the real action of the poem is under way. In the *Knight's Tale*, as is well known,

It fel that in the seventhe yeer, in May,
The thridde night (as olde bokes seyn,
That al this storie tellen more pleyn)
That, sone after the midnight, Palamoun,
By helping of a freend, brak his prisoun,²

and the next morning occurred the meeting with Arcite in the woods. Of course (as one may always be pretty sure when Chaucer protests particularly about his sources) the "olde bokes" say nothing about the third of May, which is Chaucer's own date for the event. And the curious thing is that just the third of May should be chosen at all. The day seems to have no significance whatever in itself, and the only other occurrence of it which I have noted (with full cogni-

¹ *Troilus*, II, 56 ff.

² A. 1462-64, 1467-68.

zance of the peril of universal negatives) is in the *Book of Cupid*,¹ whose author certainly knew the *Knight's Tale* and probably the *Troilus*.² Chaucer's employment twice of the same unusual date seems to point clearly to the suggestion of one instance by the other. But can we tell which was the original and which the suggested use? There need be little doubt as to the answer. If in one of the poems the employment of the third of May is directly dependent upon certain exigencies of the treatment of the material itself, while in the other its relation to the story is wholly accidental, we may be practically certain that the instance which grows out of the requirements of the story came first, and that it naturally enough suggested the other—particularly if the two poems were not far apart in point of time. Now in the *Knight's Tale* there does seem to be just such a reason. For apart from the very probable relation of the series in which it stands to the calendar of the then current year, the third of May forms in any case an essential part of the carefully calculated scheme of days and astrological hours on whose every step explicit emphasis is laid in the poem. In the *Troilus*, on the other hand, there seems to be no discernible cause whatever for the choice. Such weight as the evidence has, then, is altogether in favor of the priority of the *Palamon*, already suggested on other grounds.

And, indeed, when one considers the reasons offered for the later date of the *Palamon* ³ (which are not many, for the case has been largely taken for granted), they seem strangely inconclusive. The stanzas from the *Teseide* which appear in the revised *Troilus* ⁴ have been urged. "If Chaucer," Dr.

¹ "And hit was tho the thridde nyght of May" (l. 55).

² See p. 753, n. 4.

³ It may be well to say again that this name is uniformly used in this paper to designate the *Knight's Tale* before it was adapted to its position in the *Canterbury Tales*.

⁴ *Troilus*, v, 1807 ff.

Mather argues, "on finishing *Troilus* were free to use these three stanzas, that is if he had already rejected them in the *Knight's Tale*, it is hard to see why they should not have appeared from the first in *Troilus*. Nor is it likely that at a subsequent season Chaucer should have rummaged in the unused portions of the *Teseide* to enrich *Troilus*, the *Parlement of Foules*, and *Anelida and Arcite*. Such a process suggests unpleasantly literary 'cold storage'; it is, I believe, most unlike Chaucer. For this and other reasons no scholar has placed the *Knight's Tale* before *Troilus*."¹ But Dr. Mather's last sentence, to reverse his order of treatment, distinctly begs the question. The *Knight's Tale* exactly as it stands no one, of course, has placed before the *Troilus*. The supposed stanzaic *Palamon*, on the other hand, has been so placed explicitly by ten Brink² and Koch,³ and impliedly by Skeat.⁴ And inasmuch as Dr. Mather's most able paper, following a suggestion of Mr. Pollard, is itself admittedly the first explicitly to argue that "*Palamon and Arcite* . . . is to all intents and purposes the *Knight's Tale* as we have it," his "no scholar" is a veritable man of straw. Nor can it be fairly urged that it is "unlike Chaucer" to use in the *Troilus* (the *Parlement* and the *Anelida* do not concern us here) rejected stanzas from the *Teseide*, when we now know that he used in the Prologue to the *Legend* rejected stanzas

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 309.

² "Ueber die entstehungszeit von *Palamon* and *Arcite* können wir nur das sagen, dasz diese dichtung vor *Troilus* and *Cryseyde* fällt" (*Studien*, p. 124).

³ "I follow Prof. ten Brink in placing the first version of *Palamon and Arcite* between the *Life of St. Cecily* and *Troilus*" (*Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Society, p. 396).

⁴ "Not wishing, however, to abandon it [i. e., the original *Palamon and Arcite*] altogether, Chaucer probably used some of the lines over again in 'Anelida,' and introduced others into the *Parlement of Foules* and elsewhere" (*The Prologue, the Knight's Tale*, etc., 1898, p. liii).

from the *Filostrato*.¹ Dr. Mather's first objection seems to have little more weight; its logic would compel us to believe that Chaucer had not translated Boethius when the *Troilus* was first written, else why should not the passages from Boethius found only in the revision² have appeared in the *Troilus* from the first? Yet that the translation of Boethius closely preceded, perhaps overlapped, the composition of the *Troilus* appears from the fact that one considerable passage from Boethius³ is in all the mss., while the phraseology of the *Troilus* throughout has been strongly influenced by the *De Consolatione*. If, accordingly, at least one passage from Boethius available from the first for the *Troilus*⁴ was not, as a matter of fact, inserted until the revision, it follows that the stanzas from the *Teseide*, which Chaucer was no less "free to use," may likewise not have occurred to him until the revision, and Dr. Mather's argument falls to the ground.⁵

¹ This fact, pointed out in the earlier part of this discussion (*Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xix, 618 ff.), establishes the somewhat important principle that it is unsafe to argue, from the presence in a poem x of fragments from the source of another poem y, that the passage has been omitted from y because it had been already used in x. That it may have been used in x because it had been already rejected from y is not only *a priori* possible, but, at least in the case of the Prologue and the *Filostrato*, actually demonstrable.

² *Troilus*, III, 1744-1768 (*De Consolatione*, Bk. II, Met. 8); iv, 953-1085 (*De Consolatione*, Bk. V, Pr. 2, Pr. 3). See *Globe Chaucer*, p. xli, and cf. Mather, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-09.

³ *Troilus*, III, 813-33 (*De Consolatione*, Bk. II, Pr. 4); cf. *Globe Chaucer*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ It should be noted that one of the two added passages (III, 1744-68) is from the same book of the *De Consolatione* as the long passage found from the first in the *Troilus* (III, 813-33).

⁵ Once suppose the inadequacy of the treatment of Troilus's death to have been noticed by Chaucer when he came, for some reason, to revise the poem, and it follows as a necessary corollary that he would cast about for something with which to fill the gap. In other words, the *Teseide* stanzas were not inserted, one may suppose, in the first form of the *Troilus*, simply because the occasion for using them did not occur to Chaucer—not because

More formidable are two objections which (since the order here suggested seems scarcely, hitherto, to have been seriously contemplated by anybody) have not been emphasized. One of them is still concerned with the *Teseide* stanzas in the *Troilus*. 'Why,' Dr. Mather might have gone on to ask, 'should Chaucer have omitted them from the *Palamon* in the first place'? To that the most obvious answer would be that, since he omitted something over 8000 of the 9054 lines of the *Teseide*,¹ it is not astonishing that he omitted these. But the matter, of course, is not quite so simple. For in the *Knight's Tale*, in the account of the death of Arcite, occur the well-known verses :

His spirit chaunged hous, and wente ther,
As I cam never, I can nat tellen wher.
Therfor I stinte, I nam no divinistre ;
Of soules finde I nat in this registre,
Ne me ne list thilke opiniouns to telle
Of hem, though that they wryten wher they dwelle.
Arcite is cold, ther Mars his soule gye.²

Does that not have every appearance of a shift on Chaucer's part to cover a gap left by the stanzas he has already used? Possibly; yet one is at liberty so to conclude only if there exists no adequate reason other than that for the omission of the stanzas here. Such a reason, however, does, I believe, exist. For one thing, it is supremely characteristic of Chaucer to take, *unless strong reason to the contrary exist*, precisely

the stanzas were not available. It is scarcely fair to confine a poet, in his revision, to the use of such material only as he has acquired since the first draught! Tennyson added in 1842, for example, in the *Palace of Art*, in order to round out a plan more clearly conceived on revision than in the first ardor of composition, a passage alluding to Egeria and Numa Pompilius. Are we to suppose that he did not, in 1833, know of the wood-nymph and the Ausonian king, or that for any reason they were not then available for use? Dr. Mather's argument at this point limits entirely too closely a poet's possible motives in dealing with his work.

¹ See *Temporary Preface*, pp. 104-05.

² A. 2809-15.

the attitude which he here adopts towards the spirit's "chaunge of hous";¹ the lines in the *Knight's Tale* are the natural Chaucerian reaction upon such suggestions as those of Boccaccio. In other words it is the *omission* of the stanzas which we should expect, and their *inclusion* anywhere which really demands accounting for. And here particularly the insertion of Arcite's vision would be entirely inconsistent with the profoundly human and frankly naturalistic treatment of Arcite's sufferings and dying words :

Now with his love, now in his colde grave
Allone, with-outen any compayne.

That is Chaucer, not Boccaccio, and after that "the holownesse of the seventhe spere" and the "erratic sterres" would be an anticlimax indeed. But in the *Troilus* the case is different. No one, I think, can read the last dozen or sixteen stanzas of the poem, or indeed Chaucer's own additions and comments throughout the fifth book, without feeling that for once his supreme detachment from his characters is gone. The mood of the close is heightened, almost tumultuous, and however the inserted stanzas may lack, here and there, successful verbal adaptation to their context, they are manifestly of a piece with the insistent questionings, "the hitherings and thitherings"² of the farewell to his "litel tregedie." From considerations, then, characteristic of Chaucer himself and consistent with his attitude as an artist towards his material, the omission of the stanzas from the *Palamon* may be readily explained.

But a still more serious objection will certainly be raised. A stanzaic *Palamon*, it will be said, might readily enough precede the *Troilus*, likewise in stanzas. But on the assumption that the *Palamon* was substantially the *Knight's Tale* as

¹ See especially *Legend*, ll. 1-9; *Troilus*, II, 894-96.

² If I may borrow an apt phrase of Professor Kittredge.

it stands, is it likely or even possible that work evincing such mastery of the decasyllabic couplet should be followed (and that in the case of the most ambitious single poem Chaucer wrote) by a return to the less flexible, less rapid, stanza? The objection has, indeed, a certain force; but it rests, at least in part, upon a rather obvious fallacy. A goodly number of poems which are in stanzas at the same time give evidence of immature workmanship, and are accordingly dated, with little doubt correctly, early in Chaucer's career. From these data, however, the jump has far too often been made to the conclusion that the stanzaic form alone is sufficient evidence of early date. But the stanza is also found as the vehicle for what is perhaps as flawless work as Chaucer ever did, the *Prioresses Tale* and the widely different yet no less masterly *Envoy to Scogan*, both of which are certainly late. What is one to conclude? Clearly, that the mere fact that a poem is in stanzas is insufficient evidence on which to base a contention for early date.¹ It must be supplemented by other evidence of immaturity to be convincing. But the *Troilus*, on the contrary, gives every indication of ripened powers, both in its handling of the stanza itself, and in its treatment of the material so embodied. The evidence so far, then, is, to say the least, ambiguous.

But what—ignoring for the moment existing theories—are the antecedent probabilities in the case? Is it likely that from a metre, the seven-line stanza, his superb mastery of which was clearly a matter of slow development, Chaucer should pass at a single bound to full-fledged virtuosity in the handling of another and a different type?² The only thing

¹ See Mr. Pollard's fair and judicial statement of the case in the *Chaucer Primer*, pp. 53-54.

² We are really asked to believe that he not only did that, in the Prologue to the *Legend*, but that he thereupon proceeded, in the *Legends* themselves, to go through the omitted apprentice stages after the event!

which could justify such a view would be the fact, which even the most ardent Chaucerian would scarcely venture to affirm, that all Chaucer's work in the decasyllabic couplet was of uniform excellence. The entirely natural view would seem to be (still giving accepted chronology the go-by for the moment) that, the seven-line stanza once perfectly mastered, there would develop alongside it—more rapidly, indeed, because of the skill gained in the earlier poem¹—the new and more flexible metre which finally justified itself as the instrument of all others best adapted to Chaucer's growing powers. But that even after the newer, the less tried medium had begun thus to justify itself there should still be use made of the more familiar, the more assured instrument, is precisely what every analogy would lead us to expect. For what the decasyllabic couplet *might* have done in Chaucer's hands when he wrote the *Knight's Tale* one may scarcely venture to surmise. What it certainly had not yet done, for whatever reason, was (among other things) to demonstrate its possibilities as a vehicle for swift, glancing, prismatic dialogue, and its flexibility as a medium for all manner of shifting moods. That his seven-line stanza, whose stops he knew from its lowest note to the top of its compass, *was* such a vehicle, he must have been perfectly sure; and that under such circumstances he should return, for the complex and fascinating problems of the "tempestuous matere" whose difficulties he felt,² to the instrument which, if any, he knew would "soune after his fingeringe," is the convincingly natural thing to expect.

Not only so, but is it fair in any case to ask Chaucer, in

¹ It should not be forgotten that the seven-line stanza itself ends in two decasyllabic couplets.

² For in this see the boot hath swich travayle
Of my conning, that unnethe I it stere.

(*Troilus*, II, 3-4.)

the interest of a theory, to follow an absolutely rigid system in the use of his metres—a system which would have precluded Tennyson and Browning from writing narrative poems in stanzas after they had perfected their narrative blank-verse, or Wordsworth from returning, in the *White Doe of Rylstone*, for instance, to a stanzaic structure after such blank-verse as that of *Michael* and the *Prelude*? Decasyllabic couplets are good but even a poet may feel that variety is better :

For though the beste harpoure upon lyve
 Wolde on the beste souned joly harpe
 That ever was, with alle his fingres fyve,
 Touche ay o streng, or ay o werbul harpe,
 Were his nayles poynted never so sharpe,
 It shulde maken every wight to dulle,
 To here his glee, and of his strokes fulle.¹

That is from Chaucer's one expression of his literary creed—his Advice to the Players, if one will—and to limit him relentlessly after a certain point to a single narrative metre because he had by that time tried it and found it good, comes perilously near the logic to which Sir Toby's immortal retort was made. For men are still virtuous, and yet there are still cakes and ale ; and that the first great use of the couplet in the *Palamon* should inexorably debar a last great use of the stanza in the *Troilus* there seems no valid reason whatever to conclude. Negatively then, the way seems open to the view that the *Palamon* antedated the *Troilus* and *Creseyde*.

And positively, also, there is much that may be said. It would be hard to convince one's self that the *Teseide*, the poem with which Chaucer played almost as a child plays with a new toy, was not his first introduction to the fresh field of Italian literature. In the *Ariadne*, in the *Anelida*, in the *Parlement of Foules*, in the *Troilus*, and in the two forms of the *Knight's Tale* itself, its material appears, as if its

¹ *Troilus*, II, 1030 ff.

appeal had been so irresistible that Chaucer found it hard to keep his hands off it, whatever he commenced. It is precisely what might at any time happen in the case of a work that has opened up a world of unsuspected possibilities, and has set one's artistic fingers tingling to begin. The six-fold treatment of the subject, in some fashion or another, is one of the most curious, as it is certainly one of the most suggestive, facts in Chaucer's career, and the explanation just ventured seems at least to be psychologically sound.¹ More-

¹This previous preoccupation with the story readily explains, too, the fact that when he did come at last to the real telling of it, he treated it with a magnificently free hand. The story had become his, rather than Boccaccio's, one may guess, before he put pen to paper for the *Palamon*. This obviates, too, the objection sure to be raised from the fact that the *Troilus* follows more closely than the *Knight's Tale* its sources. For that, so far as it is true, the suggestion offered furnishes a reason. But it is only partly true. For one thing, Chaucer has exercised his freedom in the *Troilus* to an extent that one realizes only upon close comparison of the English poem with the *Filostrato*. In Bk. I of the *Troilus* 67 stanzas (42.9 per cent. of the whole number) are independent of the *Filostrato*; in Bk. II, 192 stanzas (76.5 per cent.); in Bk. III, 188 stanzas (72.3 per cent.); in Bk. IV, 65 stanzas (26.7 per cent.); in Bk. V, 78 stanzas (29.2 per cent.). Just 50.1 per cent. of Chaucer's stanzas, that is, are wholly his own, while 206 of Boccaccio's stanzas (28.9 per cent.) are left untouched. And of the 49.9 per cent. of Chaucer's stanzas for which he is indebted to the *Filostrato* a very large proportion follow Boccaccio only in part, over and over again breaking away from the Italian after the first two, three, or four lines, and taking their own course in the two decasyllabic couplets with which the stanza ends. (See, for examples of this, Bk. I, stanzas 18, 31, 93, 102, 104, 137; Bk. II, stanzas 78, 81-83, 157-58, 164, 172, 194; Bk. III, stanzas 6, 56, 58, 60, 188-89, 218, 235, 237-39, 243, 245-46, 256-57, 259, etc.). Moreover, Chaucer in another way uses a freedom in dealing with the *Filostrato* which is of a far more mature type than that exercised in his handling of the *Teseide*. For the characters of the *Teseide* are taken over bodily, with no important modification; the characters of the *Filostrato*, on the other hand, have been transformed from comparatively simple, though well-drawn figures, to superlatively complex human beings. It is scarcely too much to say that Pandare and Creseyde are Chaucer's own creations—a point, however, which will be considered in another connection. But the supposed greater freedom of the treatment of the *Teseide* is an extremely fallacious argument for the priority of the *Troilus*.

over, an earlier attraction to the *Teseide* than to the *Filostrato* is what we should naturally expect. The interest of the *Teseide* is primarily in the story and its romantic setting; the actors are scarcely flesh and blood—had they been so, there never would have been the tale. In the *Filostrato*, on the other hand, the supreme interest is the *human* one—tragedy or comedy as one takes it; the story is only the vehicle for that. Both interests were Chaucer's, and they found their fusion in the *Canterbury Tales*; but it seems reasonable to suppose that the one which carried the simpler problem would find expression first.

And the actual treatment of the two poems seems to bear out this conclusion. The characterization in the *Knight's Tale* is in one key throughout—"a verray parfit gentle" key, to be sure, but with few over-tones of any sort. The *Troilus* runs through the whole gamut. Even Troilus himself is a much more real person than either Palamon or Arcite, and to put Emily beside Creseyde is like setting Hermia or Helena beside the infinite variety of Cleopatra.¹ Theseus and Pandare are scarcely parallel figures, it is true, but the broad and simple outlines with which Theseus is sketched offers suggestive enough contrast with the mastery of artistic methods which gave not less, but greater unity to the matchless play of sinuous, shifting, chameleon-like moods that one thinks of in Pandare. For it must once more be recalled that the Creseyde and the Pandare of the *Troilus* owe their complexity almost exclusively to Chaucer, and it is just this sense of the "splendid ease and instantaneous power," to use Mr. Rossetti's phrase, with which the supremely difficult thing has been achieved, that gives one pause when one thinks of Emily and Palamon and Arcite and Theseus as coming later.

¹ I am indebted for the suggestion of the parallel between Creseyde and Cleopatra to a remark of Professor Kittredge.

Moreover, such a detail as the treatment of the idea of *fate* in the two poems seems to be typical of a difference not without suggestion. For in the *Knight's Tale* the notion of fate is very explicit; it is much talked about, but one feels no sense of its resistless compulsion in the action. One understands clearly from the conversations that fate *is*, and that it has much to do with how things will fall out, but it remains a *deus ex machina* to the end. In the *Troilus*, on the other hand, it is not what is said about it that one recalls, though not a little is said. It is the way in which it broods over and is implicit in the action, growingly to the end, until in the five stanzas¹ in which Creseyde, alone, takes her real leave of Troilus one reaches, without a word of fate itself, the most subtle, as in the last two lines the most poignant, expression of its tragic irony:

*And gylteles, I woot wel, I you leve;
But al shal passe; and thus take I my leve.*²

And as in its treatment of fate, so in a hundred other ways the *Troilus* is inexhaustibly suggestive—suggestive after a fashion for which perhaps *Hamlet* offers, *longo intervallo* though it be, the only adequate parallel. What the *Knight's Tale* has to give (and it is much³) it gives at once. And that grow-

¹ Bk. V, 1051-1085.

² Equally subtle and no less characteristic in their fatalism are the lines that give Pandare's attitude towards Troilus's confidence that Creseyde will return:

Pandare answerde, 'It may be, wel y-nough!'
And held with him of al that ever he seyde;
But in his herte he thoughte, and softe lough,
And to him-self ful sobrelly he seyde:
'From hasel-wode, ther joly Robin pleyde,
Shal come al that that thou abydest here;
Ye, fare-wel al the snow of ferne yere!'

(*Troilus*, v, 1170 ff.).

³ For it is not so much relative merits as it is relative methods with which we are here concerned.

ing suggestiveness is apt to betoken growing maturity, one need scarcely stop to argue. Artistic considerations, in a word, seem again to bear out the conclusion reached on the basis of evidence of another sort, and to point to the priority of the *Palamon*.

VI.

But if the *Palamon* preceded the *Troilus*, the conclusion carries with it another important inference. For we have already seen that the *Hous of Fame* preceded the *Palamon*. It follows at once, then, that the *Hous of Fame* was written before instead of after the *Troilus*—a conclusion which runs squarely counter to the conventional view of the relations of the two poems. And yet, as in the previous cases, I believe the conclusion justifies itself on other grounds. For it is a fair statement of the facts of the case to say that the whole argument for the later date of the *Hous of Fame* rests on the supposed fact that the “som comedie” in which Chaucer prayed that he might “make” before he died,¹ referred by anticipation to the *Hous of Fame*. In other words, it is upon the sole suggestion of the single word “comedie” that the whole laboriously constructed parallel between the *Hous of Fame* and the *Divina Comedia* depends.² But so to argue

¹ *Troilus*, v, 1786–88.

² “Wir haben es wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass Chaucer an jener stelle der dantische begriff der komödie wie der tragödie vorschwebte, folglich dass er dabei an Dantes göttliches gedicht dachte” (ten Brink, *Studien*, p. 122)—and so arose the *Hous of Fame*. The fallacy of the arguments hitherto urged, particularly by Rambeau (*Eng. Stud.*, III, 209–68) in support of the supposed parallel has been recently shown in an entirely convincing way by Mr. W. O. Sypherd, in a discussion to be available later, and it has accordingly seemed unnecessary to go farther into the question here. For that reason, in what follows regarding the *Hous of Fame*, I have confined myself to what is absolutely necessary for my present purpose.

is, in the first place, to take Chaucer with painfully mechanical literalness. For one thing, the obvious opportunity for antithesis and the manifest "scarsitee" of rhymes for *tragedie* break materially the force of the argument for a definite allusion in the word. Opposition in sense and similarity in sound have together doomed *tragedy* and *comedy*, like *death* and *life*, *heaven* and *hell*, to dog each other's foot-steps even more unfailingly than Pope's *breeze* and *trees* or *creep* and *sleep*,¹ and any argument built on the fact that one does thus follow the other is precarious indeed.² What Chaucer seems to be expressing here, rather than a determination to write a Dantesque comedy, is a wish for a complete change of theme³—a very specific and personal application of the general law

¹ *Remedie*, which rhymes with *tragedie* in B. 3183, 3974, is about the only other word there was to use.

² One feels, too, by the way, that "or elles *songe*" of l. 1797 is a rhyme-tag which, rather than something else, is there because "*tonge*" ends the preceding line. A somewhat important application of the same principle may be made in the case of the reference to the *Romaunce of the Rose* in the Prologue (A. 254-55 = B. 328-329). For any conclusions regarding the nature of Chaucer's translation of the poem drawn from the phrase "with-outen nede of glose" (so B; "hit nedeth nat to glose" in A.) are vitiated by the fact that some such rhyme-tag in "glose" habitually accompanies references to the *Romaunce of the Rose*. (It is of course "*Rose*" that is the determining word in the rhyme, independently of its position in the second line of the couplet). Cf. Machault (quoted in Sandras, *Étude*, p. 289): *La fin du Romans de la Rose*, Il m'est avis qu'il a escript, Je ne scay en texte ou en glose, etc.; Christine de Pisan (*Oeuvres*, ed. Roy, II, 78): *Bien en parla le Romans de la Rose A grant procès et aucques ainse glose Ycelle amour*, etc.; *Book of the Duchesse*, ll. 333-34: *the walles. . . Were peynted, bothe text and glose, Of al the Romaunce of the Rose*, etc.

³ One should compare, for the spirit of the thing, the closing lines of the *Parlement of Foules*:

I hope, y-wis, to rede so somday
That I shal mete som thing for to fare
The bet; and thus to rede I nil not spare.

Cf., too, the Prologue to the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, and *Troilus*, v, 367-73.

of action and reaction which he had stated earlier in the *Troilus* :

For I have seyn, of a ful misty morwe
 Folwen ful ofte a mery someres day ;
 And after winter folweth grene May.
 Men seen alday, and reden eek in stories,
 That after sharpe shoures been victories.¹

It is a sharply contrasted subject that he wants to treat, in a totally different mood, and the thing which only a preconceived theory could well have kept ten Brink and his followers from seeing at once is the fact that the "comédie" line had its perfect parallel two stanzas back :

And gladlier I wol writen, if yow leste,
Penelopees trouthe and good Alceste.

There is the same antithesis between the story he has been telling and a theme that he prefers to treat, save that in this case the theme is *named*, in general terms, and corresponds, as we have seen, with the Prologue to the *Legend*. In other words, the *tregedie-comédie* lines immediately follow a passage in which both Prologue and *Legend* are anticipated, and the theme of the Prologue contrasted with that of the *Troilus*.² When one turns to the Prologue and finds the same contrast explicitly drawn, the conclusion is irresistible that far more definite than any allusion to a specific *comédie* is the forward reference to the happy change of theme from Creseyde to Alcestis which found embodiment later in the Prologue. And thus once more the *Troilus* and the Prologue are closely linked together.

But does the conclusion that the *Hous of Fame* preceded the *Troilus* find warrant on other grounds? Professor Kirtledge has pointed out³ an extremely curious and suggestive

¹ *Troilus*, III, 1060-64.

² All this close relation of the *tregedie-comédie* lines to their immediate context ten Brink's theory is forced to ignore.

³ In his Chaucer seminary.

fact in connection with the *Hous of Fame* and the *Troilus*. In the *Hous of Fame*, as is well known, Chaucer seems to have oddly blundered in translating Virgil's phrase, in his account of Fame: "*pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis*."¹ Chaucer's lines, it will be remembered, are:

And on hir feet wexen saugh I
Partriches winges redely,²

as if he had confused *pernicibus* with *perdicibus*.³ But Virgil's phrase also appears in the *Troilus*:

The swifte Fame, whiche that false thinges
 Egal reporteth lyk the thinges trewe,
 Was thorough-out Troye y-fled with *preste winges*
 Fro man to man.⁴

The lines are here taken directly from the *Filostrato*:

La fama velocissima, la quale
 Il falso e'l vero ugualmente rapporta,
 Era volata con *prestissim' ale*
 Per tutta Troia!⁵

Is it possible, now, to believe that after Chaucer knew and had actually used the apt phrase "*preste winges*," which perfectly translates Virgil's *pernicibus alis*, he should have made the blunder about the "*partriches winges*" in the *Hous of Fame*? The assignment of the *Hous of Fame* to the earlier date obviates at once the difficulty, and the point accordingly bears out the conclusion independently reached through the relation of the *Hous of Fame* to the *Ariadne* and the *Palamon*.

Nor must one, indeed, be misled by the admitted virtuosity which the *Hous of Fame* displays. Ten Brink was both right and wrong in his final statement of the case in the pos-

¹ *Aeneid*, iv, 180.

² *H. F.*, 1391-92.

³ *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 276; Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 205.

⁴ *Troilus*, iv, 659-62.

⁵ *Fil.*, iv, st. 78.

thumous essay. After speaking of the *Troilus*¹ he continues : "Anderseits bekundet das rascher hingeworfene Hous of Fame in seiner weise eine so entwickelte technik, eine so geniale freiheit des dichterischen verfahrens und, bei aller bescheidenheit, solches selbstgefühl, dass von ihm durchaus dasselbe gilt wie von Troilus."² Its technique is undeniably superb. The thing to be kept in mind in this connection, however, is the fact that it is exercised in the metre of the *Book of the Duchesse*—the metre, that is, with which, so far as we can tell, Chaucer's narrative work began. It has long been admitted that his mastery of the seven-line stanza was reached by a process of natural development; if the inferences of this paper are sound, they demonstrate that the same thing happened in the case of the decasyllabic couplet. It is reasonable to suppose, accordingly, that the technique of the *Hous of Fame* stands for a similar development,³ and that sufficient time lies behind it to account for its virtuosity. But still another thing seems to be clear from all that has been said—the fact, namely, that a period of dominant, though not exclusive, use of the seven-line stanza was succeeded, after a natural overlapping, by a period of dominant, though not exclusive, use of the decasyllabic couplet. In each, complete mastery was attained, as such mastery is likewise reached in the octosyllabic couplet of the *Hous of Fame*. A perfectly reasonable supposition seems to be that as the seven-line stanza of the Italian period gradually gave way before the decasyllabic couplet of what one would like to call the English period, so the characteristic octosyllabic couplet of the earlier days of French influence yielded place gradually to the larger possibilities of the stanzaic form. The com-

¹ His words may be found on page 840, n. 6 of the present paper.

² *Eng. Stud.*, xvii, 8.

³ One may at least indulge surmises as to the probable metre of the translation of the *Romaunce of the Rose*.

plete mastery shown in the *Hous of Fame* of a somewhat simple instrument then, seems entirely consistent with the view that it preceded what one may readily grant to be the scarcely greater mastery of the more complex forms. That is to say, it is necessary to take into account not only relative *technique*, but also the probable relations of the *instruments* involved.¹

A graver objection to the suggested order may perhaps be seen in the *humor* of the *Hous of Fame*. Does not that, one asks one's self, point to a period not far from Pandare and the Wife of Bath? It would be hazardous indeed to say that it does not. But absolutely engaging as it is, the humor of the *Hous of Fame*, it is perhaps worth noting, grows in large measure out of a *situation*; that of the *Troilus*, out of a fundamental and pervading *attitude towards life*. The quintessence of the humor of the *Hous of Fame* is in the second book, in the irresistible contrast between the bland loquaciousness of the eagle, during the flight through the air, and the chastened monosyllables of the poet. Nothing could be more consummately done than Chaucer's replies, as if a breath too much might work disaster, to the preternaturally cheerful flow of conversation which the edifying bird keeps up: "And I answerde, and seyde, 'Yis'" . . . "'Wel,' quod I" . . . "I seyde, 'Nay'" . . . "'What,' quod I." Humor of *situation* could scarcely go farther. But the humor of the *Troilus*, of which Pandare is usually the medium, does not submit itself to any such analysis. It plays upon everything; it is beyond comparison more ironical, more elusive; it is constantly passing into something else before one knows

¹ Some, at least, of the theories which have gained acceptance seem strangely to ignore the obvious fact, emphasized in this paragraph, that hard and fast lines can never be drawn where genuine *development* is concerned. New powers constantly come to maturity while old ones are still being exercised; the whole notion of *mutual exclusiveness* belongs to artificial systems, not to life.

it; it is as chameleon-like as Pandare himself. Once more, it is a question not so much of relative merits as of the type of qualities involved, and certainly the distinctly more obvious character of the methods by which the effects of the *Hous of Fame* are obtained does not, at least, militate against the view that their exercise antedated the infinitely more complex and elusive procedure of the *Troilus*. There seems, then, to be no valid reason against, and certain definite reasons for, the view that the *Hous of Fame* preceded the *Troilus*.¹

VII.

The general order we have reached, then, for the poems so far discussed is summarily as follows: the *Hous of Fame*; the greater number, perhaps all, of the individual *Legends*; the *Palamon and Arcite*; the *Troilus*; and the Prologue to the *Legend*. It remains to consider briefly the possibility of assigning to these poems absolute as well as relative dates, and to determine, if may be, the place of *Anelida and Arcite*, the *Parlement of Foules*, and the *Boethius* in the scheme. Beyond that the scope of the present investigation does not reach.

The Prologue to the *Legend* probably belongs, as we have seen, about the middle of 1386.² The composition of the *Troilus*, then, seems to belong to the years (for manifestly it

¹ Mr. Heath's view (*Globe Chaucer*, p. xliii) that Bk. III of the *Hous of Fame* followed the first two books at an interval of some years rests upon what seems to me to be, so far as it is given, quite insufficient evidence. The third book is more satirical than the other two simply because the place for satire has been reached. It is the description of Fame's doings which gives the occasion, and the House of Fame is arrived at only in third book. All that Mr. Heath ascribes to the passage of time may be entirely accounted for by shift of emphasis in the *subject-matter*.

² Once more it must be noted that so far as the evidence here submitted goes, it is possible that the date may be even somewhat later.

may have extended over two or three) immediately preceding that — perhaps to 1383–85. The *Palamon* we have seen reason to date about 1382.¹ It is hard to think of the *Hous of Fame* as falling much earlier than the very late seventies. There seems no reason to question the view that the *Boethius* immediately preceded, perhaps overlapped the *Troilus*, or that the *Parlement of Foules* belongs early in 1382.² The *Anelida* must have antedated the *Palamon*; for unless one except, as is probable, the *Ariadne*, it bears every mark of having been Chaucer's first use of the *Teseide* material.³ One may suggest, then, altogether tentatively, some such course of events as follows:—

¹ The poem, as has been pointed out, seems to have been begun not long before the end of 1381, Old Style. See p. 841, and *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Dec., 1904, pp. 240–43.

² The stanzas describing the temple of Venus may have been inserted in the *Parlement* because the temple had been but slightly sketched in the *Palamon*, or the temple may have been but slightly sketched in the *Palamon* because the stanzas had been already inserted in the *Parlement*. On that score honors are easy. In either case the two seem to belong very close together, and since the *Parlement* probably followed at short interval the betrothal of Richard and Anne, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it preceded the *Palamon*.

³ Dr. Mather's view that "after writing *Troilus* Chaucer began *Anelida* as a pendant, or rather offset, to the greater poem" (*op. cit.*, p. 312, cf. p. 311) seems scarcely tenable. The characters of the poem are the merest lay-figures; its story is awkwardly handled, and is, moreover, perhaps the one instance in Chaucer of a narrative altogether without *vividness*, as a reading of the falcon's parallel story in the *Squire's Tale* makes by contrast clear enough; its stanza lacks wholly the "bright speed" so characteristic of the stanza of the *Troilus*. That after Pandare's inimitable instructions for the writing of a letter Chaucer should insert the long and utterly conventional *compleynt* in the *Anelida*, would be an anticlimax indeed. One may argue, it is true, that the *compleynt* is an earlier poem inserted here, since its mention of Arcite is confined to parallel stanzas (the fifth) of strophe and antistrophe, and to the last couplet of the conclusion, all of which might readily have been added by way of adaptation. But it is hard to think of Chaucer as returning, after the *Troilus*, even for the sake of a stop-gap, to such superlatively conventional work. In a word, except in the few stanzas which tell how Arcite's "newe lady" held him "up by

About 1379, perhaps as the first response to the stimulus (surely not to be limited for its sources to the Italian books he read) of the second Italian journey, we may suppose the *Hous of Fame*, the last important use of Chaucer's first narrative metre, to have been written—a supposition which the presence of passages from Dante (whom Chaucer would certainly read as soon as he became acquainted with Italian) bears out. About the same time, moreover, seem to have begun the experiments with the decasyllabic couplet in a number of the *Legends*, whose subject-matter (clearly in mind when the *Hous of Fame* was on the stocks) naturally enough grew wearisome to him and was laid aside.¹ But the abandonment of the *Legends* for the time was not wholly due, we may surmise, to these negative causes. In one of the *Legends* themselves one finds a hint of the “power more strong in beauty” fated to excel them. For in the bit of the *Teseide* imbedded in the *Ariadne* we have an even more significant response on Chaucer's part than in the echoes of Dante in the *Hous of Fame* to the new world opened up by the books he had brought back from Italy. There seems to have followed an abortive attempt, in the *Anelida*, to use the *Teseide* in a stanzaic poem; an extract from it goes into the lovely occasional poem of the *Parlement of Foules*; and finally, after the story has evidently been turned over and over again, the new couplet, now past the experimental stage, is given its first great test in the first full embodiment of the new material. Meantime,—for that a man who left so many things

K.S.T.

the bridle at the staves ende,” there is not a trace of the qualities already pointed out as characterizing the *Troilus*. We may safely assign the *Anelida*, accordingly, to a date before the *Palamon* and the *Troilus*.

¹ May the collections of *Legends* perhaps have been originally a sort of companion-piece to the collection of *Tragedies* which later form the *Monk's Tale*? If that be so, the later return to the *Legends* (with the possible addition of one or two) when the Prologue was conceived, would have, apparently, a close parallel in the return to the *Tragedies* (with the probable addition of three or four) in the *Canterbury Tales*.

unfinished should at any time have had but a single iron in the fire seems scarcely probable—the translation of the *Boethius* may have been under way, and on its completion, if not before, the *magnum opus* of the *Troilus* was entered on. I have already suggested how the return at this point to the familiar stanza may readily be motivated, and with the *Troilus* we may suppose Chaucer's spare hours to have been occupied for many months. The reception accorded to the *Troilus*; the idea of contrasting Alcestis with Creseyde and of giving at the same time an apt turn to the old plan of the *Legends*; the fresh impulse furnished, we may surmise, by Deschamps's message and the gift of his poems; the happy suggestion of the merging of Chaucer's own glorification of Alcestis in the French *marguerite* cultus—all these motives seem to have entered into the genesis of the Prologue, for which the new metre, now thoroughly mastered, was used. And with that we are on the threshold of the *Canterbury Tales*.

The period beyond the Prologue to the *Legend* the present investigation touches at but a single point—the revision of the Prologue in 1394. But that is not altogether without suggestion, in that it seems to help us slightly towards the approximate date at which the *Canterbury Tales* were probably linked together. For there seem to be some indications that in 1394 Chaucer was still at work on his great conception. It is hard to believe, at all events, that the long reference to the *Legend* in the Man of Law's head-link was not due to the recent recalling of the poem to his mind by the revision of the Prologue. If that be so, the story of Constance had not as yet, in 1394, been assigned to the Man of Law. Moreover, the perfect mastery of his powers shown in the revision of the Prologue, as well as in the *Envoy to Scogan* of the previous year, makes it perfectly possible to believe that, despite the expression in the *Envoy* itself of what may have been but a passing mood, Legouis is close to

the truth in his reference to Chaucer¹ as one "dont le génie poétique suivit un progrès constant jusqu'au jour où la plume lui tomba des mains."²

The hypothesis here suggested rests upon inferences from facts, and by their accordance with facts its conclusions must be tested. But whatever value these conclusions have, if they prove sound, seems to lie in such fresh light as they may perhaps throw upon what is vastly more important than mere dates,—the course of Chaucer's artistic development.

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

² It may be urged, however, that the chronology proposed still leaves the decade between the *Book of the Duchesse* and the return from the second Italian journey too bare of poetic production. To that objection there are two things to be said. The first is that during this same decade Chaucer was many times abroad—twice in Italy, once in Flanders, several times, apparently, in France (*Life Records*, pp. xxi–xxix, and documents in Pt. IV)—on the king's business, which occupied a total of many months and which implied activity of many sorts at home. During the latter part of this period, moreover,—the years immediately following 1374—Chaucer was occupied in mastering the details and performing the duties of an arduous official position. It is accordingly entirely reasonable to suppose that his poetic activity was more or less limited up to the return from the second Italian journey. The second thing to be noted is that even so there is sufficient poetry not improbably assignable to this earlier decade to account for such time as may have been available. I need only refer to Mr. Pollard's cautious and illuminating summary of the matter in the *Globe Chaucer* (pp. xxv–xxvii), and to the suggestion there made (not, of course, in all its details, for the first time) that the *Second Nun's Tale*, the body of the *Monk's Tale*, the *Man of Law's Tale*, the *Clerk's Tale*, perhaps the *Doctor's Tale* and the *Mauunciple's Tale*, may be assigned to this earlier period. There also must probably be placed the translation of the *Romance of the Rose*, and a number of the minor poems still extant, as well as Balades, Roundels, Virelays doubtless lost; there belongs presumably *Origenes upon the Maudeleyne*. With the latter one seems at liberty to associate, if one will, the translations later used in Chaucer's *Tale of Melibeus* and in the *Parson's Tale*. In a word, the decade before the second Italian journey may not have been so barren of poetic achievement as one is inclined to think. Certainly there is at least enough that may be reasonably assigned to it to preclude the necessity of urging its leanness as a reason for robbing, to piece out a chronology, the fat years that follow.

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
HELD AT
BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R. I.,
AND AT
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO, ILL.,
DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1904.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

THE ASSOCIATION MEETING.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Brown University, Providence, R. I., December 28, 29, 30, in accordance with the following invitation :

BROWN UNIVERSITY, *Providence, December 18, 1903.*

I beg leave, on behalf of Brown University, to invite the Modern Language Association to meet with the University in Providence at its next annual meeting. I have recently held a conference of the Departments of the English, Romance, and Germanic Languages here, and they unite with me in extending this invitation. Providence is, as you know, a city easily accessible from several directions ; a city of great historic interest ; and one where there are many students of language. We should welcome the coming of the Association, and do all in our power to make the occasion pleasant as well as profitable.

W. H. P. FAUNCE, *President.*

All the sessions of the meeting were held in the hall of the Brown Union in the Rockefeller Building. Professor George Lyman Kittredge, President of the Association, presided at all the sessions of the first two days.

FIRST SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The Association met at 3.20 p. m. The session was opened by an address of welcome from President W. H. P. Faunce.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor C. H. Grandgent, submitted as his report the published *Proceedings* of the last annual meeting and the complete volume of the *Publica-*

tions of the Association for 1904. He announced also the resignation of the Treasurer, Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann, and the election, by the Executive Council, of Mr. William Guild Howard, of Harvard University, to the office thus made vacant.

The report was accepted.

The Treasurer of the Association, Mr. William Guild Howard, presented the following report :

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, December 24, 1903,	\$2,813 67
From Members, Life,	\$ 160 00
For 1900,	3 00
" 1901,	6 00
" 1902,	21 00
" 1903,	135 00
" 1904,	1,667 25
" 1905,	27 00
	<hr/>
	\$2,019 25
From Libraries, for 1893,	\$ 3 00
" 1894,	3 00
" 1895,	3 00
" 1896,	3 00
" 1898,	1 00
" 1902,	2 70
" 1903,	14 70
" 1904,	99 90
" 1905,	29 70
	<hr/>
	\$ 160 00
For Publications, 1893,	\$ 3 60
" " 1894,	3 70
" " 1895,	2 70
" " 1896,	2 70
" " 1897,	4 60
" " 1898,	5 70
" " 1899,	9 10
" " 1900,	6 40
" " 1901,	5 40
" " 1902,	5 80
" " 1903,	6 60
" " 1904,	32 40
	<hr/>
	\$ 88 50

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1904.

V

For Reprints, 1904,	\$ 13 00	
" Advertising, 1903,	150 00	
Guarantee to R. R. refunded,	6 00	
Interest, Eutaw Savings Bank,	38 10	
" Cambridge Trust Co.,	37 31	
	<hr/>	\$ 75 41
		<hr/>
		<u>\$5,325 83</u>

EXPENDITURES.

To Treasurer for Stationery,	\$ 60 07	
" " " Postage,	31 00	
" " " Clerical work,	14 25	
	<hr/>	\$ 105 32
To Secretary, for Salary,	\$ 200 00	
" " " Stationery,	27 31	
" " " Postage,	33 55	
" " " Expressage,	1 65	
" " " Typewriting,	3 90	
" " " Proof-reading,	58 50	
	<hr/>	\$ 324 91
To Secretary, Central Division,		
for Stationery,	\$ 14 20	
" Guarantee to R. R.,	7 00	
	<hr/>	\$ 21 20
For Bibliography, American Contributions,	\$ 185 62	
To Committee on " "	92 50	
	<hr/>	\$ 278 12
To Committee on Phonetic Alphabet,	\$ 145 15	
For Printing <i>Publications</i> and Reprints,		
Vol. XIX, No. 1,	486 19	
" XIX, " 2,	433 67	
" XIX, " 3,	317 57	
" XIX, " 4,	662 11	
	<hr/>	\$1,899 54
For Printing Programme, 22d Annual Meeting,	58 12	
Exchange,	5 20	
	<hr/>	\$2,837 56
Balance on hand } Eutaw Savings Bank,	\$1,311 65	
Dec. 27, 1904. } Cambridge Trust Co.,	1,176 62	
	<hr/>	\$2,488 27
		<hr/>
		<u>\$5,325 83</u>

The President of the Association, Professor George Lyman Kittredge, appointed the following committees :

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's report : Professors J. B. E. Jonas, Freeman M. Josselyn, Jr., and Max F. Blau.
- (2) To nominate officers : Professors A. K. Potter, J. A. Walz, and J. W. Bright.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The General Condition of Libraries in Spanish America." By Dr. Rudolph Schwill, of Yale University. [Printed in *Modern Language Notes*, xx, 5.]

[This paper gave the impressions gained through a recent examination of a number of public as well as convent libraries in several of the Spanish-American Republics. Some of the methods of their administration were described. The nature of the contents of the libraries was discussed from the standpoint of the student of Spanish literature, an attempt being made to explain their general disorder and their poverty in works of value.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

2. "The Farce of *Pathelin* (An Introductory Essay)." By Dr. Richard Thayer Holbrook, of Columbia University. [Cf. *Modern Language Notes*, xx, 1 and *Modern Philology*, III, 1.]

[The rise of mediæval comedy. Records and pieces mostly lost. *Pathelin* the gem of mediæval comic drama. Purely French in style and matter. Origin unknown. Four MSS. extant, of which one is at Harvard; MSS. later than printed texts. Le Roy's edition (about 1485) probably the first. *Pathelin* first modern comedy to be printed. An exceptional type of farce because of length, beauty of style, skill of psychological analysis, and dramatic quality. Immense popularity. Known in England as early as Rabelais. Brueys and *The Village Lawyer*. *Pathelin* often performed in English. No translation yet printed.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

3. "Wyntoun and the *Morte Arthure*." By Professor Prentiss C. Hoyt, of Clark College.

[An attempt to show the falsity of the generally accepted theory that the *Grete Gest of Arthure* mentioned by Wyntoun in his Chronicle is identi-

cal with the alliterative *Morte Arthure*. The evidence is drawn from the material in the poems themselves, which has been grossly misinterpreted heretofore. The value of the work, if successful, lies in the death-blow it gives to the many attempts to prove the existence of a great Northern poet, rivalling Chaucer in the South.—*Thirty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor Henry Schofield.

4. "The Source of Crestien's *Yvain* in the Light of the Names *Laudine* and *Lunete*." By Professor William Albert Nitze, of Amherst College. [Cf. *Modern Philology*, III, 2.]

[The present status of *Yvain* discussion favors a theory of Celtic origin. A number of prominent scholars, however, agree that the immediate source was a folk-tale. For several reasons it is unlikely that this was localized in Armorica. Crestien's literary method is now fairly clear: he borrowed extensively from Anglo-Norman literature and from folk traditions. In *Yvain* he treats for a second time the Fairy Mistress theme. The new element in the story is the Episode of the Fountain, which bears a distinctly popular imprint. It may be that this episode is essentially a mediæval version of the Arician Diana myth, the cult of Diana prevailing in northern Europe during the Middle Ages. As Diana was popularly known as La Diane, *Laudine* can be explained as a corrupted *Ladiane*; whereas *Lunete* is Luna (as Crestien himself says), and La Dameisele Sauvage is probably Silvanus. Crestien's acquaintance with "Argone" (v. 3228) suggests that the tale was current in the Ardennes mountains, where Diana was popular. Baist has shown that Crestien's knowledge of Wace fully accounts for his location of the Fountain in the forest of Broceliande. Other elements of the *Yvain* show signs of a fusion of themes: e. g., the Lion story, the threatened burning of *Lunete*. Such combinations are attested by other romances of the time.—*A fifteen-minute abstract.*]

5. "Unpublished Manuscripts of Italian Bestiaries." By Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, of Yale University. [See *Publications*, XX, 2.]

[Three unpublished manuscripts, in libraries at Florence, Naples, and Paris, are now for the first time described and compared with those studied by Goldstaub and Wendriner, *Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*, Halle, 1892. Two of the new manuscripts, like three of those known to Goldstaub and Wendriner, contain fables as a part of the bestiary.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

At 8 p. m. the Association met in Sayles Hall to hear an

address by Professor George Lyman Kittredge, President of the Association, entitled "Vengeance is Mine!"

After the address the members and guests of the Association were received in the John Carter Brown Library by the Committee of Management of the Library.

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The session began at 9.45 a. m.

The Committee on International Correspondence presented the following report, which, in the absence of the Chairman of the Committee, was read by the Secretary of the Association :

The Deputy Chairman in charge of the German Correspondence reports that the difficulty previously reported has been still continued, that the German Bureau requires a fee of our students, as well as of the students in Germany. This fee has been sent repeatedly by our bureau, but in no instance has it been even acknowledged ; and although some of the students whose names have been sent over by our bureau secured correspondents, a considerable number have not. This naturally causes discouragement and dissatisfaction.

With the French Bureau it has been different, no fees being charged for mating our students in France. The charge of 10 cents each has therefore covered necessary expenses, and there is a balance on hand, in the French Bureau, of \$7.80. In the German bureau there is no balance over, but there is some stationery still on hand.

The interest in this subject in France seems, however, to be on the decline, and the professors who have acted as my deputies in the two languages now feel that their other duties are too heavy to permit them to continue the service, and they ask to be released. Your chairman also feels that after serving in this work for several years he would welcome the relief that his deputies desire. We therefore recommend (unless some of the representatives of other colleges, schools, or universities ask to take up the work and carry it on in some different way, perhaps by interesting some leading journals, at home or abroad, to enter upon the task and receive their pay in the advertising they may obtain from it) that the whole subject be dismissed from the records of the Modern Language Association, leaving any future work on this line to be undertaken on the initiative, and at the expense, of the individuals interested.

EDWARD H. MAGILL, *Chairman.*

On motion of the Secretary, the Committee, in accordance with its request, was released from further duty, receiving the thanks of the Association for its efficient service.

On motion of the Secretary, it was voted to send greetings to the Central Division and to the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast.

The reading of papers was resumed.

6. "The Æschylean Element in Mrs. Browning." By Professor Curtis Clark Bushnell, of Syracuse University.

[The influence of the individual plays of Æschylus upon the prose articles, correspondence, and poetry of Mrs. Browning; especially that of the twice-translated *Prometheus Bound*. History and criticism of the version of 1833; of that of 1845, including the question of accuracy and of success in reproducing the more subtle beauties of the original. Comparison of the versions; their relation.—*Twenty minutes*.]

7. "The Question of the Vernacular." By Professor James Wilson Bright, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[From one point of view, the different aspects of the question of the vernacular may be regarded as constituting two groups, (1) the popular and (2) the academic. From another point of view, the question involves the consideration of (1) the practical use, (2) the artistic use, and (3) the scientific study of the language. A clear definition of the departments of the subject must promote clearness of method in the teaching of English in the homes and in the schools, it must be of advantage to the scientific linguist and to the student of literature, and it must help to rationalize the arts of speaking and writing and thus furnish the true introduction to the art of literature.—*Thirty minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Professor F. N. Scott.

8. "The Round Table." By Professor Lewis F. Mott, of the College of the City of New York. [See *Publications*, xx, 2.]

[Three meanings of the term Round Table and the characteristics of each. Round Table as tournament, as Eisteddfod. Celtic round edifices.

Arthurian localities. Village *fêtes* at mounds and circles. Features of agricultural festivals. Religious significance of the Round Table. Wace's statement concerning the equality of the knights and Layamon's story of the fight at the Christmas feast. The Round Table an ætiological myth.—*Twenty minutes.*]

9. "The *Cléomadès* and the *Squire's Tale*." By Mr. H. S. V. Jones, of Harvard University. [See *Publications*, xx, 2.]

[An attempt to strengthen the likelihood that Chaucer knew the *Cléomadès*. The writer of this poem and the author of the *Méliacin*, which closely resembles it, were well known in England. There are, too, allusions to the romance in literature with which Chaucer was probably acquainted. A passage in Froissart's *L'Espinet Amoureuse* seems to have special value.—*Twenty minutes.*]

THIRD SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The session began at 2.35 p. m.

On motion of Professor A. Cohn, it was

Resolved, That the members of the Modern Language Association, meeting at Brown University, have heard with deep regret of the trials which have compelled Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann to resign the office of Treasurer, and send him the expression of their heartfelt wish for his speedy and complete restoration to health and activity.

The reading of papers was resumed.

10. "Goethe's Love Affairs in His Life and His Poems." By Professor Charles Harris, of the Western Reserve University.

[As sources of many minor poems and strongly influencing certain longer works, Goethe's love affairs are worthy of serious study. Throughout his life they were variations of a type, their end being due to Goethe's unstable affections and his aversion to marriage. They are, therefore, chiefly significant, not as events which left lasting traces in his after life, but as temporary moods of exaltation which greatly affected his poetic productivity.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor J. W. Bright.

11. "The Red and White Rose: a New Source of *Richard the Third*." By Dr. Harold de Wolf Fuller, of Harvard University.

[*De Roode en Witte Roos* is the title of a Dutch play which first appeared in 1651, but which was apparently adapted from a pre-Shakesperian English play—perhaps known as *The Red and White Rose*. Manifest traces of this play are found in *Richard the Third*.—*Twenty minutes*.]

12. "The *Motif* of *Young Waters*." By Professor William Wistar Comfort, of Haverford College. [Printed in *Modern Language Notes*, xx, 4.]

[The resemblance between the situation in the ballad of *Young Waters* and that in the beginning of the *Voyage de Charlemagne* may indicate a fundamental identity of *motif*.—*Ten minutes*.]

13. "Longfellow's 'Lapland Song.'" By Professor Henry Schofield, of Harvard University.

[The refrain of Longfellow's poem, *My Lost Youth*, is found to be an exact translation.—*Five minutes*.]

14. "The Pronunciation of *ch*." By Professor Freeman M. Josselyn, Jr., of Boston University.

[An experimental study of the sounds discussed in §§ 33, 34 of the *Report of a Joint Committee on a Phonetic English Alphabet*: (a) these sounds as already determined in Italian, Spanish, and French; (b) the American variety, (1) its articulation, (2) its nature as determined by the air columns; (c) conclusions.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

15. "A Universal Phonetic Alphabet." By Professor James Geddes, Jr., of Boston University. [Printed in *Die neueren Sprachen*, xiii, p. 349.]

[A demonstration of the advantages to be secured by adhering to one system of phonetic notation in indicating pronunciation in standard works of reference and particularly in dialect investigation. A system that is uniform though far from adequate, if it comes into general use, renders incomparably better service than the countless individual systems employed only by their inventors.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

The Report of the Joint Committee on the subject of a Phonetic English Alphabet was presented by Professor Calvin Thomas, and called forth discussion from Professors C. H. Grandgent, Freeman M. Josselyn, Jr., J. W. Bright, F. N. Scott, and W. G. Howard.

On motion of Professor Calvin Thomas, it was

Resolved, That the President of the Association be requested to appoint a committee of five, of which Professor E. S. Sheldon, of Harvard University, shall be chairman, to examine the Report of the Joint Committee on the subject of a Phonetic English Alphabet, and to report what, if any, amendments are desirable before the Alphabet proposed by the Joint Committee shall be submitted to the Association for final action.

It was further voted, on motion of Professor Calvin Thomas, that the Treasurer of the Association be authorized to pay the expenses of this new committee to the extent of \$25.00.

[The President of the Association, Professor George Lyman Kittredge, appointed as members of the Committee of Five: Professors E. S. Sheldon, C. H. Grandgent, J. W. Bright, G. Hempl, and R. Weeks.]

In the evening the gentlemen of the Association were entertained by the Local Committee at the University Club.

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The session began at 10.15 a. m., Professor F. N. Scott presiding.

The Auditing Committee reported that the Treasurer's report was found correct. On motion of Professor Calvin Thomas, the Treasurer's report was then accepted.

The Nominating Committee reported the following nominations:

President : Francis B. Gummere, Haverford College.

Vice-Presidents.

Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York.

Walter C. Bronson, Brown University.

Herbert E. Greene, Johns Hopkins University.

On motion of Professor W. E. Mead, the report was accepted and the recommendations were adopted. The candidates nominated were thus elected officers of the Association for 1905.

The place of meeting for 1905 was briefly discussed, invitations having been received from Columbia University and Haverford College. [The Executive Council subsequently chose Haverford College.]

The following gentlemen were proposed by the Executive Council for honorary membership, and, on motion of Professor Calvin Thomas, were unanimously elected :

Professor Antoine Thomas, of the Sorbonne, Paris.

Professor Otto Jespersen, of the University of Copenhagen.

Professor Jacob Minor, of the University of Vienna.

Professor August Sauer, of the University of Prague.

On motion of Professor Herbert E. Greene, it was

Voted, That every year, until otherwise directed, there be appropriated from the treasury of the Association the sum of one hundred dollars as compensation for the Treasurer.

The reading of papers was resumed.

16. "A Museum-Gallery for the Study of the Drama."
By Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia University.
[Printed in *The Bookman*, Oct., 1905.]

[As all the great dramatic poets wrote their plays to be performed by actors, in a theatre, and before an audience, those who seek to understand these plays should give attention to the shape and size of the several theatres in which they were originally produced, and also to the other circumstances of this performance. To facilitate this, there is need of a museum-gallery to contain models of theatres and of scenery, as well as plans and engravings.—*Thirty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors F. N. Scott and A. Cohn.

17. "The Horse in the Popular Epic." By Dr. Murray A. Potter, of Harvard University.

[It is well known how important a part the horse plays in mythology and folk-lore. The purpose of the paper is to show that his rôle in the popular epic is equally prominent. Not only is he the faithful servant and friend of his master, but in a number of instances he is one of the chief actors, and, in fact, an epic hero himself.—*Twenty minutes.*]

18. "The Scansion of Prose Rhythm." By Professor F. N. Scott, of the University of Michigan. [See *Publications*, xx, 4.]

[Attempts to scan prose rhythm in terms of metrical feet do violence to the genius of prose, for the reason that the rhythmical patterns of prose and verse are essentially disparate. A verse-pattern (in Germanic verse) is formed mainly by the recurrence of small units of stress; a prose-pattern, by the recurrence of large units of movement. The terms *mutation* and *motation* may be used to distinguish the two types of rhythm.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed at some length by Professors Lewis F. Mott, Herbert E. Greene, W. E. Mead, Calvin Thomas, C. H. Grandgent, and C. Alphonso Smith.

19. "The Detection of Personality in Literature." By Dr. Sylvanus Griswold Morley, of Harvard University. [See *Publications*, xx, 4].

[Students of literature are sometimes called on to decide whether a certain work, or a passage in a work, is the product of one man's brain or

of another's—to determine the personality behind the words. The problem is ultimately psychological. It is extremely improbable that two men could independently state an identical idea in the same terms. On the other hand, it is practically impossible that a critic can sufficiently identify himself with a writer to be a competent judge in such matters. Two divisions of the question: (1) Plagiarism and Interinfluence; (2) Authorship of a disputed work. Conclusions: Questions dependent on considerations of thought and style can never be solved definitely. The more mechanical the evidence, the better; wording is stronger evidence than thought, external testimony is stronger than either, because the critic's personal equation has then less room to act.—*Twenty minutes.*]

FIFTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The session began at 2.50 p. m., Professor C. Alphonso Smith presiding.

On motion of Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, it was

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association tender its cordial thanks to the President and Corporation of Brown University, to the University Club, and to the Local Committee, for the courtesies extended to the Association at its twenty-second annual meeting.

The reading of papers was resumed.

20. "The Hermit and the Saint." By Mr. Gordon Hall Gerould, of Bryn Mawr College. [See *Publications*, xx, 3.]

[The story of how a hermit found that he was less saintly than another person of apparently worldly life is told in Sanskrit and Arabic. The latter form closely resembles one of five variants of the type, related of as many saints of the desert. Thence arose a *fabliau* in Old French, which in turn was transferred to the life of the English St. Oswald. Several European variants of the theme furnish confirmation of the series.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

21. "Some Features of Style in Narrative French Poetry (1150-70)." By Professor Frederick Morris Warren, of Yale University. [See *Modern Philology*, III, 2.]

[The speaker discussed forms of repetition in vogue in the third quarter of the twelfth century—repetitions of words and phrases in successive lines,

and also repetitions of the second lines of couplets as the first lines of following couplets by the transfer of an intermediate word to the rhyme. Mention was also made of the broken couplet and the sentence which follows it, of the so-called *tirades lyriques* or monorime passages, and the fashion of alternating single lines in dialogue and dividing the same line between the interlocutors. Typical poems are *Thèbes*, *Énéas*, and *Éracle*.—*Twenty minutes.*]

22. "The Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*, as related to the French *Marguerite* Poems and to the *Filostrato*." By Mr. John Livingston Lowes, of Harvard University. [See *Publications*, XIX, 4.]

[A paper pointing out what are believed to be hitherto unnoticed sources for the Prologue in (a) Machault and Froissart—particularly in the *Paradys d'Amours*; (b) Deschamps—particularly in the *Lay de Franchise*, of May-day, 1385; (c) Boccaccio—through the insertion of certain passages of the *Filostrato* rejected from the *Troilus*. From these new data, an argument for the priority of the B-version, and a reconsideration of the supposed identification of Alcestis with Queen Anne.—*Twenty minutes.*]

23. "The Comparative Study of Words in Foreign Languages." By Professor Willis Arden Chamberlin, of Denison University. [Printed in *The School Review*, April, 1905.]

[The habit of noting similarities in words and constructions is essential in learning a foreign language. It can be cultivated by comparing words in respect to their form and meaning; the relationships established help the mind to classify and hold the new material.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

The Association adjourned at 4.10 p. m.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE.

The following papers, presented to the Association, were read by title only:

1. "Parke Godwin's Translations from the German." By Professor John Preston Hoskins, of Princeton University. [See *Publications*, XX, 2.]

[A contribution to the investigations on German influence in American life. The paper begins with Godwin's connection with the Brook Farmers,

—Ripley, Dana, Curtis, and others,—and then takes up the Zschokke tales, which were in reality rather edited than translated by him. It then passes to his translation of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. In each case the real translator is definitely ascertained. There follows a brief criticism of the translations as such.]

2. "A Study of Tennyson's Dramas." By Professor Clark S. Northup, of Cornell University.

[A comparative study of the dramas of Lord Tennyson in connection with contemporary dramas on similar subjects,—for example, Sir Aubrey de Vere's *Mary Tudor*, Ernst von Wildenbruch's *Harold*, Aubrey Thomas de Vere's *St. Thomas of Canterbury*,—for the purpose of discussing, more fully if possible, than they have hitherto been discussed, Tennyson's fitness for dramatic writing, his choice of dramatic situations, the development of character in his dramas, and his success measured by appropriate standards.]

3. "The Literary Genre, an *Idolon Libri*." By Professor Albert Schinz, of Bryn Mawr College. [To appear in the *Mercure de France*.]

[The idea of an intimate relation between the content and the literary form of a work of art was suggested by external circumstances that had nothing to do with literature as such. These circumstances have long since disappeared, and the traditional divisions,—drama, novel, lyric, etc.,—ought therefore to be given up. Practically, any subject may be clothed in any of these forms. Most of our books and courses of lectures are still arranged according to the traditional principle, which on the one hand prevents us from treating together works which undoubtedly belong to the same class, and on the other hand forces us to bring together under the same heading works of an entirely different character. Confusion instead of order is the result. We ought to try another grouping of literary subjects.]

4. "The Syntax of Antoine de la Sale, Compared with that of the Works Commonly Attributed to Him." By Professor William Pierce Shepard, of Hamilton College. [See *Publications*, xx, 3.]

[The syntax of La Sale's undoubted work, *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré* (edition Hellény), is compared point by point with that of *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage* (edition Jannet) and *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (as presented in Schmidt's Dissertation, *Syntaktische Studien über die Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, Frauenfeld, 1888). The results of this comparison show: first, that syntactically the *Petit Jehan* represents an earlier stage of the language than either of the other works; second, that the syntactical differences between the three are so marked that it is improbable that they are by one author.]

THE CENTRAL DIVISION MEETING.

The tenth annual meeting of the Central Division was held at Northwestern University, December 28, 29, 30, 1904. All the regular sessions were held in the Northwestern Building in Chicago. Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, Chairman of the Division, presided at all.

The Local Committee made, with other learned bodies meeting in Chicago at the same time, an arrangement by which reduced rates were secured from all railroads.

FIRST SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The Division was called to order at 8.30 p. m. The address of welcome on behalf of Northwestern University was delivered by Professor John Henry Wigmore, Dean of the School of Law.

The Chairman of the Division, Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin, addressed the Division on the subject: "The Teaching of Modern Foreign Literature."

The acting Secretary of the Division, Professor E. E. Brandon, of Miami University, made his report.

On motion, the subject of changing the name of the Division was referred to a committee.

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The Chairman called the Division to order at 9.30 a. m., and announced the following committees:

- (1) To consider the proposed change of name : Professors J. V. Denney, N. C. Brooks, and A. E. Jack.
- (2) To nominate officers : Professors T. A. Jenkins, C. C. Ferrell, A. H. Thorndike, A. G. Canfield, and H. B. Almstedt.
- (3) To recommend a place for the next annual meeting : Professors J. S. Nollen, F. G. Hubbard, H. A. Vance, F. C. L. van Steenderen, C. von Klenze.

The reading and discussion of papers was then begun.

1. "Sir Iwain and Folk-Tales of Helpful Animals." By Professor Arthur C. L. Brown, University of Wisconsin. [See *Publications*, xx, 4.]

[This paper compares the story of the helpful lion in Chrétien's *Iwain*, and in its Mediæval English translation *Iwain and Gawain*, with helpful animal episodes in Celtic tales. The object of the paper is to make it appear probable that the thankful lion is not, as Professor Foerster and others have supposed, an addition made by Chrétien de Troyes, but was suggested to him by something in his presumably Celtic original.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Professors Rambeau, Blackburn, and Hohlfeld.

2. "The Teaching of Modern Languages in the American High School." By Dr. A. Rambeau, Director of Foreign Language Instruction, Manual Training High School, Kansas City, Missouri. [Printed in *Die neueren Sprachen*, xiii, 4.]

[The American High School compared with the German "Realschule" and "Oberrealschule." The results of modern language instruction in the German "Realschulen," and the "Reform Method." The movement in France, and views of M. Leygues as Minister of Public Instruction. The work done by Professor Grandgent as Director of Modern Language Instruction in the public schools of Boston. The elective system in High Schools.

Spanish since the Spanish-American war.—French and German, in our High Schools, the modern languages *par excellence*. The value of French

and German instruction compared ; East and West.—The practical aim of modern language instruction in the analogous schools of Germany, France, England, and America. A few details of the modern language program in our High Schools.

Two important questions closely connected with instruction in foreign modern languages in High Schools : (1) the knowledge of the maternal language, obtained in the Ward schools ; (2) the College entrance requirements.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor Hohlfeld.

3. "Chateaubriand's Relation to Italian Writers." By Professor B. L. Bowen, Ohio State University.

[Chateaubriand as a traveler and his several visits to Italy ; his command of Italian and interest in Italian writers ; their influence as reflected in his works, notably in the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* ; his appreciation of Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Alfieri, Pellico, and others ; conditions which affected his attitude towards these writers.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors van Steenderen and Rambeau.

4. "Relation of Addison to La Bruyère." By Professor Edward Chauncey Baldwin, University of Illinois. [See *Publications*, XIX, 4.]

[The reasons for believing that Addison was influenced by La Bruyère are five. First, Addison was almost certainly familiar with La Bruyère's *Caractères* ; for he knew the French language, had read exhaustively in French literature of the seventeenth century, was associated with men who knew La Bruyère's work, and certainly had read an English translation of La Bruyère's version of Theophrastus. Secondly, Addison's manner of writing *Characters* resembles, in the degree of individualization that he gives them, that of La Bruyère, and does not resemble that of any English writer of *Characters* who had preceded him. Thirdly, Addison's sentence structure often shows a marked variation from his more usual method, this variation being in the direction of the epigrammatic balance characteristic of La Bruyère. Fourthly, Addison's style resembles in its occasional mallevolence the mordant quality of La Bruyère's. Finally, certain citations made from the work of the two authors seem to show more than an accidental likeness. The conclusion reached is that Addison wrote his *Characters* under the influence of La Bruyère.—*A summary only was presented.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors Liberma and van Steenderen.

5. "Folk-Song in Missouri." By Professor Henry Marvin Belden, University of Missouri. [Cf. *Modern Philology*, II, 4.]

[I. Of the British ballads given in Child's collection at least these are known in Missouri: *Barbara Allen*, *The Two Sisters*, *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*, *Fair Margaret and Sweet William*, *James Harris*, *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight*, *The Jew's Daughter*, *Lord Lovel*, a fragment of *Sir Lionel*. There are also many sentimental and gallows-pieces, some of them native.

II. These ballads were not learned by the singers or reciters from print; yet some of them at least now circulate in print in Missouri.

III. Those in whose mouths the ballads are found make apparently no distinction between a 'folk-ballad' and later sentimental and literary productions that have passed into their repertory; all are alike popular.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors Blackburn; Lewis, McClintock, and Hohlfeld.

6. "Gustav Frenssen's Attitude toward Education." By Dr. Warren Washburn Florer, University of Michigan.

[This paper will endeavor to explain Frenssen's "Bruch mit der Wissenschaft," as seen in his writings, published sermons and statements. Education according to Frenssen is primarily dependent upon an independent "Weltanschauung," derived from personal observation of nature and human life. He insists that the school shall be adapted to the practical needs of the people, being opposed to all education which does not "grow out of the nature of things and the character of the people." He is a disciple of the principle contained in Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*—"Erziehung gibt dem Menschen nichts, was er nicht aus sich selbst haben könnte: sie gibt ihm das, was er aus sich selber haben könnte, nur geschwinder und leichter," provided the "Erziehung" is based on the newer idealistic conception of educational rights.—*Twelve minutes.*]

Dr. Florer was unable to be present, and, at his request, this was read by title.

THIRD SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The session was called to order at 3.00 p. m.

The Chairman announced the receipt of a message of greeting from the Eastern meeting, which was read by the acting Secretary. On motion, the Secretary was directed to reply.

The Division then proceeded to discuss the Report of the Joint Committee on the subject of a Phonetic English Alphabet. The discussion was led by Professor F. A. Blackburn. He was followed by Professors Curme, Rambeau, and Jenkins. On motion, the Chairman was directed to appoint a committee of five to prepare a resolution embodying the opinions of the Division in regard to the report of the Joint Committee. The Chair appointed the following: Professors Curme, Jenkins, Baldwin, Rambeau, and Thorndike.

The Division then adjourned, and reassembled in Departmental Meetings.

Romance Languages.

Leader—Professor T. A. Jenkins, University of Chicago.

1. What French authors are especially well adapted for use in second and third year reading, *a.* in the High School, *b.* in the College? The discussion was opened by Dr. E. J. Dubedout, Prof. Lucy M. Gay, and Prof. E. P. Baillot.

2. The outlook for Italian and Spanish. Discussion opened by Prof. M. F. Liberma and Dr. A. de Salvio.

On motion, the Leader was directed to name a committee to recommend a limited number of texts most appropriate for second and third year reading.

Germanic Languages.

Leader—Professor John S. Nollen, Indiana University.

1. The Teaching of Lyric Poetry. Professor Camillo von Klenze, University of Chicago.

2. How may the Elementary German taught in Accredited High Schools be made equivalent to the Elementary Work done in Colleges? Mr. O. P. Klopsch, Peoria High School.

3. The Annotation of German Texts. Professor Max Batt, North Dakota Agricultural College.

The session closed with an informal symposium on the size of classes in elementary German, from which it appeared that definite limits are set only in rare cases, some institutions reporting sections numbering fifty and sixty students. It was the consensus of opinion that to produce the best results, first and second year classes should be limited to a membership of thirty. The topics introduced were discussed freely by the members of the section, and the value of such informal discussion of practical problems seemed well attested.

English.

Leader—Professor J. V. Denney, Ohio State University.

1. The value of the "introductory" or "general survey" course in English Literature.

It was the opinion of the section that such a study had its value, but could be best pursued by reading a limited number of masterpieces and supplementing the reading by informal lectures. The use in class of a text-book on the history of the literature was discouraged.

Thursday evening at 8.30 the members were entertained by Northwestern University at a "smoker" in the rooms of the Chicago Literary Club.

Franklin L. Head gave a smoke talk on the subject:
"The Variety and Vigor of American Dialects."

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The Division was called to order by the Chairman at 9.45 a. m. The reading and discussion of papers was resumed.

7. "Mira de Amescua's *El Esclavo del Demonio*." By Dr. Milton A. Buchanan, University of Chicago. [Cf. *Mira de Amescua, El Esclavo del Demonio*, Baltimore, 1905.]

[Frey Gil in history and in literature; an unnoticed manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional; the sources and probable date of Mira's play; its influence upon Calderon, Moreto, etc.; its relation to contemporary comedias, dealing with pacts with the devil, and the psychology of sin.—*Twenty minutes*.]

8. "Doublets in English." By Professor Edward A. Allen, University of Missouri.

[This paper consisted of excerpts from the introduction to a longer work on the same subject and selected examples of the less obvious doublets not in Skeat's list.—*Twenty-five minutes*.]

In the absence of Professor Allen, this paper was read by Professor Belden. It was discussed by Dr. Wood.

9. "The use or omission of *dass* in subordinate clauses." By Professor George O. Curme, Northwestern University.

[The origin and development of the *dass* clause was sketched. The past and present usage with regard to the use or omission of the particle *dass* was given and an attempt made to explain the principles which underlie the choice of constructions here.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Professors Burnett and Hohlfeld.

10. "Vondel's Value as a Dramatist." By Professor Frederic C. L. van Steenderen, University of Iowa. [See *Publications*, xx, 3.]

[The paper began with a statement of the work done in Vondel's influence on Milton. Then the question was asked, why, if Vondel is chiefly known as a dramatist, his influence is practically all lyrical. In answer to this question, the influence of his time and surroundings was analyzed and found to be unfavorable to true tragedy. Then a statement of the true nature of tragedy was attempted and Vondel's conception of the tragic principle, as exemplified by his plays, was compared with it. Vondel is found to be but an indifferent tragic poet, a conclusion which leaves him in his full worth as a great lyric writer.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

11. "The Sources of the *Barbier de Séville*." By Dr. Florence N. Jones, University of Illinois.

[While Beaumarchais undoubtedly borrowed from Molière and Regnard, there are peculiarities of incident and plot in the *Barbier de Séville*, which make it probable that, influenced by the *Tuteur Dupé* of his contemporary Cailhava, Beaumarchais also took as his model for the *Barbier de Séville* the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus.—*Twenty minutes.*]

12. "Dürfen and its Cognates." By Dr. Francis Asbury Wood, University of Chicago. [Printed in *Modern Language Notes*, xx, 4.]

[NHG. *dürfen* and Skt. *tṛpyati* 'sättigt sich, wird befriedigt' represent the two extremes of divergent lines of development. The original base is *terep-*, the primary meaning 'rub, press.' This primary meaning is seen in Gk. *τραπέω* 'tread grapes,' O.Pruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' and figuratively in Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' OE. *þrafian* 'urge, rebuke.' From this two main lines of development: (1) 'wear away, aufreiben, sich aufreiben,' in Lith. *trapūs* 'spröde, bröcklig,' *tūrpti* 'schmelzen,' Lett. *trepans* 'morsch,' *trepēt* 'verwittern,' MHG. *verderben*, whence 'lack, want, need' in Goth. *þaurban* 'bedürfen,' OHG. *durfan* 'Mangel haben, bedürfen, nötig haben'; and (2) 'compressed, compact,' dividing into (a) 'robust, strong, thriving' in Lith. *tarpà* 'Gedeihen, Wachstum,' *tarpti* 'gedeihen, zunehmen,' Skt. *tṛpyati* 'sättigt sich,' etc., and (b) 'stiff, hard' in MHG. *derp* 'fest, hart, tüchtig; ungesäuert,' Lith. *tūrpti* 'erstarren, fühllos werden,' Lat. *torpeo*.

For the first line of development compare Lat. *trūdo* 'thrust, push, crowd,' ChSl. *truditi* 'beschweren, quälen,' OE. *þrēotan* 'wear out, weary,' ON. *þreyta* 'wear and tear, exhaustion,' *þrióta* 'fail, come to an end; want, lack; become a pauper.' For the second compare ON. *þrýsta* 'press, squeeze, thrust,' *þrýstiligr* 'compact, stout, robust.'—*Fifteen minutes.*]

13. "Grillparzer and Shakespeare." By Professor Chiles Clifton Ferrell, University of Mississippi.

[The influence of Shakespeare on Grillparzer produces downright imitation in the earlier period. (*Robert, Herzog von der Normandie*, and *Blanka von Kastilien*.) In later dramas, as in *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* and *Ein Bruderswist in Hapsburg*, the influence is strong, but it is far subtler and harder to trace.—*Read by title.*]

Reports of Committees followed.

The Committee on Change of Name of the Division recommended that no action be taken on the subject at the present meeting. The report was adopted.

The Committee on Nominations recommended as follows:

Chairman: Francis A. Blackburn, University of Chicago.

Secretary: Raymond Weeks, University of Missouri.

Members of the Advisory Committee:

A. R. Hohlfeld, University of Wisconsin.

B. L. Bowen, Ohio State University.

D. K. Dodge, University of Illinois.

On motion, the acting Secretary was directed to cast the ballot of the Division for these nominees.

The Committee on Time and Place reported the following recommendations:

That as a matter of general policy the meetings of the Division be held on alternate years at Chicago and on alternate years with institutions at other convenient points. That the next meeting be held at Madison, Wisconsin, if arrangements can be made for same. That the date of meeting be referred to the officers and advisory committee.

The report was adopted.

The Committee on Report of the Joint Committee on the subject of a Phonetic English Alphabet reported the following resolution:

We express our high appreciation of the labors of the Joint Committee on the subject of a Phonetic English Alphabet and our hearty endorsement of the Report as a whole.

We urge that arrangements be made whereby the Committee may confer with representatives of the proper European societies in an effort to secure international agreement.

The report was adopted.

Professor Hiram A. Vance offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the sincere thanks of the Division be tendered to Northwestern University, its officers and faculties, and especially to the members of the Local Committee, for their kindness and whole-hearted hospitality.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

FIFTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman at 2.50 p. m., and proceeded at once to the reading and discussion of papers.

14. "Notes on Nature in Hugo's Earlier Works." By Professor Arthur G. Canfield, University of Michigan.

[*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor Gay.

15. "Repetition and Parallelism in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama." By Professor Frank G. Hubbard, University of Wisconsin. [See *Publications*, xx, 2.]

[*Repetition*, the repeated use of the same word, or words, in the same line, or succeeding lines of verse. *Parallelism*, the repeated use of the same form of expression in the same line, or succeeding lines. Different types of repetition and parallelism described and illustrated. The frequent use of these forms a characteristic of the Senecan plays: their use in plays of unknown authorship; in Kyd, Greene, Lodge, Peele, Marlowe; in *Titus Andronicus*, *Henry VI*, *Richard III*. Occurrence of these forms as evidence of authorship and relation of plays.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors Manly and Thorndike.

16. "On the Dialect of the Auchinleck and the Caius Mss. of Guy of Warwick." By Professor Henry C. Penn, Washington University.

[*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor Hohlfeld.

17. "The Gothic Revival in England and Germany." By Professor Camillo von Klenze, University of Chicago.

[About 1750 the rationalistic attitude towards art had reached its zenith. The works of Cochin and of Mengs. Interest in Gothic art manifests itself in England. Later Goethe speaks with profound enthusiasm of the Middle Ages. In 1790 comes the first attack on the Bolognese masters: Sir Joshua Reynolds denies them inspiration. In 1797, Wackenroder's plea for simplicity and depth of feeling in art. Intense love for the Catholic past is the theme of Novalis' *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (1799) and of Chateaubriand's *Le Génie du Christianisme* (1802). Heinrich Meyer, Goethe's friend, betrays profound appreciation for Giotto and other early masters.

The Schlegels (writings of 1800-14) represent a complete revulsion in the interpretation of art. In the course of the nineteenth century, views similar to this find expression in all parts of Europe (cf. Henri Beyle in France and Ruskin in England.)—*Fifteen minutes.*]

In the absence of Professor von Klenze, this paper was read by title.

18. "Rhyme Peculiarities in the *Divina Commedia*." By Dr. A. de Salvio, Northwestern University.

[1. Shift of Accent. 2. Oxytonic rhyme. 3. Proparoxytonic rhyme. 4. Compound rhyme. 5. Equivocal rhyme of identical words. 6. Imperfect rhyme of s : s, and zz : zz.—*Twenty minutes.*]

19. "The relation of *Der bestrafte Brudermord* to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*." By Dr. M. Blakemore Evans, University of Wisconsin. [Printed in *Modern Philology*, II, 3.]

[In *Modern Philology* (II, 2) Creizenach contests Tanger's theory that the German version is derived mainly from the First Quarto of *Hamlet*, and reiterates his well known view, without adducing new material. The present paper attempts to point out difficulties in his way, and to offer proof for the Kyd theory.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors Manly, Jack, and Thorndike.

20. "Antwort Michel Styfels vff Doctor Thomas Murnars murnarrische phantasey, (so er wider yn erdichtet hat.) 1523." By Professor Ernst Voss, University of Wisconsin.

[In this pamphlet, directed against Murner as an answer to his "büchlin" that was reprinted in *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, Vol. XI, No. 3, Styfel praises the "grossen vnd hohen ernsts, of Murner's *Antwort vnd Klag*, and seems to be surprised at the dignified tone of the Franciscan. It is valuable material for the understanding and appreciation of a man whose "Charakterbild schwankt in der Geschichte."—*Read by title.*]

Adjourned.

E. E. BRANDON,
Acting Secretary.

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THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1904, IN
CHICAGO, ILL., AT THE NINTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE CENTRAL
DIVISION.

BY A. R. HOHLFELD.

THE TEACHING OF THE HISTORY OF A FOREIGN
LITERATURE. WITH A LONG INTRODUCTION
JUSTIFYING THE CHOICE OF THE
SUBJECT.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—The subject which I desire to present to you to-night relates primarily to our work as teachers and only indirectly to our interests in productive research. Such a choice, I feel convinced, does not call for any special justification on an occasion like this. If, nevertheless, I have decided to plead for admission at a door that apparently is standing wide open, it is due to the fact that an invisible 'pentagramma' on its threshold seems to exercise its restraining magic upon many who would like to enter.

Notwithstanding certain suggestions in our present constitution, our association is an organization not only of investigators, but, I might say, primarily of teachers. As a matter of fact, semi-official regret has been repeatedly expressed that not more of our secondary teachers are among our active members and I, for one, certainly share this feeling. To maintain, however, that every secondary teacher, yea even every college instructor, could or should be an original investigator is either a naive delusion concerning the actual status of our educational system or, what is more

dangerous, it is based on a mechanical and superficial interpretation of the terms 'original scholarship' or 'research work.' What we reasonably can expect of every well-qualified teacher, even in the secondary schools and smallest colleges, aside from his general interest in his subject as a whole, is the choice of some definite branch of it, no matter how small, in which he is bent upon 'knowing all things.' In this sense he can be and should try to be a 'specialist,' although this specialization should not be allowed to prevent his all-around growth in his subject as a whole, in as far as this is needed for the gradual improvement of his actual work in the class-room. I should like to see in every teacher a deep and real interest in some one movement, or author or problem, which he tries to know thoroughly and in regard to which he endeavors to keep abreast of the latest theories and developments. Such a teacher, while never having worked constructively in his 'specialty,' might yet be so thoroughly conversant with it as to be able effectively to discuss its problems with the actual investigator who comes fresh from his last monograph or laboratory experiment. Any one who is accustomed to view things soberly will admit that this is an ideal far enough beyond reality to deserve to be called an ideal, and yet not so completely outside of the range of the possible as to cause despair or a lowering of standards.

If such prolonged and intimate association with a definite set of problems should, in some cases, finally lead to sound scholarly production, we shall all hail it with delight. In that case the teacher has become an investigator and thereby has proved his fitness for that more advanced teaching which should never be without accompanying work of an original character. On the other hand, there must be—and I pray there may be—able young scholars who, after a preliminary piece of research work creditably performed for one of the

higher degrees, will become convinced that their best talents do not lie in the direction of original research. If these, without losing sight of the above mentioned ideal of ever active receptive scholarship, decide to become as strong teachers as possible and besides perhaps authors of educational books or scholarly popularizers, they will do greater credit to their profession and achieve more for the higher life of their country than by a mistaken pride in doing so-called research work at all hazards.

In our university circles, these facts are frequently overlooked, especially by those who represent subjects that belong chiefly to the later years in college or even only to the graduate school. In philosophy, economics, geology, or comparative philology, for instance, it will be possible to eliminate largely the difference between the average teacher and the productive scholar. The number of those who present these subjects to mature and well-trained students in the upper college classes or the graduate school must needs be limited, and they will be well able to conduct most of their courses so as to establish an intimate and fruitful connection between their own research and teaching. This is not feasible, however, to the same degree in subjects like those which we represent. Of course, in their more advanced linguistic and literary aspects, our subjects occupy a position exactly corresponding to that just outlined for philosophy or geology. But, in addition to this, we have a large and important work to perform of a more general educational character, both disciplinary and practical. In this regard, the languages and mathematics, but also history and the fundamental sciences, occupy a position of their own.

In these subjects, thousands upon thousands of teachers must be engaged in presenting to their students elements which, in the nature of things, can have only a rare and remote connection with the sphere of original research. Even

if it were possible, I cannot consider it desirable that the greater part of this work should be done by men who have learned to consider themselves primarily as investigators. For, in all probability, their surroundings and conditions of work will be such as to make it impossible for them in their research work to obtain really valuable results, which alone could afford them genuine satisfaction. But the displacement of values, which is but too apt to be produced under such conditions, may easily put them out of taste with the instructional work which they are called upon to do. The great dignity and educational importance of devotion to this work may thus entirely escape them. Many of them will see, or pretend to see, nothing in it but drudgery. In our universities, as they are at present organized, we have much to suffer, in the departments which we represent, from the frequent incompatibility of the claims of elementary instruction and advanced research.

It never fails to give me pain when young instructors, who by their record and talent are indeed entitled to expect some day to win their spurs as investigators, speak disdainfully of their lower classes as intolerable or, at best, tedious 'drudgery.' For the attitude of the teacher must inevitably shape the attitude of his students. But if, for the sake of not appearing any less ambitious, the same sentiments are expressed by such men as give promise of being strong, earnest, influential teachers, whereas they can hardly hope to attain mediocrity as investigators, then an indignation seizes me which, I trust, is not unrighteous. I would readily grant that, in many cases, such an attitude is merely assumed for effect and does not reflect the real convictions of the perpetrator. He may be most earnestly and devotedly interested in his students, whom he is introducing to the mysteries of English prose composition or of French or German grammar. Nevertheless there remains the serious fact that the

fostering of such a spirit must, in the long run, undermine the desire of excelling in the actual work entrusted to one. It must tend to unsettle values and confuse standards, effects most undesirable for that clear and stimulating intellectual atmosphere in which alone truly scholarly work, be it of the humblest or of the highest, can be expected to thrive.

At any rate, in my opinion, the wise and careful adjustment of the divergent interests of more or less elementary instruction and original research constitutes one of the greatest problems now confronting the modern American university. The difficulty is a relatively new one. It did not exist as long as the research ideal was not a dominating factor in the conception of the American university, and it need not now exist in strictly collegiate institutions without a graduate school. But just those of us who are earnest believers in the future of the American university as a home for original research, must be deeply concerned in not allowing the new ideal to interfere seriously with the legitimate sphere of the older one. The great majority of the students who take a college course in even our foremost universities, do not intend to become investigators, and those who do come in quest of advanced instruction and research work cannot meet our best expectations unless they have been strongly and devotedly taught in their previous work.

But I fear that you begin to think that I am hopelessly wandering, not only from my chosen theme, but even from any and everything connected with the work of the Modern Language Association. This, however, is not the case. Just now I am right in the midst of you.

Suppose that, for argument's sake, I leave out of consideration all secondary teachers of modern languages, inasmuch as thus far we have not been able to interest them in our work in any numbers: the fact becomes only the more apparent that our Association represents the college

and university interests of this country in the departments of English and the modern foreign languages. If we desire to fulfil our mission broadly and adequately, our work must correspond to the actual conditions existing there. If conflicting ideals need an adjustment there, there is all reason to suppose that the same adjustment is needed with us.

Let us trace in few words, how, in this respect, matters have developed with us during the twenty-one years of our existence. The first volume of our *Publications* of the year 1884-5, out of a total of seventeen printed papers, contained as many as nine, or over one-half, of a general pedagogical character, dealing with questions of method, place in the curriculum, and so forth. It is true, English and the modern languages were then still struggling for that educational recognition which, largely through the very efforts of this Association, they now enjoy. Nevertheless, we see clearly to what extent the pedagogical ideal was then overshadowing the research ideal.

The succeeding volumes of our *Publications* show a rapid, almost too rapid, decrease in the proportion of general or pedagogical papers. After the first three volumes only one or two appeared annually, until finally in the seventh volume of 1892 there is not a single paper printed that deals with the teaching interests of our profession. Since then, aside from some of the presidential addresses that have dealt with such problems, scarcely a single pedagogical article seems to have been published. There have been a few pedagogical papers, reports and discussions at the meetings, but what little of them has found its way into the *Publications* at all, has been safely hidden away in the *Proceedings* in the Appendixes. This means that the older college ideal, in our Association, has been almost entirely superseded by the modern university ideal as it has developed in our strongest institutions; and these—as is proper and natural—have been the acknowledged leaders in the development of this body.

We all rejoice heartily in this ascendancy and final victory of scholarship, and we can easily imagine how much, in the early history of the Association, the repression of narrowly methodological interests was needed. We feel deeply grateful to those who, in this struggle for supremacy, held high the banner of learning and ultimately won the day. The legitimate question now, however, seems to be whether the swing of the pendulum has not carried us too far. With our present strength as a strictly scholarly body assured, can and should we not give some more attention than we now do, to the broader educational and practical interests of our profession? Has the ideal of productive scholarship as yet taken root so little that we fear it will suffer and die unless surrounded by the walls of a high protective tariff? We know that this is not the case. The exclusiveness which once, no doubt, was the part of wisdom and has helped to make us strong is now the part of timidity or of superciliousness and deprives us of the fulness of the influence which we could wield.

Pressing questions in regard to various practical aspects of modern language teaching are as numerous as ever. In some of the leading countries of Europe their discussion has occupied the principal university scholars and school men alike, and in Germany especially the foremost leaders in research have again and again met with the representatives of the "middle schools" in practical attempts to come nearer to a satisfactory solution of vexing problems. It is by no means only the well-worn question of one 'method' against another; it is the far broader and deeper problem of the exact function of modern language study in the intellectual training of the student, and all that depends on clearness on this point. As, for instance, the question of beginning foreign language teaching with a modern language at an early age, before Latin is taken up, a German reform-

movement which had its beginning in Altona and Frankfurt and is now generally referred to as the "Frankfurt plan." Or the question of the proper university preparation for secondary and college teachers of modern languages, which, in turn, involves in a measure the arrangement of studies leading to the degree of Ph. D. Besides, there are many other questions peculiar to our American conditions, in regard to which all of us constantly feel the need of a gradual crystalization of our corporate judgment.

Seeing that in our country we have no regulative central organization in educational matters, but that, in the end, everything has to be accomplished by influencing public opinion, it is especially important for us to devote united attention and study to these and similar problems. But whereas regular battles of contending armies have been waged in Europe, with many men of the highest scholarly reputation in the thick of the fight, we have been satisfied with being more or less interested onlookers, contributing hardly anything to the solution of the problems. We are all exceedingly grateful for what the Report of our Committee of Twelve has done to strengthen and unify modern language instruction in our schools, but the framers of this report would be the last, I feel sure, to claim that it represents an original positive contribution to the settlement of the broad questions involved. Besides, it is characteristic that the very appointment of the committee grew out of the request of another body.

This suggests another thought. If even the most solid educational interests of our profession are to be almost entirely eliminated from our meetings and publications, these interests, becoming more and more alienated from us, will either be transferred to other organizations already in existence or they will find expression in new organizations of their own. If we desire to be a research society pure and

simple, as learned societies rightfully may be, such a result need not to dismay us. If, however, we desire to be also recognized as the leaders in all legitimate questions concerning the scholarly teaching of our subjects, we cannot view with equanimity the present trend of things.

Moreover, we are not so situated that what we fail to do at our meetings, could be easily accomplished through our pens in departmental journals of a high order devoted to the practice of modern language instruction. What have we to compare with, for instance, German publications like *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, *Zeitschrift für französischen und englischen Unterricht*, *Die Neueren Sprachen*, or certain departments of the *Archiv*, of *Neue Jahrbücher*, *Anglia*, and others? The *Publications*, the *Journal*, and *Modern Philology* are all exclusively, I feel tempted to say ostentatiously, devoted to research. Even the *Notes* make no attempt at taking systematic care of the needs of our teachers or of the broader problems affecting our profession. The *Pädagogische Monatshefte* finally, aside from their ill-chosen title, have put their emphasis too much on the side of German instruction in the elementary schools to make much headway among the teachers in our high schools and smaller colleges. In short, we possess in this direction practically nothing of national significance and undeniably scholarly character. Is this a natural and healthful situation? Are we as an association doing our duty in the face of so deplorable a state of affairs? If we are unable to remedy this defect within the limits of our organization, are we taking any steps looking for improvement on the outside?

The Central Division of our Association, in its former constitution, was right in stating as the object of its organization "the advancement of the scientific study and teaching of the modern languages and literatures," and I wish that in merging again more closely with the parent Association

we might have been able to bring to it this broader interpretation of the object of our existence. I hope that in spirit, at any rate, we shall all hold to the broader definition.

As an attempt in this direction, the Central Division, a few years ago, instituted departmental sections for the discussion of pedagogical questions. Undoubtedly this plan, to become effective in the best and highest sense, will need further development and modification. What, however, is gratifying and seems to indicate that the movement was in the right direction, is the fact that some of our strongest members could be easily induced to identify themselves with the departmental meetings. For this work more than any other, to remain thoroughly scholarly and representative, needs the control of men of unquestioned standing in the sphere of scholarship besides their interest in the broader educational problems of their profession.

The renewed experience of this meeting will help us to see more clearly some of the defects of the present plan and to devise means for avoiding them in the future. A few suggestions, however, I beg leave to make now, so that you may be able to test them by your impressions of the sectional meetings themselves.

(1) To make work of this kind thoroughly successful, we must plainly recognize the dangers which must result if it is not kept in strong hands and on a high level. But the road of progress is always a road of danger.

(2) Not more than one session of an annual meeting should regularly be given over to general papers and to discussions of a pedagogical character; and the organization of this session should be flexible enough to allow all three sections to remain together, or two of them to combine, or all three to meet singly.

(3) The preparation of the program for this session should, therefore, not be left to individual initiative, but be com-

mitted either to the officers of the Division or to a committee representing the interests of the different sections.

(4) Only one or two subjects or topics should be admitted for each section and the off-hand introduction of additional topics should rather be discouraged than encouraged. Members desirous of having certain topics discussed should suggest them to the proper committee.

(5) For each topic a leader or a sub-committee should be appointed early in the year, so that they could prepare a careful paper or report in the nature of a positive contribution to the pedagogical side of our subjects. In such papers, the parallel conditions in other countries should be carefully studied and represented. The object should be to secure in this way valuable contributions to the broader and more practical aspects of our work. If possible, these should culminate in certain definite theses around which the discussion could center and thus be kept from scattering.

(6) Such papers and reports should by no means deal chiefly with questions of 'method' of more or less elementary instruction. Methods of higher and of graduate instruction, requirements for the higher degrees, the organization of the graduate seminary and pro-seminary, the standard of the reading knowledge of French and German required of Ph. D. candidates, the collegiate training of prospective secondary teachers, questions of nomenclature, needed improvements in text-books and dictionaries, the introduction of foreign language study in the elementary schools—these are only a few of the many questions in regard to which carefully prepared reports and discussions would prove of great benefit to ourselves and to our cause.

(7) Finally, those of the papers and reports that are approved by the editorial committee should be published, so as to secure the widest possible circulation for them, certainly within the Association, and better still—in some cases at

least—far beyond its limits. There may be very good reasons for reserving the body of our Publications exclusively for research work. In that case, however, some additional arrangement should be made for the effective publication of careful studies of more general questions.

We of the Central Division should be quite free, if we saw fit, to organize our sectional meetings in some such way, except in the matter of publication. The main Association would have to adjust such a plan to the work of the pedagogical section already in existence. This, however, would hardly create any special difficulties, provided the desire really exists to grant more consideration than of late to some of the practical and educational questions of our work.

Only now, after long philosophising about the justifiability and desirability of presenting to you, on this occasion, an 'educational' question in preference to any other, I come to my real subject: Some questions of method in the teaching of introductory or survey courses in the history of a foreign literature. I expressed my ideas on this subject for the first time in the summer of 1901 in Indianapolis. It was an address given before the "Deutsch-amerikanischer Lehrerbund" and afterwards published in *Pädagogische Monatshefte*, Jan.-Feb. 1902, and thus failed to reach many of those whom I had had primarily in mind in formulating my thoughts. I reiterated some of the same ideas here in Chicago in the German section of the Central Division meeting of two years ago; but my remarks, which were then limited to a few minutes and delivered without careful preparation, did not find their way into print. I have felt, therefore, that I ought not to let this opportunity go by without presenting more fully my views on this subject, which has the advantage of affecting in some way all of the modern language departments which we represent.

If my illustrations are almost entirely taken from German literature, it is merely due to the fact that I am best acquainted with this phase of the subject. But *mutatis mutandis* the arguments that apply to German, would also apply to French or, indeed, to any literature that is a 'foreign' one for the students to whom it is taught. Hence, also to English literature as taught to German or French students.

Real intellectual benefit, not merely a mechanical knowledge of facts, from an introductory historical course of any kind, is difficult both for the teacher to impart and for the student to acquire. It is difficult in political and social history, more difficult in literary history, but most difficult of all in the historical presentation of a 'foreign' literature.

In connection with the study of the literary development of his own country, the student can be expected to do a reasonably large amount of reading of representative works. Besides, in most cases, he will possess already a fair range of reading gradually acquired at home, in school, and, let us hope we may soon be able to add, at a theater mindful of its high cultural mission. For each large movement which is discussed he, therefore, possesses or can acquire the knowledge of at least one or two typical works. This will enable him to follow intelligently the descriptions, deductions and criticisms which he hears in the lectures or reads in books of reference.

The case becomes quite different and exceedingly more difficult as soon as we approach a foreign literature. There is, first of all, the barrier of language. Even the junior and senior in college, who has made somewhat of a specialty of German or French, cannot possibly be expected to read hundreds of pages a week in representative works of literature to keep pace with the lectures. But this difficulty, serious as it unquestionably is, to my mind is insignificant in

comparison with the fact that in teaching a 'foreign' literature we have, as it were, nothing to build on; no innate instincts to appeal to, no racial predisposition in our favor, none of those mysterious and yet all powerful elements of character, taste, and belief which, through generations of common inward and outward experiences have slowly formed what we call national feeling or national culture. For even in introducing a student to a foreign literature, we cannot be satisfied to acquaint him with biographical data, outlines of plots, and set critical opinions. We must aim to create a real appreciation of the foreign national character, institutions, and *Weltanschauung*, which have made a certain literature what it is and not something else, not merely a second edition of our own with only a different outward stamp or pattern upon it. For just here lies, to my mind, the educative, broadening value of all historical study, whether in political and social institutions or in art and literature. If pursued in the right spirit it must produce a sympathetic interest in our neighbors, respect for their individuality, and, last not least, the desire to raise our own national culture to its highest possible development in friendly rivalry with what we have learned to admire in others.

From this point of view it is to be hoped that in our country the serious study of foreign literature, as one of the best and fullest reflections of foreign life and character, may increase manifold in range and intensity in the years to come. But from this standpoint also the question becomes only the more real and important: What can we do to make such study as fruitful as possible in its broad relation to national life and culture?

We probably have among us here as elsewhere able scholars who are so much under the spell of the theory of the disinterestedness of scholarly work, or rather of a wrong interpretation of this noble theory, that to them a piece of

research work is intrinsically more scholarly and dignified if it has no imaginable connection with the needs of our physical or intellectual life. But even these will hardly apply such a theory to those general courses in literature which are taken by students who have no intention of becoming specialists in the philological or historical study of literature. In such courses, the result at which we aim, aside from imparting definite information, must be a richer and deeper culture of the mind of the student. From this again it follows that we must try, in some way or other, to establish a quickening relationship between the life the students bring with them and the addition to it that we desire to give them.

The amount of English literature which the average college student brings to the more general courses in that subject may often be exceedingly small and ill-chosen in comparison with what as teachers we should like to see. Especially will this be the case in a new country with a heterogeneous population like ours. But infinitely less even is the amount of German or French reading which the student can possibly be expected to bring to a general course in these literatures. This fact cannot fail to emphasize the need of at least one consideration. All early courses of reading should, as much as possible, be so arranged that they contain only material of distinct value, and little or no ballast from which the student has merely derived linguistic training, but no insight into the foreign life and character. By this I by no means wish to say that only the so-called classics should constitute the early reading of our students. Far from it. But yet only books that are typically French or German, that afford a valuable insight into at least this or that phase of the national life or culture. Besides, lists of suitable books for outside reading which are not too difficult for the student's advancement and at the same time

are interesting and characteristic, should be kept before the attention of students in all advanced classes. These books should be made easily accessible and, in some instances, should be available in more than one copy.

For such purposes editions with helpful footnotes, which I should never recommend for the regular study of a text in the class-room, would prove very valuable. In fact, I believe, that there might well be a series of editions of the best works of modern literature with interesting literary introductions and helpful footnotes explaining difficult passages, but with nothing about the book that in the least smacks of the professor and of class-room methods. Such books, though they might well be used for outside reading in advanced classes in high schools or colleges, should be primarily intended for those circles of the general public who are interested in foreign literature and capable of reading it in the vernacular, but who are still in need of occasional help and desire to see the work against its proper literary background. Here then is a task with the promise of real usefulness, for our many publishers and authors of text-books, who so often merely repeat over and over again, a little better or a little worse, the same general type of edition. We teachers are but too ready to complain that too many of our students drop the reading of foreign literature on leaving school or college. But have we done all in our power to render the continuation of such study easy for them? At any rate, no senior class should be dismissed without outlining to them suitable and profitable courses of further reading, with suggestions as to the best methods of securing the books, prices, and so forth. Suppose that out of a class of twenty only one student would ever make any use of the help you have furnished to all, would you not feel repaid and encouraged? If you consider for a moment the range of our libraries and so-called book stores

in practically all of the smaller towns and even some of the larger cities, and if you further consider that many of our former students are so situated in later life that even these are not accessible to them, the value and necessity of such information will appear unquestionable.

The same is true of good English translations of the great works of foreign literatures. They are precious few, and we college and university men, as a rule, do nothing to encourage their increase. We even seem to take pride in appearing absolutely ignorant when approached on the subject, because, forsooth, we do not need or use them ourselves. In fact, this subject has been so generally neglected that even he who realizes the importance of this phase of international literary relations cannot find adequate information in any one place. The German or French bibliographies neglect the subject quite universally, and Goedeke, for instance, is absolutely unreliable in his references to translation literature. But even in books expressly prepared for English and American students or readers, to which one would most naturally turn, the subject is slighted or entirely omitted, as if it were of no great practical importance or as if, at any rate, we professional guardians of the study of foreign literatures had nothing to do with it. But if not we, who has? I do not mean that we ourselves should necessarily spend our time making translations, even if it were quite certain that we were able to do it creditably. But I do believe that we should encourage, direct, criticize, collect or edit such work wherever it is of high grade and high aim. But how many of us even know whether we have good English translations of, for instance, Herder or Novalis; or how much has been translated from authors like Kleist, Grillparzer, Hebbel, or Keller, or which are the best translations of certain famous lyrics and where to find them. And the same is true, in a large measure, of English works of

biography or criticism, many of them of no independent value whatever, but others exceedingly interesting and suggestive just on account of the peculiar angle of vision from which the phenomena have been surveyed and judged. For this, no doubt, often corresponds to the attitude which our own students take instinctively.

These few suggestions must suffice on this point. I only wish to emphasize one fact, so as not to be misunderstood. Even if I had the power, I should not wish *one* scholarly investigator, who is devoted to his research work, to turn from his chosen field of labor, be it ever so humble and narrow, to any of these broader and more practical tasks. But I must deplore the fact that the energies of those who are working in what we may call scholarly popularizing, are apparently entirely used up in text-book making.

But even if in all of these respects the prayed for improvements were rapidly forthcoming, the fact still remains and always will remain that our students must at best have a very limited first hand acquaintance with the great works of a foreign literature, when they approach the study of its historical development and of the men and forces that have made it. What they, however, will bring to such a course and continue to bring to it more and more, as our country grows in literary interests and cultural refinement, will be two things, one more objective, the other more subjective, which they have derived from the study of their own literature and its history. They have gained a certain amount of knowledge of the principal periods of English literature and of their characteristic works and tendencies; and, secondly, they have formed a certain literary taste, concerning some of the styles of expression, artistic moods and genres of literary composition.

It may often be "*herzlich wenig*;" but yet it is something and, above all, it is something that is more or less

common to all even in these days of over-election, when the teacher hardly dares to allude to anything outside of the immediate subject in hand, because half of the class is sure never to have studied the subject referred to.

Consider further that this background of subjective literary instincts and of objective literary knowledge, which each student brings with him, is deeply interwoven with the actual experiences of his inner and outer life, at home, in school, in church, at play, in hours of dreams and longing fancies, in short that it is part and parcel of his inner self, in many respects directly reaching to the profoundest instincts and highest aspirations of which he is capable, and you must admit that it will be utterly impossible for him to approach a new literature without constantly having called forth in him impressions of similarity or contrast with what he already has become familiar with in his own, and has learned to love or to dislike or to be indifferent to.

In language teaching the corresponding principle has long been recognized. No competent judge would seriously maintain any longer that a class of mature students fluently speaking their mother tongue should be taught a second language in the same way as they as children learned to speak the language of their homes.

But in the realm of literature the difference between the study of the student's own literature and the later study of a foreign literature has to my knowledge never been clearly recognized or formulated. Nor have the necessary inferences been drawn from the recognition of this fact. Nevertheless I believe this to be far more important in the domain of literature than in that of language. In the acquisition of the elements of a foreign language a great deal can be accomplished by processes of instinctive imitation, whereas in the study of literature everything belongs to the sphere of conscious reasoning and subjective taste and judgment.

Wherever, therefore, a link may naturally be established between the foreign subject and the concepts already in the student's mind, it cannot be lightly ignored.

From this point of view I do not hesitate to maintain that, even if no organic connection existed between French and German literature on the one hand and English on the other, it would still be desirable to establish parallels or points of contrast wherever it could easily and naturally be done. But how far more fruitful a source for enriching our instruction and making it more real and effective have we at our command, where there really has been the closest mutual interrelation or, at least, the appearance of similar phenomena from similar facts and conditions.

The three literatures primarily referred to—and the other western European literatures might easily be included—show, on the whole, fairly parallel lines of development from the times of their oldest inscriptions to the days of modern realism and symbolism. In spite of all the deep-seated national differences, the great movements have had much in common, as, for instance, the period of the popular epic, the rise of the ecclesiastic spirit, the age of the literature of chivalry, the rise of the drama, the advent of the classical renaissance, the rule of a rationalistic formalism, the reaction of romanticism with its revival of the middle ages and of popular poetry, the modern era of realism, and so forth. Not only educationally, but also scientifically, it would be wrong to have a student trace this broad movement in English literature and then again encounter it in French or German literature, without any reference to the causes for the likeness and unlikeness to prevent either from appearing merely arbitrary and accidental.

The same is true of broad types of style in art, as the popular, the classicistic, the romantic, the realistic; or of poetic moods, as the anacreontic, the elegiac, the sentimental,

the pathetic; of the rise and character of typical literary forms, as the folk-song, the miracle play, the pseudo-classical drama, the picaresque novel; and of the history of certain verse forms, as the alliterative verse, the sonnet, the ottava rima, the alexandrine,—and this list of elements that seem to demand comparison might be easily increased in many directions.

The objection may be raised that, despite all similarity, these phenomena are not exactly the same in different literatures. Very true. So much the more, however, is it necessary to have reference to the ideas which the students already have formed concerning them. For if this is not done, the students, on account of the identity of the terminology used, will of necessity connect the same idea with the same terms.

But aside from these broad parallels due to the relative unity in the medieval and modern civilization of Western Europe, there are between the literatures in question numerous points of actual contact and mutual influence. These international relations are but slightly mentioned in the ordinary histories of literature. They do not help to make German literature more attractive to the German student, or English literature more real to the English or American reader. But the case is very different where we deal with a 'foreign' literature. Here, I repeat, it is more than good pedagogy, it is the logical outcome of the situation, if we enter more fully into those phases of the foreign literature that, in giving or receiving, have been intimately connected with the student's own. Let one example serve in place of many. In teaching German literature in a general survey course to Germans, it is questionable whether I should make any special reference to authors like Gessner or Kotzebue. But I certainly should, in some measure, describe the character of their work to American students, because, at the beginning of the 19th century, these authors were widely

read in this country and celebrated as great German authors, at a time when Schiller and Goethe were to the American public not much more than empty names.

Fortunately, however, the principal points of contact between English, French, and German literature are not primarily in obscure places, but, on the contrary, especially as far as modern literature is concerned, between great writers and important works. We need only to mention the names of Marlowe, Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Thompson, Pope, Goldsmith, Fielding, Sterne, Richardson, Ossian, Percy, Scott, Coleridge, Longfellow, Byron, Poe, Cooper, Emerson, Carlyle, Dickens, Whitman to bring to mind at once important interrelations of English and German literature. The German teacher of German literature will make light of most of these links. Instead of making his task easier, they would make it harder. His students would be too unfamiliar with most of these English and American authors to derive much benefit from allusions to them. The same is more or less true of American or English teachers of English literature. They will place no more emphasis on these relations than seems absolutely necessary. Quite different, however, is the case of the American teacher of German literature. For him these interrelations must become exceedingly valuable adjuncts to his teaching, inasmuch as they tend to draw the foreign literature into closer connection with the student's own literary life and experience.

If I am correct in emphasizing the advantage, yea even the necessity of such a method, the question presents itself: Why has the educational importance of a comparative treatment in the teaching of a foreign literature not been definitely recognized in theory, nor in the practice of writing textbooks? For neither in editions of individual authors, nor in manuals dealing with the general development of a foreign literature has this principle received adequate recognition.

One reason unquestionably is that the comparative study of literature itself, though by no means new as a method, has only relatively recently received a strong impetus in the direction of dealing systematically with the main problems of international literary relations. Many of the actual results obtained are, therefore, still unfamiliar and not easy of access. Besides, a great many problems are still unsolved or as good as unsolved, as far as accurate detailed investigations are concerned.

Another reason for the evident neglect of this field in its application to the practical needs of teaching lies in the fact that the great majority of our text-books and manuals on German literature have been patterned rather too closely upon purely German sources, with too little regard for the difference of treatment that should follow from the necessarily different view-point of the reader. In strictly scientific works intended for specialists only, of course, no such concession would be required. In more popular works, however, intended for the cultured public in general, and in educational books intended for foreign students I can only consider it as a serious mistake if careful attention is not paid to all those elements that can legitimately be used for making the foreign subject matter more real and for bringing it closer home to those who are forced to approach it from the outside.

I, therefore, cannot consider it anything short of deplorable that in an excellent and stately volume on the whole range of the history of German literature recently published by an English author for the English public an index of about 1,200 names contains only about five English names. In a more recent American volume on the German literature of the 19th century the proportion of English names that have found their way into the index is more satisfactory. But although in this work the unusual attempt has been made to represent the whole period from a rather foreign

point of view, the names of Byron, George Eliot and Whitman, for instance, would be looked for in vain. Others, like Dickens, are found, but barely mentioned.

But I have already greatly taxed your kindly patience and, in conclusion, will confine myself to the brief statement of a few practical considerations which to me seem to be the logical deductions from my line of thought and argument:

(1) Teachers of a foreign literature should as much as possible be also intimate students of English literature, particularly in those portions of it which represent important interrelations with or interesting parallels to the literary phenomena which they have to teach. Those of us who are of foreign birth and training should, besides, be especially careful to acquaint ourselves with those works of English or American literature which, though perhaps unimportant from an international point of view, form the more or less general canon of reading of young Americans in connection with their English literature studies in school and college.

(2) Students specializing in a foreign literature with a view of teaching should be urged to do at least a fair amount of work in English literature. For candidates for the degree of Ph. D. who have thesis and major work in a foreign literature, English literature should be emphasized as a desirable minor, unless the special nature of the student's investigation work or his definite plans for the future should make another combination more desirable.

(3) The American investigator in a foreign literature can find in the field of international literary relations a large number of interesting problems, for whose treatment he often possesses unusual personal qualifications and library facilities. A considerable amount of valuable work of this kind has been done in recent years, but a great deal more remains to be done, if we are gradually to construct the general his-

tory of English and American literary influence in the continental countries of Europe and, *vice versa*, their influence in England and America. From a practical standpoint such results are particularly desirable in regard to the literatures of France or Germany, because they are far more generally taught than others. If a tendency toward arbitrary haphazard specialization has of late years often produced what the great German historian Lamprecht has quite recently deplored as "das planlos individualistische Forschen der letzten Jahrzehnte um des Forschens halber," this no doubt is a field in which careful and strictly scholarly exploration is actually needed.

May these Christmas wishes and holiday musings which I have presented to you to-night be received by you in the same spirit in which they have been given: As frank, but purely personal expressions of opinion and conviction. All I hope for them is careful consideration and severe but impartial criticism. But whatever their fate may be, I shall feel fully rewarded if the views expressed should in the least degree help to increase the ultimate usefulness of the work of this Association, even though, after careful consideration of the questions raised, the future development should not be in the path to which I have tried to point.

May the deliberations upon which we are about to enter be productive of good for the Association! May the Association in turn become an ever-increasing source of inspiration for all of its members!

CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1903.

I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II.

1. The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures through the promotion of friendly relations among scholars, through the publication of the results of investigations by members, and through the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shall be held at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. But at least as often as once in four years there shall be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the country shall be chosen.

III.

Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary and Treasurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the

payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successive years. Distinguished foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executive Council.

IV.

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shall be : a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer ; an Executive Council consisting of these six officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members ; and an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shall be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and two other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Association, to hold office for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shall be chosen by the respective Divisions.

4. The other officers shall be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold office until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shall be filled by the Executive Council.

V.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shall, furthermore, have charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the program of the annual meeting.

2. The Executive Council shall perform the duties assigned to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII, and VIII ; it shall, moreover, determine such questions of policy as may be referred to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shall render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

VI.

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shall be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shall form a standing committee of the Association, and may add to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII.

1. When, for geographical reasons, the members from any group of States shall find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executive Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shall select; but no Division meeting shall be held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shall be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shall not at any time exceed three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shall moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shall be prepared

by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council.

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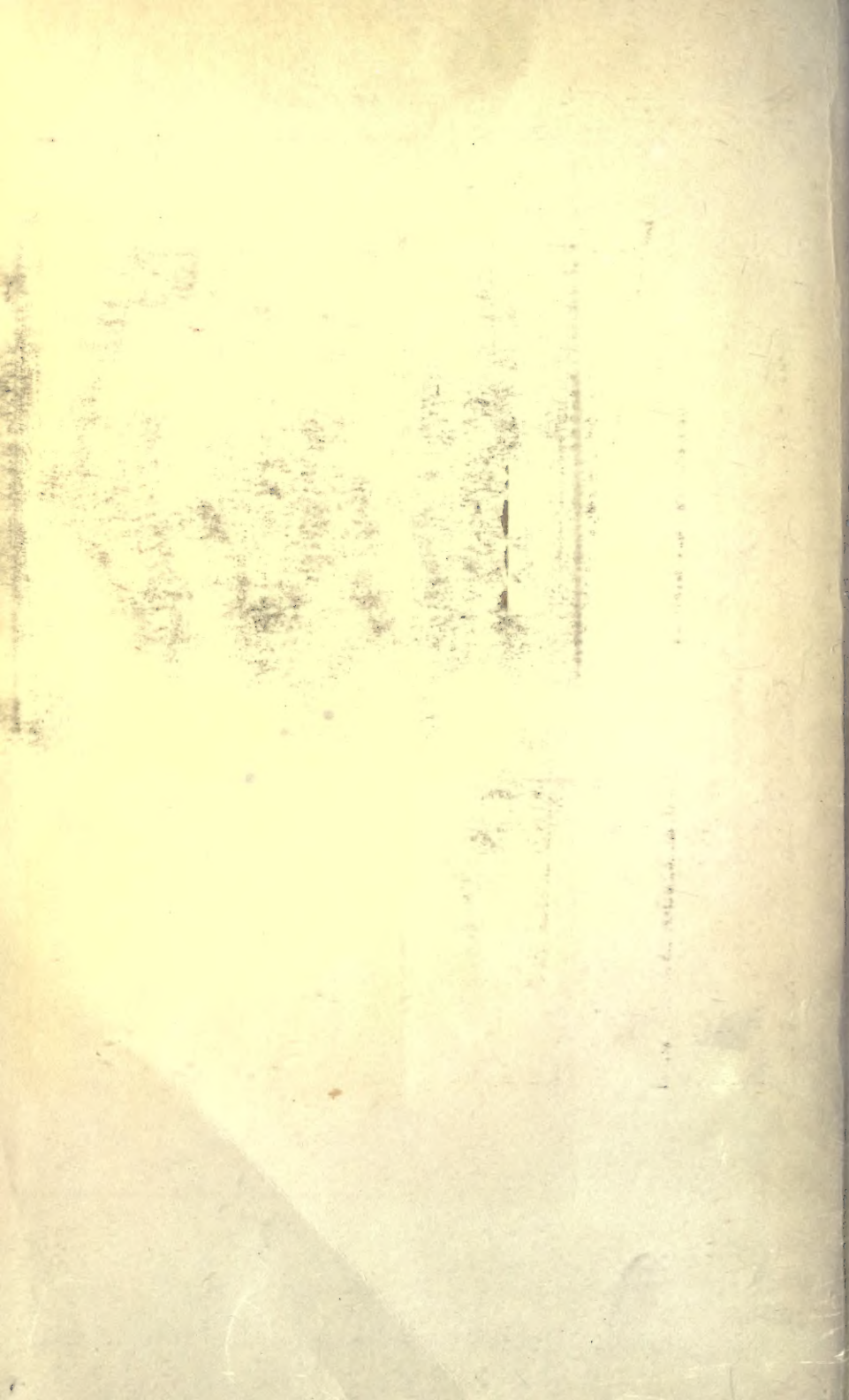
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B. P. HASDEU, University of Bucharest.
RICHARD HEINZEL, University of Vienna.
OTTO JESPERSEN, University of Copenhagen.
FR. KLUGE, University of Freiburg.
MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, Madrid.
PAUL MEYER, Collège de France.
W. MEYER-LÜBKE, University of Vienna.
JACOB MINOR, University of Vienna.
JAMES A. H. MURRAY, Oxford, England.
ADOLPH MUSSAFIA, University of Vienna.
ARTHUR NAPIER, University of Oxford.
FRITZ NEUMANN, University of Heidelberg.
ADOLPH NOREEN, University of Upsala.
H. PAUL, University of Munich.
F. YORK POWELL, University of Oxford.
PIO RAJNA, Florence, Italy.
AUGUST SAUER, University of Prague.
J. SCHIPPER, University of Vienna.
H. SCHUCHART, University of Graz.
ERICH SCHMIDT, University of Berlin.
EDUARD SIEVERS, University of Leipsic.
W. W. SKEAT, University of Cambridge.
JOHANN STORM, University of Christiania.
H. SUCHIER, University of Halle.
HENRY SWEET, Oxford, England.
ANTOINE THOMAS, Sorbonne, Paris.
ADOLPH TOBLER, University of Berlin.
RICHARD PAUL WÜLKER, University of Leipsic.

ROLL OF MEMBERS DECEASED.

- J. T. AKERS, Central College, Richmond, Ky.
 T. WHITING BANCROFT, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [1890.]
 D. L. BARTLETT, Baltimore, Md. [1899.]
 W. M. BASKERVILL, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1899.]
 ALEXANDER MELVILLE BELL, Washington, D. C. [1905.]
 DANIEL G. BRINTON, Media, Pa. [1899.]
 FRANK ROSCOE BUTLER, Hathorne, Mass. [1905.]
 CHARLES CHOLLET, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. [1903.]
 HENRY COHEN, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1900.]
 WILLIAM COOK, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1888.]
 SUSAN R. CUTLER, Chicago, Ill. [1899.]
 A. N. VAN DAELL, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1899.]
 EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES, Baltimore, Md. [1894.]
 W. DEUTSCH, St. Louis, Mo. [1898.]
 ERNEST AUGUST EGGERS, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1903.]
 FRANCIS R. FAVA, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. [1896.]
 L. HABEL, Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont. [1886.]
 RUDOLPH HAYM, University of Halle. [1901.]
 GEORGE A. HENCH, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1899.]
 RUDOLPH HILDEBRAND, Leipsic, Germany. [1894.]
 JULIAN HUGUENIN, University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La. [1901.]
 ANDREW INGRAHAM, Cambridge, Mass. [1905.]
 J. KARGÉ, Princeton College, Princeton, N. J. [1892.]
 F. L. KENDALL, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. [1893.]
 EUGENE KÖLBING, Breslau, Germany. [1899.]
 J. LÉVY, Lexington, Mass.
 AUGUST LODEMAN, Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich. [1902.]
 JULES LOISEAU, New York, N. Y.
 JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Cambridge, Mass. [1891.]
 J. LUQUIENS, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1899.]

- THOMAS McCABE, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1891.]
J. G. R. McELROY, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
[1891.]
EDWARD T. McLAUGHLIN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1893.]
LOUIS EMIL MENDER, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1903.]
CHARLES WALTER MESLOH, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1904.]
SAMUEL P. MOLENAER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
[1900.]
JAMES O. MURRAY, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [1901.]
C. K. NELSON, Brookville, Md. [1890.]
W. N. NEVIN, Lancaster, Pa. [1892.]
CONRAD H. NORDBY, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
[1900.]
C. P. OTIS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1888.]
GASTON PARIS, Collège de France, Paris, France. [1903.]
W. H. PERKINSON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
SAMUEL PORTER, Gallaudet College, Kendall Green, Washington, D. C.
[1901.]
RENÉ DE POYEN-BELLISLE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1900.]
THOMAS R. PRICE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1903.]
CHARLES H. ROSS, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala.
[1900.]
M. SCHELE DE VERE, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
O. SEIDENSTICKER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1894.]
JAMES W. SHERIDAN, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
MAX SOHRAUER, New York, N. Y.
F. R. STENGEL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
H. TALLICHET, Austin, Texas. [1894.]
E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898.]
KARL WEINHOLD, University of Berlin. [1901.]
CARLA WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1902.]
HÉLÈNE WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888.]
MARGERET M. WICKHAM, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [1898.]
R. H. WILLIS, Chatham, Va. [1900.]
CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1889.]
JULIUS ZUPITZA, Berlin, Germany. [1895.]
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